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# The Legacy of George Peabody: Special Bicentenary Issue

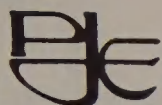
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Volume 70, Number 1, Fall 1994

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*Volume 70, Number 1, Fall 1994*

The Legacy of George Peabody: Special Bicentenary Issue

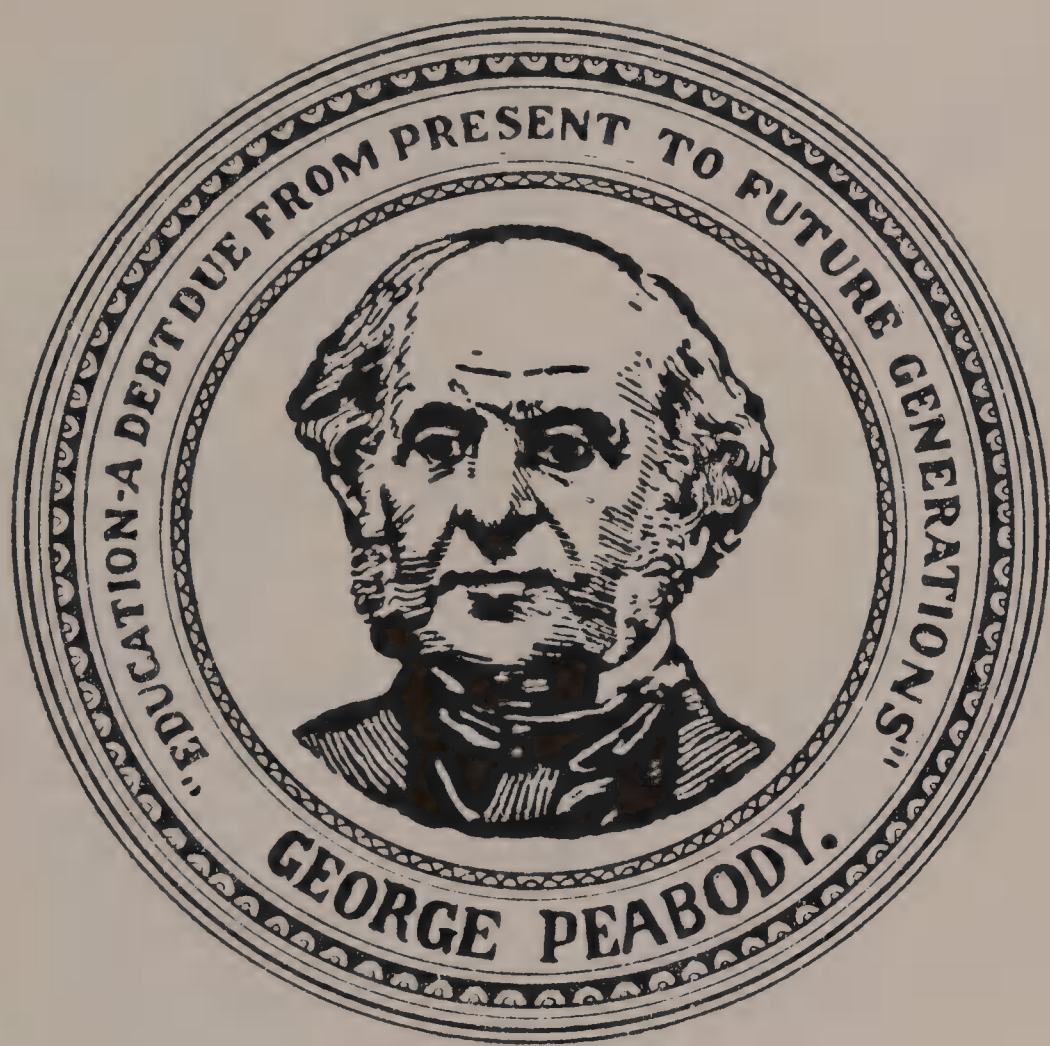
Issue Author: Franklin Parker

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# Preface

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*Franklin Parker*

I am grateful to the *Peabody Journal of Education* editor and editorial advisory board for reprinting my articles on George Peabody published over the past 40 years. I am also grateful for permission to reprint from other original publications.

The first article—"On the Trail of George Peabody"—tells how and why the opportunity arose to write on George Peabody's educational philanthropy as a dissertation topic, lists the sources to which the research trail led, and gives an overview of George Peabody's importance as merchant turned international banker and educational philanthropist. Subsequent articles in chronological order (with credit to the journals where they originally appeared) show glimpses of George Peabody's remarkable commercial and philanthropic career.

George Peabody merits attention at this bicentennial of his birth on February 18 (1795-1995). Later and vastly wealthier philanthropists such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and Henry Ford are far better known. Less known is the fact that their philanthropies were all influenced by Peabody.

George Peabody's gifts were made before tax laws were an incentive for charitable giving. He had few precedents, if any, to follow. His philanthropies may now seem small but, adjusted for time and inflation, they were significant. They were carefully planned and show his concern for their operation and well being. One clue to his motivation for giving is in the sentiment accompanying his first gift (1852) establishing the Peabody, MA, Institute library, lecture hall, and fund: "Education, a debt due from present to future generations." Another clue is in his May 18, 1831, reply to a nephew who asked his financial help to attend Yale College: "I can only do to those that come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me."

Born poor and with little formal schooling, he labored long and hard against great odds to win a place for himself in commerce and banking. Simple in his needs and pleasures, he returned to others the benefits

that hard work, business acumen, and good fortune had brought him.

His death evoked unusual reactions in both the United States and England. In London, his funeral at Westminster Abbey drew crowds of the rich and the poor alike, and shopkeepers closed their businesses out of respect. American author Elbert Hubbard wrote, "George Peabody was the world's first philanthropist. . . . [His] life . . . was not in what he gave, but in what he taught. He inspired the millionaires that are to be. He laid hold on the age to come."

Many, at his death, saw something of the heroic in George Peabody's life and philanthropic giving. My hope is that this collection of articles, despite some repetition, will help readers to reflect on why George Peabody was held in such esteem.



# On the Trail of George Peabody

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Take two eager Peabodians; give them a research project of scope; add encouragement and a pinch of money; and send them off on a manuscript-reading trip to libraries in Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, and London, England. So began in 1953 an 18-year-long trail that led to the publication of *George Peabody, A Biography*.<sup>1</sup> The research and writing years were exciting, amusing, tense, and rewarding. Like the day at Windsor Castle going through the Queen Victoria papers. Or reading Prime Minister Gladstone's papers in London's British Museum Manuscript Library. Or wading through 140 boxes of Peabody's business and personal correspondence at the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts. Later, we could have done without—or could we?—the several manuscript drafts rejected by commercial and university presses. But that's getting ahead of the story.

Betty and I were recent Berea College, Ky., graduates, just married (1950) and on our first job at Ferrum Junior College, a Methodist school near Roanoke, Va. We spent the summers of 1951 and 1952 on the Peabody campus, and stimulating summers they were. A small scholarship for me and a job promise for Betty decided us on graduate work at Peabody in the fall of 1952. Peabody College was a place alive with challenges. President Henry H. Hill had brought in with foundation money renowned educators like Harold Benjamin, Willard Goslin, William Van Til, Nicholas Hobbs, and others. New horizons were opened in study under them and under such stalwart Peabody faculty regulars as Maycie K. Southall, A. L. Crabb, Robert A. Davis, and Clifton L. Hall. I attached myself to Dr. Hall, who, with Dr. Benjamin, led me through the vistas of History and Philosophy of Education and

This article originally appeared in the *Peabody Reflector*, Volume XLIV, Number 4, Fall 1971. An earlier version appeared in *The Berea Alumnus* (Berea College, KY), Volume XXVI, Number 8, May 1956. Reprinted with permission.

<sup>1</sup>Vanderbilt University Press, 1971.

Comparative and International Education. Studying under these people and winning their approbation were key factors in what was to come. Among many good Peabody professors, few were more respected than they were. And as Mrs. Norman Frost once said in relation to Dr. Hall: If you study under him, you will be a gentleman and a scholar as he is. The same could have been said of them all.

With the preliminary and written examination safely passed, I was established as a doctoral candidate in 1953. I finished my course work at Peabody and Vanderbilt and spent a few months collecting material on the history of higher education in Tennessee as a possible dissertation topic. Then, in a casual meeting that spring Dean of Instruction Felix C. Robb<sup>2</sup> mentioned George Peabody as a dissertation topic. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., had suggested it to him when Robb was working on his doctorate at Harvard Graduate School of Education. Robb had chosen instead to do a study in school administration. Whatever the reason—perhaps regretting a good topic not pursued—Robb described Schlesinger's suggestion enthusiastically to me. "You know," he said, "existing studies of George Peabody's business career and educational philanthropy are mostly based on secondary sources. There is no definitive biography of him. It is needed and you might well look into it."

I did. Factual items about George Peabody (1795-1869), a businessman turned philanthropist, were easy enough to find: his poor family beginnings in Massachusetts; his apprenticeship in a general store; his work with an older brother in a drygoods store in Newburyport; the Newburyport fire which caused him and an uncle to open a drygoods store in Georgetown, D.C.; the uncle's bankruptcy; brief military service in the War of 1812; partnership with Elisha Riggs in Georgetown and later in Baltimore; the traveling years in buying and selling goods for Peabody, Riggs and Co.; five buying trips to Europe between 1827 and 1837; his permanent move to London in 1837; and his founding in London in 1843 of George Peabody and Co., a mercantile-brokerage firm serving the American trade.

There were aspects of Peabody's career with special drama: his struggle in Europe to sell Maryland and other state bonds to promote internal improvements; his faith in these bonds and his own large purchases of them when the states temporarily suspended payment of interest after the Panic of 1837; the broken marriage engagement to Esther Hoppin in the aftermath of the 1837 Panic; his emergence into the limelight when his loan enabled the American exhibitors to display their

<sup>2</sup>President of George Peabody College for Teachers, 1961-1966.

wares in London's 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, the first world's fair; the beginning of his important and publicized London dinners to improve Anglo-American relations; his connection with Arctic exploration in outfitting an expedition to search for the missing British explorer Sir John Franklin; and his financial promotion of the Atlantic Cable Company (of which Peabody was a director) and western railroads.

Our prime concern was his educational philanthropy: library and lecture hall institutes in six American cities where he had lived and worked—Peabody, Danvers, and Newburyport, Mass., Baltimore, Md. (also a conservatory of music), Georgetown, D.C., and Thetford, Vt.; the model Peabody homes of London where low-income working people live today; Peabody Museums of Anthropology at Harvard and Yale Universities and of Maritime History in Salem, Mass.; donations for science and mathematics to Washington and Lee University, Kenyon College, and Andover Academy; and most important, the 1867 Peabody Education Fund for the Southern states, the first multi-million dollar precedent-setting foundation in the United States whose modern descendant is George Peabody College for Teachers.

We began with a bibliographic search in Nashville with much photocopying of pertinent catalog cards from major libraries in eastern cities. We read and took notes on materials in Nashville and on other sources borrowed on inter-library loan, steeping ourselves in what was already known about Peabody. One early primary find—a dissertation covering some 20 years of his business activities—stopped us short. Had someone else already covered the ground we wanted to cover? No, said my committee members after I reported on the contents; his complete life and especially his educational philanthropy were still unrecorded. We breathed easier and pushed ahead, the Peabody project becoming more and more important in our lives. We marvelled that researchers had not found and writers had not written on this almost neglected figure in American history and Anglo-American relations. There were, of course, accounts of his life and educational philanthropy in pamphlet and book form but no definitive one.

In August 1954 we began our manuscript reading trip in Washington, D.C. The Library of Congress Manuscript Division had much Peabody material in the papers of W. W. Corcoran—business associate, friend, and founder of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, D.C.; Hamilton Fish—Peabody Education Fund trustee who, as Secretary of State, was involved in the U.S. naval return of Peabody's remains to America; Robert Garrett—business associate, friend, and president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; President Andrew Johnson—who called on Peabody in 1867 and considered adding him to his cabinet as Secretary of



the Treasury; Benjamin Moran—longtime American Legation secretary in London, whose secret journals contained much harsh criticism of Peabody; and the Riggs family—two generations of whom were Peabody's partners.

With a tight budget we found inexpensive rooms, lived simply, worked all day in the libraries, and at night discussed the day's findings and organized our notes. I bought an inexpensive portable photocopier and at night to save money usually read the negatives backward with a mirror or through the back of the paper against a strong light.

We listed individuals connected in any way with Peabody: business associates, friends, political figures, and trustees of his institutes. Through the Library of Congress card catalog and union catalog we systematically examined all works by and about these individuals. This broad net taxed us and the library staff but produced useful items. Also valuable was the Library of Congress newspaper collection, particularly the *New York Times*, since I had found at Fisk University Library in Nashville an index to the *New York Times* from its founding in the 1850s listing well over a hundred Peabody articles. Betty turned many pages of unindexed Georgetown and Washington, D.C., newspapers until with a thrill of discovery she found early advertisements of Riggs, Peabody and Co.

At the United States National Archives we found Peabody's War of 1812 veteran land bounty record and a document listing his \$1,000 contribution toward the erection of the Washington Monument. Most important were U.S. naval records and dispatches of the U.S. Ministers to Great Britain documenting the return of Peabody's body from England for burial near his birthplace.

Next came Baltimore, Md., where we found, at the Peabody Institute and the Maryland Historical Society the John Pendleton Kennedy papers and diaries—he was Peabody's friend and the main planner of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore—and some Peabody papers including newsclipping scrapbooks. Many Peabody items in an index to the *Baltimore Sun* in the *Sun* office building proved useful and the records of the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library were helpful.

In New York we found many Peabody articles in an index to the *New York Herald*, whose editor Gordon Bennett was often hostile to Peabody during the latter's last years. The New York Public Library Manuscript Department and the New York Historical Society contained good information. The Pierpont Morgan Library and the records of what is now the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company gave us insight into Junius Spencer Morgan, Peabody's partner after 1854, and into his son John Pierpont Morgan, who began his career as New York agent for George Peabody and Co.

There were Peabody papers at the Boston Public Library. The Massachusetts Historical Society had the important papers of H. G. Somerby, antiquarian book dealer and Peabody's philanthropic agent in London, and Robert Charles Winthrop, Massachusetts political leader who guided Peabody's later philanthropy and gave the eulogy at Peabody's final burial. Harvard University's Widener Library and the special business collection were particularly useful. Harvard's Peabody Museum was an important documentary source, indicating that the three museums Peabody established helped begin the systematic study of anthropology in the United States.

The bulk of Peabody's papers were in the Essex Institute in Salem, Mass. These had been taken from London in the early 1870s by a nephew, Robert Singleton Peabody, and stored at Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass. In the early 1930s they were sorted by date and subject into 140 boxes, 250 account and ledger books, newspaper albums, and memorabilia, and housed after 1935 at the Essex Institute. We made fast friends with the devoted librarians who tended this unpretentious but rich storehouse: Ruth Henderson Hill of the Prints Department, for example, had herself written on George Peabody and became an invaluable friend and counselor, particularly in her adjunct capacity as librarian of the Peabody Historical Society. We still correspond with her, with our former Salem landlord, and with the director of the Peabody Museum of Salem, an important maritime history museum. We spent important days with Librarian Nate Masterson of the first institute Peabody created in his birthplace, now Peabody, Mass., where Queen Victoria's special portrait—she commissioned it for George Peabody in thanks for his model homes in London—is housed, along with his lunchbox and other mementos. Edward J. O'Conner, trustee and school principal, was especially helpful through the years.

George Peabody spent the last half of his life in London and we located there by correspondence many documents about him. We knew we had to go to London. A \$600 Jesse Jones scholarship from Peabody College decided us on a three-month English research trip, September to December 1954. A Berea College staff friend and sometime travel agent helped get us in tourist class aboard the fast liner, *United States*. That first Atlantic crossing was memorable, some seasickness notwithstanding. Each day in London was exciting, from finding a cheap bed-sitting room in South Kensington, to learning our way on the bus and underground, and to searching out depositories and libraries containing Peabody material.

The trail led to the Peabody Donation Fund office which manages the low-rent model Peabody homes for working people, to which George Peabody gave a total of \$2.5 million from 1862 to 1869. It was an unusual

gift for an American to make to a city and country not his own. Peabody, who had initiated his library institutes in American cities where he had lived and worked, was puzzled by what to do for London's poor. The best advice came from Lord Shaftesbury, who recommended low-cost model housing. The gift, made amid Anglo-American tensions over the Civil War, captured Londoners' admiration and Queen Victoria's expression of gratitude in a special portrait, a gift traditionally given to esteemed foreign ambassadors. The Fund's director Martin Bond and treasurer James MacNabb, helpful to us through the years, are rightly proud of the Fund's present worth of over \$24 million and of the over 20,000 low-income people who currently live in the homes.

Then came a visit to Morgan, Grenfell and Co., Ltd., modern descendant of George Peabody and Co. Peabody's partner, Junius S. Morgan, wanted to continue the firm's name of George Peabody and Co. at Peabody's retirement in 1864. But Peabody declined. The J. S. Morgan and Co. was succeeded by Morgan, Grenfell and Co. in 1890. The firm's director, the late Lord Bicester, showed us a portrait of George Peabody, gave us access to the firm's historical records, and put us in tow of two seasoned clerks. The late Mr. Cuthbert-Brown, who took us on a tour of the financial center of London, had worked for J. P. Morgan. John Corner showed us London's literary nooks and crannies. We enjoyed these delightful men on subsequent London visits.

Most of our work was done in the British Museum Reading Room, whose large book collection is comparable to the Library of Congress. Here we thumbed through many books, searched the Museum's manuscript department, and found the Museum's Colindale Newspaper Library richly rewarding. Not only did we find many Peabody articles in the indexed *London Times*, but also in other London newspapers and those of other English and Scottish cities. There was more copying than we could do, and we had important material microfilmed.

Early in London George Peabody was blackballed from membership when proposed for exclusive clubs. After the publicity following his Peabody Homes of London gift in 1862, honors showered upon him. These included membership in the Athenaeum Club, then as now London's most respected club; honorary membership in two ancient guilds, the Clothworkers' Company and the Fishmongers' Company; the Freedom of the City of London, a rare honor granted to only two Americans, George Peabody and Dwight D. Eisenhower; and a statue of George Peabody placed near London's Royal Exchange, designed by American sculptor William W. Story and paid for by public subscription. We documented these honors from records in various depositories, and in working at the Athenaeum Club came in contact with now retired librarian Eileen Stiff and her companion Margaret Goldsmith, American-



born authoress. They encouraged us through the years and Margaret Goldsmith's editorial suggestions improved the published version of *George Peabody, A Biography*.

It exalted and humbled us when the trail led to reading the papers of important historical figures, such as Queen Victoria, whose correspondence with George Peabody we read in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle; and Prime Minister William E. Gladstone, whose papers were in the British Museum manuscript collection. We wanted to read Gladstone's cabinet minutes for November 10, 1869, because of the decision made at that meeting to return Peabody's remains to America on a British warship, the *Monarch*. Before he died in London on Nov. 4, 1869, Peabody had directed in his will that he wished to be buried near his birthplace. Gladstone's decision, a political one made during the Anglo-American dispute over the *Alabama* claims, was meant to ease American hostility by honoring this special American with an official naval transatlantic funeral crossing. An explanatory letter to the secretary of the British cabinet brought a quick response and we were allowed to read the all-important minutes.

From the Admiralty records, the Foreign Office papers, and the log of H.M.S. *Monarch*, all in the Public Record Office, we were able to document from the English side the unusual naval cortege. The American part of the funeral we knew from the National Archives, the Library of Congress, Maine State Legislative documents, and other sources: how President U.S. Grant had ordered a U.S. naval escort for the *Monarch*, the naval reception under Admiral David G. Farragut at Portsmouth, Maine, and the train journey to the final resting place in Massachusetts.

There was sadness in finding Peabody's death certificate in the General Register Office at Somerset House, in piecing together the circumstances of the special service and temporary burial in Westminster Abbey, in tracing the disposition of his English estate in the Treasurer-Solicitor's Office records, in describing the transatlantic crossing, in summarizing the final eulogy, and in telling of the final burial.

One aspect of Peabody's funeral we learned about, the manufacture and sale of commemorative glassware, came in the responses of British newspaper readers. As is commonly done, we wrote to the editors of several hundred British newspapers telling of our research on George Peabody and asking readers to send us any relevant information. In the dozens of replies came descriptions of the souvenir plates. We encouraged several of the owners to donate them to Peabody Institute libraries. This correspondence also brought invitations to visit the homes of several glassware owners and friendships developed, as with the Dudley Robinson family, which last to this day.

All too soon the trail led back to Nashville. We found new part-time

work, since we had resigned from our previous jobs. In spare hours and at night we put our notes in order and I began to write dissertation chapters. There was gratification in giving the Peabody College Founders Day Address on February 18, 1955, thanks to President Hill's generous invitation. A last manuscript reading trip followed in the summer of 1955. In August 1956 the 3-volume, 1,219 page dissertation was accepted, the degree awarded, and a university position waiting.

Understandably, the overly detailed manuscript was returned by commercial and university presses, several editors wanting to see a leaner version. President Hill and later President Felix Robb urged revision and contacted publishers. By the following year we had cut the manuscript by half. Director David H. Jones of Vanderbilt University Press, among others, had favorable reports from readers who required further revision.

Through the years while pursuing a career at the Universities of Texas and Oklahoma, we were nagged by the unpublished George Peabody manuscript. Those years were busy ones: two years' research in south central Africa; writing assignments that included two books, ten book chapters, and many journal and encyclopedia articles; and responsibilities with several professional organizations. Yet by the mid-1960s we had a fairly tight 325-page manuscript ready.

Fortuitously, Dr. J. E. Windrow, Peabody College's director of public relations, had the inspired idea of bringing together in Nashville prominent members of the Peabody family including former Massachusetts Governor Endicott Peabody. They gathered for the May 1970 commencement, and I spoke at the trustees' banquet. Noting my presence from the newspaper publicity, David Jones of Vanderbilt University Press phoned me, said he was still interested in the George Peabody manuscript, and asked me to send it to him. This I promptly did. Events moved quickly. We worked closely with managing editor Robert Emmitt and designer Gary Gore, hurrying back from summer 1971 teaching in Canada to complete the index and proofreading. The result, *George Peabody, A Biography*, appeared in December, 1971.

Many people helped us on the trail of George Peabody. Like the happy years at George Peabody College for Teachers, it was a trail of high adventure.

# Founder Paid Debt to Education

---

The life of George Peabody epitomizes the American dream. Among success stories his is a classic: Born poor, he died rich. Parsimonious in accumulating, he was generous in giving. Little schooled himself, he gave of his wealth for education. By his own effort he became successively a dry goods peddler of promise, a mercantile wholesaler of substance, a merchant-broker of significance, a private banker of distinction, and a philanthropist—the greatest of his time.

Step by step he arose from humble birth in Danvers, Mass., February 18, 1795: a country store apprenticeship, dry goods store-keeping under his elder brother, mercantile seller with his uncle in Georgetown, D.C., a soldier in the War of 1812, the traveling partner of Peabody, Riggs & Co. His moves, always to centers of trade, took him at last to London in 1827. From 1837 until his death, November 4, 1869, London was his adopted home and America always his beloved country. Without preferment in the capitol of a foreign country he gained the confidence and respect of international financiers. Public notice first came when the foreign credit of Maryland's bonds stood in jeopardy. Mr. Peabody stepped forward as agent. By his probity he renewed their worth, raised the state's prestige, and then returned to the treasurer his full commission.

In 1852 he began the first of a remarkable series of philanthropic gifts. To a request for a toast from his native town's centennial celebration committee, he sent a slip of paper with a lofty sentiment—"Education: a debt due from Present to Future Generations"—along with a gift of money. From his philanthropy in the next 17 years were born libraries, lecture halls, art galleries, museums, church buildings, and housing projects. Peabody Institutes dotted America; museums at Harvard and Yale aided science; London slums saw the dramatic erection of Peabody Homes for working people; in a defeated South the Peabody Education Fund labored for thirty years building schools, aiding public education, training teachers.

This article originally appeared in the *Peabody Post*, Volume VIII, Number 8, February 10, 1955. Reprinted with permission.

George Peabody's fame was cyclic: little known at large he sprang into fame during the last decade of his life. Honors showered upon him: honorary degrees from Oxford and Harvard, a personal letter and priceless miniature from Queen Victoria, statues in London and Baltimore, the Freedom of the City of London, honorary membership in two London livery companies and exclusive city clubs, a medal from Congress, brief interment in Westminster Abbey, and election to the Hall of Fame in 1900.

George Peabody's activities spanned a colossal era of American life. In an age of railroads he supplied iron rails and helped finance the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In an age of communications he was a director of the Atlantic Telegraph and Cable Co. In an age of finance his company was one of the roots of the House of Morgan. In an age of intellectual awakening he built libraries, stimulated science, aided public education, befriended American artists like Benjamin West, Hiram Powers, and the obscure Shakespearean theorist, Delia Bacon. Amid the first stirrings of modern international technical cooperation, he financed the American display at the first world's fair in 1851. During thirty years of Anglo-American tension he was the most popular American and unofficial ambassador of goodwill in London. Even in death he worked to soften the threat of war over the Alabama claims. England sent his body home on its newest and biggest warship and American vessels escorted the oceanic funeral procession.

The dust of a hundred years has shrouded his memory. Men he influenced are now well known: Johns Hopkins, Enoch Pratt, Andrew Carnegie, O. C. Marsh, J. P. Morgan. Cut into the stone marker of his temporary grave in Westminster Abbey, the most precious spot of English soil, are these words: "I have prayed my heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled before I died to shew my gratitude for the blessings which He has bestowed upon me by doing some great good for my fellow man." These, his own words, form a fitting epitaph. But the institutions he founded, still functioning, still doing good, are his everlasting monument.



# Nashville's Yankee Friend

---

Late summer in the year 1869. A resort hotel—the Greenbrier—in West Virginia. The August sun washes the lawns in bright gold. A breeze stirs the leaves of the big old trees, and ruffles the white hair of two old men talking in the sunshine.

One of them is Robert E. Lee, erect, dignified, soft-spoken.

The other is a stout man in a sober black suit. He is ill and the sickness shows in his face. His name is George Peabody and he is a millionaire—many times over.

What did they talk about, these two men? Nobody knows for certain, but the soldier and the businessman had this in common: their concern for the South and her need to educate her youngest generation.

Out of that concern Lee gave the last years of his life—and, eventually, his name—to Washington & Lee University at Lexington, Va.

George Peabody gave what he had the most of—money. His philanthropy totaled \$10,000,000 and nearly \$2,000,000 of that helped sustain and expand the internationally famous school in Nashville that bears his name: George Peabody College for Teachers.

Three months after that scene on the lawn of the Greenbrier hotel, the ailing multi-millionaire had hastened on to London, his home for 32 of his 74 years. There, on a November night, he died in his sleep.

His body lay in state in Westminster Abbey for 30 days and then was sent home to America on England's newest and mightiest man o'war. Eulogies poured from the press of two continents.

Prime Minister William Gladstone said: "He taught us how a man may be the master of his fortune and not its slave."

Victor Hugo wrote of him: "On this earth there are men of hate and men of love. Peabody was one of the latter. It is on the face of these men that we see the smile of God. . . ."

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One hundred days after his death George Peabody was buried in his native state of Massachusetts.

The honors to his memory are impressive.

A memorial marker bearing his last words went up in Westminster Abbey.

A statue was erected in Baltimore.

He was elected to the New York University Hall of Fame.

His native town renamed itself in his honor.

Strangely, however, with the passing of the years America's recollection of George Peabody has dimmed. I believe more people in London know who George Peabody was than do the residents of either Peabody, Mass., his home town, or Nashville, where the South's first great teachers college was built out of his philanthropy.

The existence of the Peabody homes in London may be the reason. In 1862, Peabody gave more than \$2,000,000 to build model family dwellings for the city's poor. I have been in a Peabody home and visited a family representing the third generation to live there. Today, 18,000 Londoners still live in these homes, which are well-known in England. More important, they have influenced construction of municipal housing in other crowded cities.

But his greatest gift and the one nearest his heart was the Peabody Education Fund out of which grew Peabody College. To understand what was in his mind one must go back to 1856, the year the wealthy financier returned to the United States after living 20 years in England. He was amazed at the changes, growth, and development he saw.

When he went to England again, even distance could not shut out the slavery controversy and the rumbling quarrel that led to the Civil War. Peabody watched the tragedy with mingled feelings. He was a son of New England but he had begun his climb to the dizzy heights of wealth as a 17-year-old drygoods merchant in the District of Columbia.

The war ended. Peabody came home, determined to put his fortune to great use. The South, he felt, needed his efforts most.

He called together 16 of the most distinguished men in America, Northerners and Southerners. They met at Willard's Hotel in Washington, D.C. Peabody rose and read a letter. Its closing words were

. . . looking forward beyond my stay on earth, as may be permitted to one who has passed the limit of threescore and 10 years, I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before.

I give to you gentlemen, the sum of one million of dollars . . .



for . . . education . . . of the—Southern and Southwestern states of our Union.

I am, Gentlemen, with great Respect,

Your humble Servant,  
GEORGE PEABODY.

There was solemn quiet for a moment, then the men knelt in prayer—Gen. U. S. Grant, Adm. David Farragut, governors, senators and clergymen among them—dedicating the gift and consecrating its use.

The fund helped mold and elevate the South's attitude toward education. It secured better school legislation, added dignity to the teaching profession, and made free education of both whites and Negroes a civil obligation.

Peabody College became the principal legatee of the fund. Barnas Sears, first agent of the fund, selected the University of Nashville as best suited to train teachers for the entire South. With the fund's financial aid in the form of scholarships (they totaled \$570,810), the normal school in Nashville became known as Peabody Normal School in 1875, although its lineage went back to Davidson Academy, which was in existence before Tennessee became a state.

In 1905, the trustees dissolved the fund and concentrated \$1,000,000 on the school on the condition that it be met by \$800,000 raised locally, which was done by 1909, the date of the incorporation of George Peabody College for Teachers.

In 1914 it moved its location from South Nashville to the campus on Twenty-first Ave., South.

That bustling campus is a perennial reminder of George Peabody's words: "Education, a debt due from present to Future Generations." Those were the words which accompanied George Peabody's first philanthropy, a gift of \$20,000 made 103 years ago to his home community in Massachusetts.

In succeeding years Peabody continued to give away his fortune. His money started institutes (each composed of a library and lecture hall and a fund for operation) in Danvers and Peabody, Mass., and Baltimore, Md. He founded four public libraries and three museums of science (including those at Harvard and Yale). He built a church, endowed Phillips Academy at Andover, N. H., gave money to two state historical societies, equipped the first American Arctic expedition and gave liberally to the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

Peabody's career sounds almost too much in the Horatio Alger tradition to be true. He was born poor and lost his father early. He worked to support his mother and the younger of his six brothers and sisters. Aged

19 he started a wholesale drygoods firm. It prospered. In 1827 he sailed to England to negotiate the sale of Southern cotton to British textile mills. In 1837 he returned to England to stay.

In the 1840s he laid the basis of his fortune by buying heavily in American securities when their price was low. He helped market the Mexican War loan, sold British iron to American railroads, became a director, along with Cyrus Field, in the Atlantic Telegraph & Cable Company. He spent 30 years building a private banking house into a competitor of Baring and Rothschild during an era when London was the financial center of the world. His fortune was estimated at about \$20,000,000.

He was generous with that fortune (to his family as well as to the public of two nations: he educated as many of his nephews as showed interest in books) but stingy with the small change in his pocket.

If he sent an office boy for a bag of apples which cost one pence, half-penny, he expected change back.

And to Augustus Hare, the English writer and critic, "Mr. George Peabody . . . was one of the dullest men in the world: he had positively no gift except that of making money."

Another view of him, this one from J. P. Morgan—the J. P. Morgan, who worked for Peabody as a 19-year-old clerk:

"He is a very agreeable gentleman and very full of wit, but a regular old bachelor."

The varying opinions about George Peabody help us see him now, 86 years after his death, in better perspective. He was, after all, flesh and blood, full of crotchets and opinions which do not show in the statuary, the honorary degrees, the offer of knighthood (declined), the medals and the poetry (by Oliver Wendell Holmes) which celebrated him.

He never married, never owned a home. If he was single-minded in the pursuit of wealth he was equally single-minded about putting that wealth into the service of his fellow beings, especially the service of youth.

His sister, Mrs. Judith Peabody Russell, summed it up this way:

"One affection . . . clings to him with a firmer tenacity as age creeps on and . . . follows him through all his wanderings . . . For the children, *all* the children are his children."

# George Peabody (1795-1869), Founder of Modern Philanthropy

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Foreword by Felix C. Robb

America's first great educational philanthropist was a remarkable New England international banker, Mr. George Peabody. From London, where he lived in his latter years, this illustrious but relatively unheralded man made the largest educational benefaction in the history of the United States up to that time.

We are indebted to Dr. Franklin Parker, prominent young historian of education at the University of Oklahoma and our graduate, for writing the definitive Peabody biography from which he fashioned this brief account.

By the magnitude and purpose of his gift, and by establishing a distinguished board to guide the policies of the foundation he created, George Peabody set the pattern for modern large-scale philanthropy. Through the intelligent and generous sharing in his lifetime of his large resources, Mr. Peabody not only perpetuated his life's influence as a great free enterpriser but multiplied and extended it many fold.

In Wall Street, where his name was once legend, Mr. Peabody's fame has faded. But through George Peabody College for Teachers, his life daily takes on new significance in the lives and careers of fine, understanding teachers who obtain their preparation here and then become key persons in our society.

William James once said the greatest use of a life is to spend it for something that outlasts it. This was Mr. Peabody's intent. At Peabody College this illustrious donor who believed that education is "a debt due from present to future generations" fulfilled his purpose by founding an

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independent institution dedicated to the improvement of life through teaching and learning.

Nearly 150,000 former Peabody College students, most of them career teachers, have testified to the power of George Peabody's idea that the education of a teacher is the soundest investment in the future of our nation and our world.

Address by Franklin Parker

A few years ago George Peabody was just a name to me, a name connected with a teachers college in Nashville, Tennessee. I remember how surprised I was to learn that the Peabody Institute of Baltimore was founded by the same George Peabody. Then came a series of surprises: Peabody Institutes and libraries in seven cities; Peabody homes in London, where 18,000 people live; Peabody Bay off Greenland named for him; three Peabody museums of science; statues of him in London and Baltimore, and many honors given him. In the past fourteen months I have read as best I could everything I could find written about him and by him. Happily, his letters exist, 144 boxes of them and more scattered in the United States and England.

Beginning and End

I would like to begin in the year he died, 1869. Ulysses S. Grant was President of the United States. The Civil War was over, but its memory was still strong. It was August. The sun was warm, the breeze blew soft, the leaves were green. In West Virginia at the famous White Sulphur Springs, two elderly men enjoyed the sun and talked about the future. One was George Peabody. The other was Robert E. Lee.<sup>1</sup> One was a businessman; the other, a soldier. They had one thing in common. When the war was over they both turned to education, Robert E. Lee as President of Washington College in Virginia, George Peabody as the founder of the Peabody Education Fund for the South. Mr. Peabody had lived in the North seventeen years and in the South twenty-five years. For thirty-two years he had lived in London. He was seventy-four and very ill. Three months after talking to Robert E. Lee he was to die. He wanted to return to London, with all its fog and smoke, and then spend the winter in the south of France. He sailed to England, landed at Liverpool, and hurried to London to his room and to bed. Friends gathered as they do when death is near. On the night of November 4, 1869, he quietly went to sleep in death.<sup>2</sup>



## Honors

The man who died that day was unusually honored. In his lifetime he was given—

The freedom of the City of London;<sup>3</sup>

Honorary membership in two ancient guilds<sup>4</sup> and in exclusive clubs;

A letter of thanks and a priceless miniature from Queen Victoria;<sup>5</sup>

The offer of knighthood;<sup>6</sup>

A private audience with Pope Pius IX;<sup>7</sup>

A statue in London paid for by common people, none of whom gave more than twenty-five dollars;<sup>8</sup>

Honorary degrees from Harvard<sup>9</sup> and Oxford;<sup>10</sup>

His hometown renamed in his honor;<sup>11</sup>

A congressional resolution of praise and a gold medal;<sup>12</sup>

His name considered for a cabinet position under President Andrew Johnson.<sup>13</sup>

After death—

A statue was erected of him in Baltimore;

South Carolina proposed a statue of him in the United States Capitol;<sup>14</sup>

He was elected to the New York University Hall of Fame.<sup>15</sup>

## Funeral

His funeral was most unusual. His body lay in state for thirty days in Westminster Abbey, the most precious spot of English soil.<sup>16</sup> The memorial stone bearing his name is still there near the grave of England's unknown soldier. His body was sent home for burial in America on H.M.S. *Monarch*, England's newest and greatest warship.<sup>17</sup> The United States Congress,<sup>18</sup> state legislatures,<sup>19</sup> religious bodies,<sup>20</sup> and many organizations passed resolutions of sorrow and sent delegates to his funeral. Queen Victoria sent her son, Prince Arthur. Robert E. Lee wanted to attend but was too ill.<sup>21</sup> Eulogies poured from the press of two continents. Sermons were given on the lesson of his life. Famous men voiced the general sentiment. One of them, Victor Hugo, wrote the following:

On this earth there are men of hate and men of love. Peabody was one of the latter. It is on the face of these men that we see the smile of God.<sup>22</sup>



### Who Was He?

Who was this man? Why was he so honored? What difference did his life make in the way of the world? If I have a thesis at all about the life of George Peabody it can be simply stated in these three points: he was a success; he was a philanthropist; he was a master teacher. George Peabody was a success. He began with nothing, he died a multimillionaire, and he was honest. George Peabody was a philanthropist. He took an old idea, dusted it off, made it practical in his day and common in our time, the idea that private wealth can be used as a public trust to correct private abuse and set ideals for government to emulate. That was the heritage he left us. George Peabody was a master teacher. He taught by example. Others gave because he gave. When the teacher is good and the lesson is noble, the disciples gather and increase. He was a success, a philanthropist, and a master teacher.

### Hard-Won Success

Let us examine the first point: he was a success. How did he make his money? His life began February 18, 1795, 160 years ago, when George Washington was in his second term of office.<sup>23</sup> He had four years of schooling and four years of apprenticeship in a general store in Danvers, Massachusetts. At fifteen, when he was finished with formal training, he was described as tall, slender, and somewhat awkward in appearance.<sup>24</sup>

Several factors influenced him as a boy to move south to the District of Columbia. His father died,<sup>25</sup> leaving him to support his mother and six of his younger brothers and sisters. There was a depression in New England brought on by the embargo before the War of 1812. A fire in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he worked for his brother David, destroyed business prospects.<sup>26</sup> After moving to the South he worked for his uncle, and with a pack on his back sold goods from house to house and store to store in and around Georgetown, D.C.<sup>27</sup> He served for a time in the War of 1812, and one of his messmates was Francis Scott Key. At seventeen he struck out on his own. This is part of his advertisement in a Georgetown, D.C., newspaper:

Just Received and for Sale by George Peabody, Bridge Street.

. . . 30 pair Rose Blankets . . .

20 dozen Gentlemen's leather gloves . . .

1000 pair Ladies Morocco Shoes . . .

200 pieces India cottons . . .

1 case Nuns Thread . . .

20 cases Men's fine Hats . . . .<sup>28</sup>

At nineteen he became junior partner in Riggs, Peabody and Company. By the time he was twenty-nine he was senior partner and Peabody, Riggs and Company expanded from Baltimore to Philadelphia and New York. At thirty-two he went to England for the first time to sell Southern cotton and buy merchandise with the profit.<sup>29</sup> His passport, signed by Henry Clay, described him as six-feet, one-inch, nose rather large, mouth small, chin pointed, forehead low, eyes light blue, hair dark brown.<sup>30</sup> At forty-two he made London, then the money capital of the world, his home. There he laid the basis of his fortune by buying heavily of American state securities after 1837 when their price was low.

In 1848 he helped market the Mexican War loan. He helped finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He sold iron to American railroads. He was a director along with Cyrus Field of the Atlantic Telegraph and Cable Company. In thirty years he built a private banking house, the beginning of the House of Morgan, a house competing with the firms of Baring and Rothschild, which had taken generations to build. In a public address Mr. Peabody said:

Heaven has been pleased to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish . . . a house in the great metropolis of England. . . . I have endeavored . . . to make it an American house, . . . to give it an American atmosphere; to furnish it with American journals; to make it a center for American news, and an agreeable place by my . . . friends visiting London . . . .<sup>31</sup>

Thus we have our first point, how he made his wealth. His fortune has been variously estimated from fourteen to twenty million dollars. All reputable sources agree he was honest. I found no evidence to the contrary.

### Philanthropist

George Peabody was a philanthropist. It was his philanthropy that made him famous; not what he made, but what he gave away; not only what he gave away but the influence his giving had on others. Here are his major gifts, totaling some ten million dollars. He founded three institutes composed of a library, lecture hall, and fund: the Peabody Institutes of Peabody, Massachusetts; Danvers, Massachusetts; and Baltimore, Maryland. He founded four public libraries: the Peabody libraries of Georgetown, Massachusetts; Newburyport, Massachusetts;

Thetford, Vermont; and Georgetown, District of Columbia. He endowed three museums of science, the Peabody Museums of Salem, Harvard, and Yale. He built one church, endowed one academy, Phillips at Andover; and endowed two state historical societies. He established the Peabody homes in London and the education fund in the Southern states. He helped equip the American exhibit at the first world's fair, equipped an early American Arctic expedition, and contributed to the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

### Maryland

There are interesting stories behind each gift. I mention a few which were prominent. His first benefaction was unusual and brought him into public notice in Maryland and among financiers. In 1837 he was appointed one of three commissioners to sell eight million dollars worth of bonds in Europe for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. That was a panic year in American finance. Many states spoke of defaulting on their bonds. The other two commissioners returned home. Mr. Peabody called together twelve leading English bankers, convinced them that Maryland would not repudiate its obligations, sold most of the bonds, saved the credit of Maryland and other states, and returned his commission of sixty thousand dollars<sup>32</sup> to the treasurer of the state of Maryland.<sup>33</sup>

### First World's Fair

In 1851 Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria, planned the Great Exhibition, the first world's fair, in London. The United States asked for and received a large floor space. Shiploads of American products arrived but there was no money to set up the exhibit. London newspapers began to ridicule the sorry show America was making. What Congress should have done, Mr. Peabody did as a private citizen.<sup>34</sup> His loan of fifteen thousand dollars enabled American products and arts to be proudly shown for the first time at the first world's fair.<sup>35</sup>

### First Gift

The next year, 1852, his hometown of Danvers celebrated its centennial. Mr. Peabody, in London, could not attend but sent an envelope. In it was the sentiment which has since become the motto of this college: "Education, a debt due from Present to Future Generations." With that noble sentiment, 103 years ago, was enclosed his gift of twenty thousand dollars for his first institute.<sup>36</sup>

### London Homes

Mr. Peabody's gift to the poor of London created a sensation. The gift was large, more than two million dollars, the purpose was noble, and the surprise was great that an American should give it. Mr. Peabody's first plan was a large donation to Lord Shaftsbury's Ragged School Union. When approached on this subject Lord Shaftsbury described the wretched living conditions of the poor, the overcrowding and sickness, the prostration of all energy. It was impossible to do anything for the poor until they could live better. Model family dwellings would be a better use of Mr. Peabody's gift than the Ragged Schools.<sup>37</sup> I have been in a Peabody home and had the privilege of visiting a family representing the third generation to live in that Peabody home. Eighteen thousand people, enough to populate a small city, still live in these homes. They have influenced municipal housing in other crowded cities. These homes are well known, and I believe George Peabody is better known by name among the common people of London than he is in Nashville, Tennessee, or Peabody, Massachusetts, his own hometown.

### Schools for the South

Now I want to speak about the Peabody Education Fund, out of which was born George Peabody College For Teachers. It was Mr. Peabody's greatest gift and the one nearest his heart. This fund grew out of the tragedy of the Civil War. There is reason to believe that the money which went into it was originally intended for the poor of the city of New York.<sup>38</sup> The Civil War changed that plan. Mr. Peabody had been absent from the country for twenty years. He returned in 1856 and like Rip Van Winkle he was amazed at the changes, the growth, the people. The slavery controversy was at its height. Mr. Peabody regarded the extremists of both sides as equally mischievous.<sup>39</sup> He returned to London amid the rumbling of Civil War. He watched the painful conflict from afar. When the war was over he came back. The whole country was dear to him, but the land of his young manhood needed his efforts most. The South was in ruins. It had no public school system worthy of the name. Mr. Peabody was then seventy-one years old, often crippled with illness, with only three years to live, and his greatest work before him. He called together sixteen of the most distinguished men in America, Northern and Southern-born. They met at Willard's Hotel in Washington, D.C., February 7, 1867. Mr. Peabody rose. He read his letter establishing the fund. There was a solemn quiet as the blessing of Almighty God was called upon. They knelt in a circle of prayer. On bended knees they



dedicated the gift for education and consecrated its use for the children of the South. That moment, according to President Bruce R. Payne, two years after Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, was the first guarantee of a reunited country.<sup>40</sup>

### Peabody College

A number of books have been written about the Peabody Education Fund and the men connected with it. I can best sum up its contribution in four directions, each of which meant so much to the South: it molded and elevated educational sentiment, secured better school legislation, lifted the profession of teaching, and made the free education of both races a civil obligation.<sup>41</sup> Let me here trace how George Peabody College for Teachers grew out of the Peabody Education Fund. By 1875 the Fund supported teacher-training schools. Barnas Sears, the first agent, selected the University of Nashville as best suited out of which to create a normal school to serve the South. With the Fund's financial support in the form of scholarships, the normal school in Nashville became known as Peabody Normal School in 1875, although its lineage went back to Davidson Academy, established (1785) before Tennessee was a state.

In 1905 the trustees dissolved the Fund and concentrated one million dollars, plus an equal amount locally matched, into George Peabody College For Teachers. In 1914 it moved from South Nashville to its present Hillsboro location where the cooperative program of Vanderbilt University, George Peabody College For Teachers, and Scarritt College lends mutual strength and improved facilities. Mr. Peabody never saw this great teachers college in its present form. If he could see it now he would be proud of the seed he planted, proud of the trustees, administrators, faculty, staff, students, alumni, and all who contribute to its high purpose—to train teachers and educational leaders for the South and the Nation.

### Museums of Science

In the field of science Mr. Peabody's philanthropy made three contributions. First, he made possible the career of the first professor of paleontology in America at Yale University.<sup>42</sup> He did this by paying for the education of his nephew, Dr. Othniel Charles Marsh, who was co-worker with Charles Darwin, Thomas Huxley, and Herbert Spencer in the great controversy over evolution.<sup>43</sup> Second, Mr. Peabody's endowment of museums at Harvard and Yale Universities helped establish



science as a proper subject to be taught alongside classical studies. These museums were endowed seven years after the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, when science as a school subject fought its hardest fight to overcome opposition from religious groups.<sup>44</sup> Third, Mr. Peabody's donation to Harvard University created the first museum of anthropology (then divided into archaeology and ethnology) in an institution of higher learning in the United States.<sup>45</sup>

### Libraries and Adult Education

One last thing may be said in evaluating Mr. Peabody as a philanthropist. To say he founded institutes with libraries and lectures is not enough. This audience knows of the cultural impact of the lyceum movement in the nineteenth century. The Peabody Institutes were of the lyceum and Chautauqua stamp. They were the instruments of adult education a century ago. The Peabody Institutes were something more. They were privately endowed public libraries open to all. The fact that they were in existence and used helped stimulate public interest and support for the public library movement. Look for a moment at the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. Its conservatory of music holds an eminent place among schools of music. Its reference library served as Baltimore's first and only public library for twenty years.<sup>46</sup> This library has rendered valuable service to scholars, writers, and the general public for almost a century. The Enoch Pratt Free Public Library of Baltimore, one of the great public libraries of America, was a result, in part, of Enoch Pratt's experience as a trustee of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.<sup>47</sup>

### Master Teacher

George Peabody was a master teacher. He taught by example. We may never know with preciseness the men influenced in their philanthropy by his example. Daniel Coit Gilman, first president of Johns Hopkins University, a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, himself close to the facts and an excellent authority, lists the following men who were influenced in their giving by Mr. Peabody's example: John F. Slater, of the Slater Fund; Daniel Hand, who gave one million dollars to the American Missionary Association; Johns Hopkins, whom I shall mention in a moment; Enoch Pratt, already referred to.<sup>48</sup> J. L. M. Curry, second agent of the Peabody Education Fund, also close to the facts, adds the names of philanthropists Paul Tulane of Tulane University and Maurice Baron de Hirsch of the Hirsch Foundation.<sup>49</sup>

### Why He Gave

It is surprising to learn that George Peabody played a part in the founding of the first graduate university in America, but he did. He was one of several men who influenced Johns Hopkins. The two men met one evening at the invitation of John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. To Mr. Hopkins, who was then thinking about creating a philanthropic foundation, Mr. Peabody explained why he had become a philanthropist himself.

When aches and pains came upon me, I realized I was not immortal. I became anxious to use my millions for the greatest good of humanity. I found that there were men in life just as anxious to help the poor and destitute as I was to make money. I called in friends in whom I had confidence and asked them to be trustees for my first gift. They accepted. For the first time I felt a higher pleasure and greater happiness than making money—that of giving it away for good purposes.<sup>50</sup>

Twenty-four hours after this meeting with Mr. Peabody, Johns Hopkins made out his will establishing the university and the medical school which bear his name.

### Ambassador of Good Will

George Peabody was a master teacher in still another direction. There is no doubt that he helped establish friendlier relations between England and the United States. In thirty-two years of residence in London he was truly an unofficial ambassador of goodwill. For years on the Fourth of July he gave dinners to which came leading Englishmen and Americans. These dinners were instruments of understanding and friendship. It was Mr. Peabody's practice first to toast the Queen and then the President of the United States. To celebrate American Independence Day in the capital of the British Empire one hundred years ago was a daring thing for an American to do; to toast the Monarch first was even more daring. Only once, in 1854, did unfavorable reaction occur. Dan Sickles, Secretary of the American Legation, walked out, and James Buchanan, U.S. Minister, is reported to have remained seated during the toast to the Queen.<sup>51</sup>

What these international dinners meant is best expressed in the following letter from Abbott Lawrence, U.S. Minister to England:

Your idea of bringing together the inhabitants of two of the greatest nations upon earth . . . was a most felicitous conception. . . . Your

reward must be found in the consciousness of having done that which was never before attempted.<sup>52</sup>

Four times during Mr. Peabody's residence in England our countries clashed: over the Maine boundary, the Oregon question, the *Trent* Affair, and the *Alabama* Claims. Mr. Peabody died during the *Alabama* Claims controversy; our countries stood on the brink of war. The funeral honors which the British government paid to Mr. Peabody pleased Americans and Englishmen alike, and helped cool war-angry tempers during the *Alabama* settlement. Both peoples united in their common loss. In a major address soon after Mr. Peabody's death Prime Minister Gladstone was able to say in relation to him, "With *his* country we are not likely to quarrel."<sup>53</sup>

### Frugality and Generosity

As with all public figures Mr. Peabody was criticized and unflattering anecdotes were told about him. John Pierpont Morgan, when nineteen years old, worked for Mr. Peabody. This is the way he described Mr. Peabody in a letter to his cousin:

. . . He is a very agreeable gentleman and very full of wit, but a regular old bachelor [sic]. If you could have seen the quantity of nic-nacs which he carried with him to America and which were stored away in his trunks . . . you would . . . have thought he was going . . . to some unexplored regions.<sup>54</sup>

Augustus Hare, writer and critic, knew Mr. Peabody and described him as follows in his autobiography:

Mr. George Peabody—"Uncle George," as Americans . . . call him—was one of the dullest men in the world: he had positively no gift except that of making money . . . .<sup>55</sup>

A few months ago in England my wife and I met Mr. Cuthbert-Brown, a man of seventy, still active as chief clerk of Grenfell, Morgan and Company, the present descendant of Mr. Peabody's banking house. His father had been in the employ of Junius S. Morgan, Mr. Peabody's partner. He himself had been in the employ of John Pierpont Morgan. Mr. Cuthbert-Brown told us the following anecdote which came to him from Purman, one of Mr. Peabody's clerks:

Mr. Peabody was fond of apples. He often sent an office boy for a bag of apples which cost one pence half-penny, usually giving him two pence. The boy always longed for that half-penny change as a tip,

but when Mr. Peabody got his apples he never failed to ask for that half-penny change, to the disappointment of the youngster.<sup>56</sup>

### Future Generations

George Peabody was a success, a philanthropist, a master teacher. The boy who spent less than four years in school became the man who helped make public education a stepping stone for future generations. His feeling about the value of education was made more sensitive by his own lack of it. To his nephews and nieces he offered every opportunity for education they would accept. To one nephew he wrote:

. . . deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late . . .<sup>57</sup>

How do you explain a man like Mr. Peabody—a man who used obstacles as challenges, who performed difficult tasks on his own initiative, who exerted persistent effort, and who centered undivided attention to the task at hand? His life was composed of those things from which legends grow. Born poor, he died rich. Parsimonious in accumulating, he was generous in giving. Little schooled himself, he gave his wealth for education. Northern-born, he was a Southern benefactor.

When we look at his ancestry we find that the first Peabody of Massachusetts left England fifteen years after the landing of the *Mayflower*. His ancestral home was Glen Magna, near Leicester, where John Wycliffe preached and where his influence was strong.<sup>58</sup> One element of his character, a product of this Puritan ancestry, was a pushing, persistent, pioneer drive.

### Reform

There was another element which influenced him: 1837, the year George Peabody went to London to live, the year Queen Victoria ascended the throne and Charles Dickens finished *Pickwick Papers*, was a year of reform. A liberal movement long pent up burst forth in England: the combination laws were repealed, the Reform Bill was passed, the poor law was amended. The time was ripe for reformers like Charles Dickens, John Wilberforce, Caroline Fry, Florence Nightingale, and



others. It was in this age of reform that George Peabody, son of Massachusetts, founded in slum-ridden London model family dwellings.

In an age of intellectual awakening he built libraries, stimulated science, aided public and adult education. In an age of communication he was a director of the Atlantic Telegraph and Cable Company, helped finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In an age of commercial enterprise his banking house was one of the roots of the House of Morgan. In an age of tragic destruction, in a Southland crushed in defeat, his vision created the fund which blew back the breath of life into Southern education.

### Eternal Quest

We are still left with that unanswerable question—what was the secret of his life? Mr. Peabody's search was as old as life itself: for self-fulfillment, for achievement. In his youth commercial enterprise was the only way open to him. He applied himself and was successful. When his wealth began to mount he looked at the money he was making and wondered why he had been so favored. When illness came upon him he realized in his inner being that happiness came as a by-product of doing that which is good and that which is noble. He determined to use his wealth as a public trust to correct private abuse and to set ideals for government to emulate. He resolved to use with prudence what Providence had given him. Like the tiniest mountain rivulet which finds its way over rock and rill and at last flows out to the sea, a great religious idealism grew in him until it brought forth rich fruit. Like a pebble dropped in calm water the influence of a higher power spread from him in ever-widening circles. Five days before he died he wrote to friends:

For a score of years I have prayed daily to God to spare my life to carry out the work I was endeavoring in my feeble way to accomplish, and He has done it.<sup>59</sup>

To Robert Charles Winthrop, before whom he laid his plan for the education fund for the South, and who wondered at its magnitude and sublime purpose, Mr. Peabody said:

Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; . . . I have prayed my Heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled before I died, to show my gratitude by doing some great good to my fellowmen.<sup>60</sup>

Those last words are cut into the granite marker of his memorial in

Westminster Abbey. They form a fitting epitaph. But the institutions he founded—libraries in seven cities, a great conservatory of music, a great teachers college, three museums of science, homes in London—these institutions, still serving, still doing good, remain his *everlasting* memorial.

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<sup>3</sup>Corporation of London. *London's Roll of Fame* (London, Cassell & Co., 1884), pp. 263-266.

<sup>4</sup>Clothworkers Company of London. *Court Orders of the Clothworkers Company*, 2nd July, 1862. Fishmongers Company of London. *Court Minutes*, 19th April, 1866.

<sup>5</sup>The Queen's letter and miniature, the Freedom of the City of London in gold box deposited in Peabody Institute, Peabody, Mass. *London Times*, April 2, 1866, p. 9; August 2, 1866, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup>Royal Archives, Windsor Castle. By permission.

<sup>7</sup>White, Andrew Dickson. *Autobiography* (N. Y., The Century Co., 1906), vol. 2, p. 24. Also Winthrop, Robert Charles. "Remarks of President Winthrop," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. 10, October, 1868, p. 339.

<sup>8</sup>*Minutes of Committee for Erecting a Statue to Mr. George Peabody* (Ms 192 Guildhall Library, London, 1862-1866). Also *London Times*, May 25, 1866, p. 9. Also *N. Y. Herald*, June 4, 1866, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>*Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 18, 1867. For charge that Harvard was exchanging an honorary degree for Mr. Peabody's donation of \$150,000, see *Worcester Daily Spy*, July 26, 1867.

<sup>10</sup>Oxford, England, newspapers. *University Herald*, June 29, 1867, p. 9. *Chronicle*, June 29, 1867. *Times*, June 29, 1867, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>In 1752 Danvers incorporated as separate township from Salem, Mass. May 18, 1855, Danvers divided into South Danvers and Danvers. By act of Legislature April 13, 1866, South Danvers renamed Peabody. 1916 Peabody became a city. Present population about 22,000. Main industry leather tanning. Sometimes called "the world's largest leather city." 19 miles north of Boston.

<sup>12</sup>*N. Y. Times*, January 29, 1869, p. 5. *N. Y. Herald*, March 9, 1867.

<sup>13</sup>Admiral Farragut was proposed as Secretary of the Navy and Mr. Peabody as Secretary of the Treasury. Milton, George Fort. *The Age of Hate, Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (N. Y., Coward McCann, 1930) p. 385. Also Lewis, Charles Lee. *David Glasgow Farragut, America's First Admiral* (Annapolis, Md., U.S. Naval Academy, 1943), vol. 2, p. 334.

<sup>14</sup>(Courtenay, William Ashmead). *A Memoir of George Peabody. Proceedings of the General Assembly of South Carolina, proposing concerted action by the Southern States for placing a Statue of the Philanthropist in the Capitol of Washington* (Charleston, S. C., 1896).

<sup>15</sup>MacCracken, Henry Mitchell. *The Hall of Fame* (N. Y., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), p. 180.

<sup>16</sup>Stanley, A. P. *Recollections of Dean Stanley; Funerals in Westminster Abbey* (Unpublished manuscript in Archives of Westminster Abbey, London), p. 22.

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George Peabody (1795-1869), Founder of Modern Philanthropy

<sup>19</sup>State of Maine. *Journal of the House of Representatives and Journal of the Senate*, 49th Legislature, January 6, 17, 18, 22, 25, 26, 28, 1870. Also *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York at their Ninety-third Session . . .* (Albany, N. Y., Argus Co., 1870), p. 75.

<sup>20</sup>Philadelphia, Pa. *Protokolle der Rabbiner-Conferenetz Abgehalten zu Philadelphia, vom 3 bis zum 6 November, 1869* (N. Y., S. Hect, 1870).

<sup>21</sup>Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

<sup>22</sup>London Times, December 13, 1869, p. 6, c. A.

<sup>23</sup>George, son of Thomas and Judith Peabody, born February 18, 1795, third of eight children. *Vital Records of Danvers, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849, vol. 1—Births* (Salem, Mass., Essex Institute, 1909), p. 258.

<sup>24</sup>Concord, N. H. *Independent Democrat*, February 10, 1870.

<sup>25</sup>May 13, 1811, *Vital Records, op. cit.*, vol. II—*Marriages & Deaths*, p. 423.

<sup>26</sup>*An Account of the Great Fire Which Destroyed About 250 Buildings in Newburyport on the Night of 31st of May 1811*, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup>Schuchert, Charles, and Clara M. LeVene. O. C. Marsh, *Pioneer in Paleontology* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1940), p. 70.

<sup>28</sup>Georgetown, D.C. *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, September 30, 1812; December 28, 1812.

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<sup>30</sup>1837 passport, George Peabody Papers, Essex Institute Library, Salem, Mass.

<sup>31</sup>(Danvers, Mass.). *Proceedings at the Reception and Dinner in Honor of George Peabody, Esq., of London, in Danvers, October 9, 1856* (Boston, Henry W. Dutton, 1856), p. 51.

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<sup>37</sup>Charles McIlvaine to George Peabody, February 9 [1859], Peabody Papers, *op. cit.*

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<sup>40</sup>Payne, Bruce R. *George Peabody; an address delivered on Founder's Day, February 18, 1916* (Nashville, Tenn., George Peabody College For Teachers, 1940). Also *The Semi-Centennial of George Peabody College For Teachers, 1875-1925* (Nashville, Tenn., George Peabody College For Teachers, 1925), p. 82.

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<sup>42</sup>Schuchert & LeVene, *op. cit.*, p. 1. Also Lewis, Wilmarth. *Yale Collections* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946), p. 28.

<sup>43</sup>Schuchert & LeVene, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Also Darwin, Charles. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* (N. Y., D. Appleton & Co., 1887), vol. 2, p. 417.

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<sup>47</sup>Hart, Richard H. *Enoch Pratt, the Story of a Plain Man* (Baltimore, Md., Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1953), p. 47.

<sup>48</sup>Gilman, Daniel Coit, "Thirty Years of the Peabody Education Fund," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 79, no. 472, February, 1897, pp. 165-166.

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<sup>50</sup>Condensed from Garrett, John W. *Address delivered on the 30th of January, 1883, before the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore on the Occasion of their Thirtieth Anniversary* (Baltimore, Md., The News Steam Printing Office, 1883), p. 10. Also Gilman, Daniel Coit. *The Launching of a University and other Papers* (N. Y., Dobb, Mead & Co., 1906), pp. 10-12. Also in *Hullabaloo*, 1899, Johns Hopkins University Yearbook. Also French, John C. *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore, Md., The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946), pp. 10, 12. Also Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

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<sup>54</sup>Satterlee, Herbert L. *The Life of J. Pierpont Morgan* (N. Y., Privately Printed, 1937), p. 284.

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<sup>56</sup>Anecdote related to author November, 1954, by Mr. Cuthbert-Brown, chief clerk, Grenfell, Morgan & Co., London.

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<sup>58</sup>Pope, Charles, Editor. *Peabody Genealogy* (Boston, 1909), pp. xiii, xvi, xvii.

<sup>59</sup>Salem, Mass., *Salem Gazette*, November 16, 1869.

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# The Girl George Peabody Almost Married

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All the world loves a lover. All the world loves a hero. George Peabody, 1795-1869, was the Prince Charming of American Philanthropy, the hero of ante-bellum business.

In his teens he was a pedlar with a pack on his back tramping the back roads of Georgetown, District of Columbia. In his twenties and thirties he was a wholesale merchant selling various imported dry goods up and down the Atlantic coastline. In his forties he was a broker arranging for the purchase, selling, and shipping of wheat, articles of clothing, iron, and other products. In his fifties and sixties he was an international banker, an American living in London for thirty-two years, dealing in American bonds and stocks.

In one lifetime he gathered together a fortune. Born poor he died a multi-millionaire. Then, in the last years of his life he gave away most of that fortune. He built libraries, lecture halls, museums of science all over America. In London he built a two million dollar series of low cost housing projects. To the people of the South he gave his greatest gift, two million dollars to create the Peabody Education Fund.

Two years after the devastating War Between the States, and for thirty years after, this first multi-million dollar fund helped build schools and train teachers in the ruined Southern states. When its work was over, when the individual states of the South had revived and rebuilt their schools, the Fund helped establish George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville as a great teachers college serving the South and the Nation.

Such was George Peabody, a devoted friend of the South though born in Massachusetts. Yet little is known about his personal life. This six-foot-one-inch, magnificently framed man with blue eyes, large nose, grey hair with beautiful white sideburns, kept his private life a mystery. He

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never married. But women found him attractive, silent, vibrant. For long years he lived alone, apart. In the morning he went to his dingy counting house in Throgmorton Street just off the financial district of London. All day he handled invoices, kept his books, wrote his business correspondence, bought and sold bonds. When night came he took his umbrella and waited in the London fog for the cheapest horse-drawn bus to carry him to his bachelor apartment.

Few people really ever knew him. He was a mystery, an enigma, a man dedicated to his routine, quietly but determinedly building up a fortune. In his lifetime he was worth about twenty million dollars. Then, with dramatic suddenness in his old age he began to give his money away. Stingy to the point of self-denial with himself, he lavishly gave ten million dollars to education and to science. He became the founder of Modern Philanthropy, the example after which today's educational endowments are patterned.

Queen Victoria offered to make him Sir George Peabody. He refused. Instead he accepted from the Queen a priceless portrait in miniature. He gave it as a treasure to the American people. He was made an honorary freedman of the City of London. In gratitude for the homes he erected for the poor of London, the citizens paid for a statue to his memory. This statue of George Peabody, the American, still stands in London near the Royal Exchange on the most expensive piece of property in London just a stone's throw from the very streets he trod.

A grateful Congress recognized his gift to Southern education as a national gift. The people of the United States, through their representatives in Congress, gave him a gold medal. When he died all England paid him homage by permitting his body to lie in state in Westminster Abbey, the valhalla of Great Britain's Kings and Queens, the burial place of its greatest heroes. But he wanted to be buried in America. So his body was taken across the broad Atlantic on a British ship of war, flanked by American vessels as a guard of honor.

Only once did he let a little light fall on the mystery of his life. On the day he unpacked the portrait of the Queen he said to a friend:

"Mr. Humphrey, after my disappointment a long time ago I promised I would dedicate myself to do great things for mankind."

This was the first and only time George Peabody hinted at the one romance in his life. He was once in love. He had been engaged. Something happened. The engagement was broken. George Peabody burned every letter, destroyed all evidence, wiped away from prying eyes the story of this broken love affair. He closed the book of history on his broken heart. He never loved another woman. From that time on he

bent his mind with furious concentration solely on the making of money, and more money.

The full story of the girl George Peabody almost married has never been told. It was whispered about. But no man ever knew all the facts. He never mentioned her. He never named her. He never referred to the incident. It was closed, over, barred forever to the eyes of the world.

Yet in his heart of hearts, in his secret being, within his soul, he remembered. His hidden love for one woman transformed his life. He made money only to give it away. Out of loneliness came greatness. Out of parsimony came magnificent generosity.

The dust of a hundred years has settled on the mystery of the girl George Peabody almost married. No man can wipe away completely all traces of even one bit of history. George Peabody burned her letters. But there are still in existence letters of friends mentioning the affair. No man can kill rumor. George Peabody never let her name form on his lips. But there were rumors and some of them found their way into newspapers after his death. No man can hide a burning love story. George Peabody tried. Yet bits of evidence remain.

Her name was Esther Hoppin. She was the most beautiful girl in Providence, Rhode Island. The Hoppins had been a distinguished family of Providence since the time of the American Revolution. The lovely Esther had education, breeding, charm.

At sixteen Esther visited Philadelphia. There she met a young man. His name was Alexander Lardner. Budding youth drew them together. The friendship ripened into something more. But Esther was too young. Alexander Lardner had not yet made his way in the world. They separated. Two years passed by.

Esther went to Europe on a visit in 1837. It was the beginning of a new age. It was Queen Victoria's coronation year. Esther sailed on the first steam-powered trans-oceanic liner. George Peabody saw her in London. He was struck on the instant with her beauty, her grace, her charm. Once to every man there comes a moment when time itself stands still, life reaches a poignant apex. Nothing is what it was. Nothing was what it is. Time stands still. Life is beautiful. George Peabody was in love. He walked on air. The enchanting Esther Hoppin captured him completely. Into a lonely life came light, warmth, love.

So far romance had not nudged him. When it came it was in large measure. This was a woman to grace a man's arms. This was a woman to give gifts to, to build a home for, to call a wife, to create a dynasty. George Peabody proposed. Esther Hoppin accepted. They became engaged.

Esther was eighteen. George Peabody was forty-two. Friends considered it a wonderful match. George Peabody was a rising man in busi-



ness. True, he had passed the flower of youth. There was twenty-four years' difference between them. But George Peabody was still in the prime of life. Esther's mature beauty and gracious charm made her look older. Friends encouraged the engagement. It became a special topic of conversation. The sun shone. The future looked bright. Happiness was in the air.

Esther returned to the United States. George Peabody sent her expensive furs and jewels. He began to trace his ancestry and uncovered the Peabody coat of arms. He would have sons and his business would be handed down from generation to generation. The dynasty of George Peabody was to be founded.

But the course of true love did not run smoothly. Esther was back in Providence. Alexander Lardner, the young Philadelphian, was in Providence too. They met again. The budding love of three years gone by returned. Esther hesitated. The eternal problem descended upon her. She realized her engagement to George Peabody had been a mistake. She loved Alexander Lardner.

Esther wrote to George Peabody and explained the whole matter. In London her letter had a profound effect. How many times he read the letter we will never know. What his thoughts were he kept secret. If his hopes were crushed he said nothing. If his heart was broken he showed it to no one. Esther returned the furs. She returned the jewels. George Peabody silently gave them away. He released her. Esther married Alexander Lardner.

George Peabody disappeared from the social life of London. He went to his counting house and buried himself in work. Business became a passion with him. He never swerved from it. Daily routine became, like breathing, his way of life. Slowly, patiently, with dogged effort he made George Peabody and Company a respected, successful banking house. He became one of the largest dealers in American stocks and bonds. He made a fortune. Then, with dramatic suddenness, he gave it away.

The whole course of his activities would have been different. Had he married and had children there probably would not have been Peabody Institutes, Peabody Museums, Peabody Homes, and George Peabody College For Teachers. All the rich and fruitful philanthropy of a master benefactor would not have been. Schools in the Southern states would never have been aided by his Fund. A little bit of American history would not have happened. George Peabody, the great philanthropist, would never have emerged.

Out of disappointment came appointment. From a broken love came a greater love. From a wounded soul came a healing richness. Out of tragedy he made success. From stinginess came generosity. From pain



came joy. George Peabody, the disappointed lover, became George Peabody the world's greatest philanthropist of his time.

And Esther, lovely Esther? What happened to her? She went to live in Philadelphia. Her marriage was happy. She had one daughter. Alexander Lardner died. Esther herself lived to a ripe old age. She outlived George Peabody by thirty-five years.

What has come down to us of Esther is a portrait by the famed artist, Thomas Sully. It shows her in all her glory. Her curled auburn hair falls in ringlets upon her bare shoulders. Her soft eyes look off into the misty distance. Her classical features and round face hold an enigmatic expression. A thin smile graces her full lips.

Evangeline had her lover. Dante had his Beatrice. George Peabody had his Esther. All the world loves a lover. All the world loves a hero.

What is left is a memory. A memory of days gone by. A memory of 118 years ago. A memory of care-free days in London. In the year 1838. When a man and a girl walked arm in arm toward the setting sun.

# George Peabody and the Spirit of America

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This is the story of two bronze doors. The story begins on May 18, 1904. An American sculptor born in Italy, Louis Amateis, signed a contract on that day to design two enormous bronze doors. Two things make this incident important to us. First, the doors would someday be installed in the Capitol Building of the United States of America. Second, George Peabody, 1795-1869, Founder of Modern Philanthropy, was one of the featured figures in the artist's grand design.

The photograph of the two bronze doors shown here does not capture the effect one feels as he actually views the enormous doors. Each door contains four elaborate, sculptured tableaux. A remarkable transom panel is atop the bronze doors. This transom panel is titled "Apotheosis of America." Here artist Louis Amateis tried to express his vision of the spirit of America. America is depicted as a noble figure seated in a chariot with outstretched arms. The chariot is drawn by lions, the symbol of power. But it is not power that dominates for the lions are themselves led by a child. Here we have a representation of great force guided and directed by the superiority of human intellect. Following the chariot on either side are figures representing scholarship, architecture, literature, painting, music, sculpture, mining, commerce, industry. The figure of America stretches forth his arms to embrace these arts and sciences.

On the right side of the transom tableau is the figure of Thomas Jefferson. Matching him on the left is that of Benjamin Franklin. In each corner of the panel is a bas-relief of four Americans. They represent the budding intellectual maturity of a new nation. From right top clockwise, they are George Peabody, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Johns Hopkins, and Horace Mann. Sculptor Louis Amateis chose these six men to represent the yearning spirit of America: Benjamin Franklin, the practical states-

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man and scientist; Thomas Jefferson, planner of the University of Virginia, model of state universities; George Peabody, founder of educational institutions whose example inspired modern philanthropy; Ralph Waldo Emerson, poet, essayist, lecturer, philosopher of American Idealism; Johns Hopkins, founder of the first graduate university in America; Horace Mann, whose tax-supported, state-administered, free public education plan spread from Massachusetts throughout the land. This then is the Spirit of America as Louis Amateis' poetic soul saw it, as his historic mind named it, and his sensitive sculptor's hands carved it.

Who was Louis Amateis? What has happened to the two bronze doors? The many-figured panels, the superbly symbolic transom, the enormity and total concept of the two bronze doors are the basis for Louis Amateis' lasting fame. It is his best known work. He was born in the city of Turin near the Mediterranean. Italy was not then united and Turin was in the country of Piedmont. In 1855, the year Amateis was born, George Peabody, the man whose face he was to carve in bas-relief on the two bronze doors half a century later, was approaching his sixty-first birthday. Peabody was a successful international banker, an American living and working in London, known only to a comparatively small circle. When Louis Amateis was born George Peabody was on the verge of one of the most remarkable giveaway programs of all time. With unusual acumen he was developing his plan and laying a sure foundation for the beginning of modern educational philanthropy. While Louis Amateis was growing up George Peabody was founding libraries, institutes, lyceums, music halls, lecture funds, model homes for the poor on two continents, and a multi-million dollar education fund for the impoverished Southern States. George Peabody died. His institutes went on doing good, influencing other men of wealth to do likewise. During this time Louis Amateis' natural genius for sculpturing was being developed. When he graduated from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Turin he won a gold medal for his high artistic attainment. Not only did his sculptural work receive honorable mention at a National Exhibition in his country but he competed successfully for a commission to do the sculptural decorations for the Palace of Fine Arts in Turin. He studied in Paris and Milan.

In 1881 Louis Amateis came to live and work in the New World. In New York he did architectural sculpture for the firm of McKim, Meade and White. In 1893 he left New York to become a professor of art and architecture at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., then known as Columbian University. The next year he signed the contract to design and make a model of the two bronze doors. He finished his model about 1908. The two doors and transom were cast in

solid bronze in 1909-1910. Two New York firms were responsible for the finished product, the Roman Bronze Company and John Williams, Inc. Louis Amateis worked in Washington, D.C., for the rest of his life. His artistic creations were installed in various parts of the country. Surprisingly, much of his work is in the state of Texas. Louis Amateis died in West Falls Church, Virginia, March 16, 1913.

These are his works:

Busts of:

President Chester A. Arthur; Secretaries of State Thomas F. Bayard and James G. Blaine; Generals Winfield S. Hancock and John A. Logan; Industrialist-Philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. Washington, D.C., Heirrich Mausoleum; Millford, Conn., Memorial Monument of Nathan A. Baldwin; Mobile, Ala., Father Rhine Monument; Corsicana, Texas, The Call to Arms Monument; Houston, Angel of Peace Monument; Galveston, Monument to Texas Heroes.

What finally happened to the two bronze doors? They were originally ordered to be placed at the west entrance of the United States Capitol Building. In order to install them, however, some minor structural changes in the Capitol Building itself had to be done. This reconstruction is still pending. Meanwhile, for years, the two bronze doors and the remarkable transom panel have been on view at the north entrance of the National Museum Building, Washington, D.C. Someday soon they will be moved to the United States Capitol Building. When this happens the story of the two bronze doors will have ended. George Peabody, founder of modern philanthropy, representing the Spirit of America, will be in the Capitol Building of the United States of America.



# George Peabody and Maryland

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Maryland has long been proud of one of its great citizens and benefactors, George Peabody, 1795-1869, founder of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. This article briefly traces his relationship with Maryland and the Maryland Historical Society.

Unlike Maryland-born Johns Hopkins, whom he influenced, Peabody was a New Englander, born in South Danvers (now Peabody), near Salem, Massachusetts. His school years were short and he was apprenticed to a country storekeeper at age eleven. The death of his father when young Peabody was fifteen made him take on the support of the family of seven members. At age seventeen he went with his uncle to Georgetown, D.C., where the older relative opened a dry goods store. Young Peabody worked for a time as a pack peddler selling goods and wearing apparel in and around the city. He enlisted in the War of 1812 in Captain George Peter's Company and served with such famous Marylanders as Francis Scott Key, John Pendleton Kennedy, and Elisha Riggs.<sup>1</sup> Kennedy later recalled Peabody in those days as a "trig young soldier," wearing a flashy blue and scarlet uniform with crossed belts and a nodding plume in his hat.<sup>2</sup>

Elisha Riggs of Montgomery County, Maryland, an older and established merchant, invited the nineteen-year-old Peabody to become his partner in 1814. The dry goods importing firm of Riggs, Peabody & Co. soon moved to Baltimore and ten years later had branch offices in New York and Philadelphia. When Elisha Riggs withdrew from the firm in 1829, his nephew, Samuel Riggs, took his place while Peabody became

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<sup>1</sup>Veterans Records of the War of 1812, Record Group No. 15A, National Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Kennedy's Journal, "Sketch of George Peabody," LXXIII, Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

the senior partner.<sup>3</sup> Baltimore was an excellent city in which to lay the foundation of a fortune. By 1830 it had outstripped Boston and Philadelphia in size and stood second to New York as a commercial city.<sup>4</sup> Sometime during this early period of busy commercial endeavor Peabody had determined that should his fortune rise, he would give liberally for educational causes. As early as 1832, in his amended will, just before going to Europe for his third buying trip, Peabody set aside \$2,000 for the infant school of Baltimore and \$20,000 to the mayor and city council of Baltimore to be used for educational purposes.<sup>5</sup>

During his fifth European trip, which kept him in London as a merchant and banker for almost the rest of his life, Peabody was commissioned to sell Maryland's eight million dollar bond issue to promote the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Under the difficult handicaps of the financial Panic of 1837 and the temporary repudiation of indebtedness by nine American states, including Maryland, he sold the bonds and upheld Maryland's reputation abroad. Not wishing to add to Maryland's burdens he never claimed the \$60,000 commission due him for his services, a fact which did not become known until 1847.

Meanwhile Peabody established himself in London as a merchant for Peabody, Riggs and Co., and after 1843 as a banker for his own firm, George Peabody and Co. He entertained visiting Americans, particularly Marylanders, one of whom, William S. Albert, described his kindness as follows:

In 1838, when on a visit to London, I lodged in the same house with him for several weeks. Under the same roof were assembled mutual friends from the city of his adoption, upon whom he took pleasure in bestowing those marks of attention so grateful in a foreign land, making the house a home to us all.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>John Beverley Riggs, *Riggs Family of Maryland; A Genealogical and Historical Record, Incl. A Study of the Several Families in England* (Brookeville, Maryland: privately printed, 1939), p. 323.

<sup>4</sup>William T. Brigham, "New England in Baltimore," *New England Magazine*, XXII, No. 2 (April, 1900), p. 220.

<sup>5</sup>Amended will, dated April 24, 1832, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute.

<sup>6</sup>Maryland Historical Society, *In Memory of George Peabody*, Fund Publication No. 3 (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1870), p. 29.

Hearing that funds were being raised in 1845 for an Athenaeum and public library in Baltimore, Peabody sent \$500 and offered more should it be needed.<sup>7</sup> Two years later Governor Thomas G. Pratt publicly praised him for relinquishing his \$60,000 commission "While the state was struggling with its pecuniary difficulties,"<sup>8</sup> and the next year, 1848, the legislature passed a unanimous resolution of praise "for his devotion and interest."<sup>9</sup> On Peabody's being elected an honorary member of the Maryland Historical Society in 1850, the corresponding secretary wrote to him: "In common with all your fellow citizens of Maryland, we hold in high regard your unwavering confidence in the integrity of your state, and your influence in averting a threatened strain upon her honor."<sup>10</sup>

Becoming prominent in wealth and social standing as an American banker in London, Peabody carefully sought ways to enrich Maryland's culture. He donated \$1,000 to the Maryland Institute for a chemical school and laboratory in 1851<sup>11</sup> and the next year planned and paid for the copying of documents pertaining to Maryland's colonial history from English depositories, shipping seven large volumes to the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>12</sup>

But his most important gift to Maryland, the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, took more than a decade to reach fruition. Peabody first mentioned his desire to establish a cultural institution in Baltimore to Charles James Madison Eaton then visiting in London in 1851. Eaton was interested in reviving the moribund Library Company of Baltimore, of

<sup>7</sup>Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 25, 1845.

<sup>8</sup>*Annual Message of the Executive (Governor Thomas G. Pratt) to the General Assembly of Maryland, December Session, 1847*, Document A, p. 11; Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, December 29, 1847.

<sup>9</sup>*Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, 1847* (Annapolis: Riley and Davis, 1847), p. 420; "Maryland Resolution to George Peabody," *Bankers' Magazine and State Financial Register*, III, No. 7 (January, 1849), p. 394.

<sup>10</sup>Letter from James Morrison Harris, Corresponding Secretary, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, to George Peabody, London, July 10, 1850, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute.

<sup>11</sup>Letter from George Peabody, London, to William H. Keighler, Baltimore, October 31, 1851, Garrett Papers, Library of Congress; Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, November 27, 1851.

<sup>12</sup>Washington, D.C., *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 11, 1852; Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1852.

which he was President. The Maryland Historical Society planned to raise \$25,000 toward this end and Eaton hoped Peabody's gift might constitute this fund.<sup>13</sup> Nothing was done until late 1854 when Peabody mentioned his intention to James Watson Webb and Reverdy Johnson, then in London, urging Johnson to formulate a definite plan with prominent Baltimore men.<sup>14</sup> Johnson relayed Peabody's request to John Pendleton Kennedy.<sup>15</sup> Peabody also wrote about the matter to William Edward Mayhew who also consulted Kennedy.<sup>16</sup> In the spring of 1856 Kennedy was in London and Peabody said to him:

I suppose you Baltimore people do not care to have an institution established among you, as I have heard nothing of the suggestion made through Mr. Mayhew some years ago.<sup>17</sup>

Kennedy smiled, said that they were interested in the proposal, adding that it was always a delicate thing to talk about money, and asked what Peabody's plans were and how much he intended to give. Peabody in turn asked Kennedy to state the kind of cultural institute he thought would be most useful. From Kennedy's fertile mind came the plan for an educational institute modeled on the British Museum, which Peabody adopted: a reference library, lecture hall and lecture fund, music academy, art gallery, and funds for prizes for outstanding Baltimore school pupils. The Maryland Historical Society was to administer all departments and have its rooms in the Institute's building while a governing board of trustees appointed by Peabody would have visitation powers.<sup>18</sup>

Peabody visited the United States in 1856, spent part of January and February, 1857, in Baltimore, was flatteringly received by the city authorities, and honored with a reception by the Maryland Historical

<sup>13</sup>Letter from Charles James Madison Eaton to George Peabody, September 15, 1855, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute.

<sup>14</sup>London *Anglo-American Times*, October 2, 1869.

<sup>15</sup>Kennedy's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, VII (July 1, 1854-July 31, 1855), entries dated December 8 and 19, 1854, pp. 197-199.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>John Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 663.

<sup>18</sup>*The Founder's Letters and Papers Relating to its Dedication and its History up to the 1st January, 1868* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle, 1868), pp. 2-21.



Society on January 30.<sup>19</sup> His founding letter of February 12, 1857, gave \$300,000 as a beginning sum for the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

Kennedy outlined Peabody's plan to the Maryland Historical Society members, March 3, 1857, and found them eager to cooperate. They appointed a select committee, headed by Kennedy, to plan the Society's part in the Institute. Peabody wanted the Society to move into the Institute building when completed so that he could purchase their Athenaeum building to give to the Mercantile Library Company.<sup>20</sup> One month later Kennedy reported that the select committee had accepted the administrative role assigned to the Maryland Historical Society in Peabody's founding letter.<sup>21</sup>

There was difficulty in finding a site. There was also disagreement about the size of the building and the scope of the Institute's operations. Confidence rose when the Howard lot, the present location on Mount Vernon Place, was decided upon and the cornerstone laid on April 16, 1859.<sup>22</sup> But apprehension still existed about who would control the Institute, the trustees appointed by Peabody or the Maryland Historical Society. Some members of the latter feared the loss of independence of their older organization in the new venture.<sup>23</sup> Perceiving that a wrangle might lie ahead, Eaton advised Peabody to placate the Society members with a donation to their publication fund so as to make parting less painful.<sup>24</sup> But Peabody, being an ocean's distance away, often ill, and with business worries of his own, had faith that his Maryland friends would reconcile their differences. Divided loyalties during the Civil War further affected differences over the Peabody Institute. Respecting the Southern sympathies of some of his Maryland friends yet loyal himself

<sup>19</sup>Baltimore *Sun*, January 30, 31, February 2, 1857.

<sup>20</sup>Kennedy's Journal, *op. cit.*, VIIj (August 1, 1855-March 14, 1857), entry dated Wednesday, March 4, 1857.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, VIIk (March 15, 1857-December 6, 1859), entry dated Thursday, April 2, 1857; Baltimore *Sun*, April 3, 1857.

<sup>22</sup>*History of Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Nelson, 1898), p. 62.

<sup>23</sup>Letters from Charles James Madison Eaton, Baltimore, to George Peabody, London, March 7, 1857; May 19, 1859, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute.

<sup>24</sup>Letter from Charles James Madison Eaton to George Peabody, June 20, 1859, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute.

to the Union, Peabody wrote to Kennedy his hope that his Institute might "yet be dedicated in the 'United States.'" <sup>25</sup>

A year after the end of the war when he was seventy-one years old Peabody revisited the United States and added to his philanthropic institutions. But his prime concern was to reconcile his trustees in Baltimore with the Maryland Historical Society prior to the dedication of his Institute on October 25, 1866. His trustees had asked the Society to withdraw from the project; and the Society, while friendly toward Peabody, was hostile to the trustees. Kennedy summed up the difficulty as follows:

I am myself responsible for Mr. Peabody's committing the Institute to the Society but this was done at a time when the Society nobly showed some appreciation of its object. <sup>26</sup>

Peabody admitted the wrong on the part of his trustees and acknowledged the moral and legal right of the Society in the affair. His sincerity and nobility softened nine years of animosity and the Society willingly withdrew. Just as humbly he then asked for the privilege of contributing to the Society's work. Thus, he created the first permanent \$20,000 publication fund which made possible the Society's scholarly publications of historical importance. <sup>27</sup>

At the dedication on October 25, 1866, his face wreathed in smiles, Peabody mingled happily with his trustees and the Maryland Historical Society members. After being welcomed by Governor Thomas Swann, Peabody said, "May not this Institute be a common ground where all may meet burying former differences and animosities? May not Baltimore," he pleaded, "the birthplace of religious toleration, become the star of political tolerance and charity?" <sup>28</sup> The next day a large crowd at Mount Vernon Place watched 20,000 school children march by Peabody on the steps of the Institute building. Josias Pennington described how

<sup>25</sup>Letter from George Peabody, Bath, England, to John Pendleton Kennedy, March 8, 1861, Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

<sup>26</sup>Kennedy's Journal, *op. cit.*, VIIo (November 29, 1864-September 21, 1869), entry dated Friday, June 16, 1865.

<sup>27</sup>James Morrison Harris, *Address by the Hon. J. Morrison Harris, Upon the Occasion of the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Maryland Historical Society, Delivered March 12, 1894* (Baltimore: J. Murphy and Company, 1897), p. 18.

<sup>28</sup>*New York Times*, October 27, 1866.

Peabody, a bachelor, picked up the younger children, kissed them, and put them down with the tenderness of a father. "The scene brought tears into many eyes," wrote Pennington, "and many a handkerchief that waved was moist."<sup>29</sup>

It was John Work Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who arranged a special dinner with George Peabody and Johns Hopkins as guests before Peabody left Baltimore to return to London in 1867. Hopkins had earlier intimated to Garrett his search for a benefaction to endow in his will and Garrett wanted Peabody to explain for Hopkins' enlightenment how he had got the idea for his own vast gifts. In a remarkable conversation which lasted several hours, Peabody told how he had early in life wanted to accumulate a fortune and that he long had been satisfied with his success. "When age came upon me," said Peabody,

And when aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I had accumulated so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity.<sup>30</sup>

Peabody told how, after consulting with friends, he had asked them to be his trustees and had increasingly turned over to them greater sums of money which they wisely used "for good and humane purposes; and so, sir, I have gone on, and from that day realized with increasing enjoyment the pleasure of giving."<sup>31</sup> Many authors, referring to this conversation, have credited Peabody as one of the influences on Hopkins who in his will endowed the University and Medical School which bear his name.

At age seventy-four Peabody paid his last visit to Baltimore on September 22, 1869. With feeble steps he walked through his Institute, gave a final sum of money to the trustees, and affectionately took leave of them. Slowly and painfully he entered his carriage and left behind him the Institute to which he had given a total of \$1,400,000. He sailed to

<sup>29</sup>Letter from Josias Pennington, Baltimore, to John Pendleton Kennedy, October 29, 1866, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup>John W. Garrett, *Address Delivered on the 30th of January, 1883, Before the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore on the Occasion of their Thirtieth Anniversary* (Baltimore: The News Steam Printing Office, 1883), pp. 9-10.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, also quoted in *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1883.

England, was taken to the home of a friend in London, and there died on November 4.

Victor Hugo said of George Peabody, "America has reason to be proud of this great citizen."<sup>32</sup> Robert E. Lee wrote; "Nowhere have his generous deeds . . . elicited more heartfelt admiration than at the South."<sup>33</sup> The Tennessee legislature voted that his "memory deserves to be held in perpetual and grateful memory."<sup>34</sup> Baltimore flags were lowered to half-mast, stores and schools were closed, and bells tolled.<sup>35</sup>

Maryland had been the scene of his first commercial success. To Maryland he left a rich cultural legacy. The Maryland Historical Society publications have been made possible in part from his gift. The Johns Hopkins University and Medical School were indirectly inspired by him. The Peabody Library of Baltimore has one of America's finest special reference collections. The Peabody Conservatory of Music occupies a respected place among schools of music.

In his letter doubling his million dollar fund to revive education in the Southern states, Peabody referred to education as "a debt due from present to future generations." This debt he paid in full to Maryland which he honored, to the South which he respected, and to the nation which he loved.

<sup>32</sup>London *Times*, December 13, 1869.

<sup>33</sup>Letter from Robert E. Lee, Lexington, Virginia, to George Peabody Russell, November 10, 1869, quoted in *The Salem Gazette* (Salem, Massachusetts), November 30, 1869.

<sup>34</sup>*Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the First Session of the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, for the Years 1869-1870* (Nashville, Tennessee: Jones Purvis and Company, 1870), p. 667.

<sup>35</sup>*New York Times*, November 26, 1869; *Baltimore Sun*, November 11, 12, 13, 1869.



# William Lloyd Garrison and George Peabody

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In the course of my research on William Lloyd Garrison, I came across the two following articles concerned with Essex County's great philanthropist, George Peabody. The articles are of interest to the biographer of Garrison because they point up quite eloquently a little-known aspect of his character. All his life Garrison was greatly affected by wealth—either negatively by its absence or positively by its presence. He was born in Newburyport in 1805, a poor boy in a then prosperous seaport town. If he could have chosen his parents, he would doubtless have selected a wealthy merchant as his father—perhaps someone like the Francis Todd whom he attacked so violently in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* that he found himself jailed in Baltimore for his efforts. In short, Garrison went through life always impressed and jealous of money and position. And his reforming efforts can, in a sense, be interpreted as a series of desperate efforts to establish his own position in society in spite of his poverty.

"Gentlemen of property and standing" was one of Garrison's favorite phrases. He reminded readers of *The Liberator* not infrequently that the audience at a given lecture or convention contained many prosperous and highly respectable persons, especially if that audience had behaved in an unseemly fashion. He even characterized the group of Bostonians who mobbed him in 1835 in such terms.

The only wealthy gentlemen he approved were those, like Arthur and Lewis Tappan of New York City and Gerrit Smith of New York State, who gave their money to the reforms Garrison favored. Others, like Stephen Girard and Cornelius Vanderbilt, he criticized with puritanical zeal for not giving money to the right causes. Such was his attitude

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toward George Peabody as can be seen in Garrison's following two articles, to which have been appended comments by the current biographer of Peabody, Franklin Parker.

Mr. Peabody and the South<sup>1</sup>

By Wm. Lloyd Garrison

Referring to the vanity of human calculations and uncertainty of life, the Psalmist admonishingly says: "Man heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them." A most exceptional instance is found in the case of Mr. George Peabody, who has sagaciously determined to leave no uncertainty as to the manner in which the bulk of his immense wealth shall be used. His pecuniary disbursements, it is reported, amount to six or seven millions of dollars. Inheriting no property, the amassing of such vast possessions indicates on his part remarkable business talent and calculation, or rare good luck, or both; but not necessarily high mental or moral development.

His munificence has been largely concentrated upon two objects: relief of the poor of London, and popular education in this country, mainly with reference to the Southern States. Both of these are highly creditable, and no doubt will be greatly promoted by the aid thus liberally contributed. For his London charity, Queen Victoria sent Mr. Peabody a letter of thanks, handsomely expressed, accompanied by an elaborate and costly portrait of herself. Recently his statue has been erected at the London Exchange, the Prince of Wales leading off in the ceremonies, and concluding his complimentary remarks with the amicable wish "that England and America may go hand in hand in peace and prosperity." For his princely aid to the cause of education in the United States Congress has presented Mr. Peabody with a commemorative gold medal. Certainly, all these acknowledgments have been well deserved.

Here we might stop, and allow nothing but unqualified commendation to be lavished upon him; but he has recently chosen, by a gratuitous expression of his sentiments in a highly reprehensible manner, to challenge criticism, which otherwise might be spared, as to his conduct.

Mr. Peabody is by structure, taste, affinity, and association intensely conservative. He believes in what is respectable, established, antiquated. Consequently, he has no relish for change, agitation, reform;

<sup>1</sup>*The [New York] Independent*, 16 August 1869.

nor has he any better opinion of those who are "turning the world upside down" in the promulgation of new ideas and saving truths than did the tribe of conservatives in apostolic times. No unpopular movement, however righteous, ever yet obtained his endorsement, or derived from him any pecuniary aid, whether at home or abroad. His numerous gifts, however or wherever applied, have been carefully in a direction not only to require no moral courage or personal independence, but sure to win popular acclaim. True, in their uses they have been none the less valuable on that account; but the fact itself is to be considered in a true estimate of character. A person may be seriously defective in this, even though he bestow all his goods to feed the poor. *Crescit sub pondere virtus.*

During the protracted moral and political struggle for the abolition of slavery in this country, by legal and peaceful measures, Mr. Peabody was with the South in feeling and sentiment, and in all concessions and compromises tending to perpetuate her supremacy. By no visible sign did he ever evince any repugnance to that barbarous system; nor, since the wonderful deliverance of its victims from their imbruted condition, has he audibly expressed any word of joy or thanksgiving. During the late rebellion, his leanings were toward the South; not indeed to the extent of disunion, but rather for reunion on terms that would be satisfactory to herself. His first noticeable public donation, was made to a Maryland institution, at a time when that state was rotten with treason, and it required the strong arms of the General Government to hold her in subjection. It was at least most ill-timed, and calculated to encourage her in her factious course, because of his well-understood Southern predilections.

In the hight [*sic*] of our national troubles, when the treasury was empty and the credit of the Government seriously impaired, many patriotic Americans, either traveling or residing on the other side of the Atlantic, sent over timely and liberal pecuniary assistance, as well as words of sympathy and cheer; but, if Mr. Peabody had any part in that demonstration, the country is ignorant of the fact. It is not known that he took any interest in the formation or labors of these co-operative leagues in England having for their objects the dissemination of light throughout the United Kingdom as to the real character of the Southern rebellion, and a hearty support of the administration of President Lincoln; yet they required and expended large sums of money for this purpose, which sums were cheerfully supplied by British liberality, the all-controlling motive being good-will to the American Union and an earnest desire for the permanence of our free institutions.

When the news of the tragical death of President Lincoln reached England, the profoundest sorrow was felt and expressed by resident



Americans in special, and by the British people in general, in every possible manner. Surely, Mr. Peabody owed it to his native land, and to himself as an opulent and influential American, in some way to bear an emphatic testimony at such a critical period in our national struggle; but no such testimony is on record.

Mr. Peabody is now laboring under increasing bodily infirmities. No matter what medicinal virtues may exist in any Northern mineral spring; true to his Southern sympathies, he hastens to the White Sulphur Springs in Virginia, where he is sure of finding congenial society—those springs being the favorite resort of the *elite* of rebeldom, who have collectively welcomed his presence by adopting a series of congratulatory resolutions. In acknowledging the questionable compliment thus paid him, Mr. Peabody said it affected him most deeply, as “coming from such a distinguished and intelligent body,” and added: “I should be glad, if my strength would permit to speak of my own *cordial esteem and regard for the high honor, integrity, and heroism of the Southern people!!!*” It is this extraordinary language that not only warrants but demands plain and pointed criticism. It is sufficiently comprehensive to cover the entire rebellion, and will be so interpreted in that section of the country. For “the Southern People” thus eulogized can mean none other than those who perfidiously betrayed the country, and rose up to destroy the very government which they had sworn to maintain; who have always despised and hated the people of the North for whatever virtue and love of freedom they have cherished; and whose barbarities during the war can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of human ferocity, as witness the horrors of Andersonville! No matter how wisely or how liberally Mr. Peabody may have distributed his possessions, it would be in derogation of right and justice to allow him to so outrage the truth and falsify history without uttering an indignant remonstrance. The record of “the Southern people” is one of lust and blood, of treachery and cruelty, of robbery and oppression, of rebellion and war; and to panegyryze their “high honor, integrity, and heroism” is an insult to the civilized world. “Thus, speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Execute true judgment, and shew mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow nor the fatherless, the stranger nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart. But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets. *Therefore came a great wrath from the Lord of hosts.*” This is an exact portraiture of “the people of the South” included in Mr. Peabody’s category. And, though they have been



scourged, they are still as though they had not been chastised; for the malignancy of slavery is yet in their hearts and its curse in all their borders. They are in the Union, but not of the Union; they are under the Constitution, but not for the Constitution, except as a matter of duress; they are nominally Americans, but really Southerners in feeling and purpose, without one throb of nationality [*sic*] in their breasts; so that, if they could see their way clear to throw off the authority of the Federal Government, and to resuscitate their defunct Confederacy, they would instantly rise again in rebellion, and expel every loyal Northerner from their territorial domains. There is no hope of reformation for them as a body, used to slave-holding, slave-breeding, slave-driving, slave-hunting; but only for their children's children, through a very different training, and by that general enlightenment which attends free institutions. In view of their almost demoniacal conduct toward their slaves, and their utter disregard of all moral obligations and all patriotic claims, in their rebellious outbreak, the tribute paid by Mr. Peabody to their "high honor, integrity, and heroism" partakes of that criminality which calls evil good, and good evil; which puts bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter; which puts darkness for light, and light for darkness. Silence concerning it, because of his munificent charities, would be infidelity to the cause of liberty and righteousness. Rather let his money be returned, and perish with him, than that we should be tongue-tied by any such consideration, while our whole moral nature is calling for an earnest and faithful protest against such "daubing with untempered mortar."

We have another ground of complaint. Mr. Peabody has given two millions of dollars for the education of the ignorant classes at the South. Of course, he had a right to impose what conditions he pleased in making this gift, even to restricting the benefits to be derived from it to the white population. But it was given out, at the time it was made, that no complexional distinctions would be consulted in its expenditure; and this announcement brought no small credit to the giver, as animated by an all-embracing spirit of philanthropy. His carefully selected board of trustees, however, largely of a very conservative stamp, with the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop at its head, led us at the outset to fear that the ignorant whites would get even more than the lion's share; and, consequently, that the still more ignorant freedmen would reap but little advantage from it. What has been done for either class is not clearly apparent, excepting that it does not amount to much, in view of the time that has elapsed, the means at command, and the pressing exigencies in that direction. But it appears by a recent letter from the Rev. Dr. Sears, General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund, that the trustees have decided to act very much as we feared. He says: "I believe there are no

mixed schools in Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, or any other state; nor can I suppose that Louisiana will venture on so bold (!) an experiment. If, under the state law, no schools are maintained but such as are attended by children; or if, virtually, the colored children, and they alone, are provided for by law, *we must look particularly after the white children.*" Now, the fact is that, if there are no whites attending the schools in which colored children are taught, it is not because of any legal favoritism; but solely on account of the self-exclusion of the whites, in order to gratify a base spirit of caste. They ought not to be encouraged to indulge such a spirit; but it seems that the money of Mr. Peabody is to be expended upon them because of their contempt and arrogance toward the colored race! As knowledge is power, they will thus increase their power to drive the objects of their hatred to the wall. If Mr. Peabody and his board of trustees desire to prove that they are animated by the spirit of human brotherhood, they will inflexibly make it conditional that no complexional distinctions shall be permitted in any school supported in whole or in part by the Peabody Fund. An example of that kind would be worth to the cause of freedom and equality many times more than the value of the fund itself; but it is apparent that there is no disposition, certainly no purpose, to set such an example.

### Honored Beyond His Deserts<sup>2</sup>

By Wm. Lloyd Garrison

The "pomp and circumstance" attending the burial of the mortal remains of the late George Peabody have been so extraordinary as to challenge criticisms which otherwise might be wholly unnecessary. No such honors have ever before been paid to any private individual, scarcely to the most renowned of any nation or age.

Is munificence, however large or beneficently applied, in itself evidence of exalted character or greatness of soul? Because the more than princely gift may prove a signal blessing on a far-reaching scale, does it follow that the giver is therefore deserving of historic fame? Was it folly or fanaticism on the part of the Apostle Paul when he wrote: "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?" The expenditure of a given amount of money to relieve suffering humanity, or for educational purposes, will prove equally serviceable to the recipients thereof whether the motives which prompt it spring from disinterested benevolence or regard for popular acclaim.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 10 February 1870.

Nevertheless, is it in the interest of virtue or of true philanthropy to recognize no distinction in such a case, but to indulge in laudation, as though it were not a question of character at all; and to assume that it is not the giver who is to ennoble the gift, but the gift that confers nobility on the giver? Is it invidious to the living or the dead to inquire in what estimation a certain public act is to be regarded? Let the Gospel record answer: "And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living."

Did the world ever hear of ostentatious and costly funeral pageantries in connection with the burial of any one to whom this merited encomium was applicable?

It is, then, not the munificence of the sum that is contributed, nor the object for which it is designed, however meritorious in itself, that determines the relative worthiness of the giver; but the circumstances under which the contribution is made and the self-abnegation attending it.

Judging by this test, what is there discoverable in the life or character of the man to whom such unprecedented respect and honor have been shown on both sides of the Atlantic, in the case of his bodily interment, either to excite admiration or secure virtuous homage?

Mr. Peabody was simply a quiet, plodding, shrewd, and eminently successful man of business, with the strongest conservative tendencies, and ever careful to avoid whatever might interfere with his worldly interests, or subject him even temporarily to popular disesteem. In the closing years of his life his pecuniary investments turned out remunerative "beyond the dreams of avarice," and he grew rich as Croesus. A bachelor, and therefore with no family to provide for, and admonished by his failing health as well as advanced age that his earthly race was nearly consummated, he had the good sense to be his own executor in the matter of seeing his vast wealth disposed of, according to his own wishes and under his special supervision, so as to leave little for possible litigation or perversion after his death. Through various channels and in startling sums he aggregated his gifts to the extent, it is said, of six or seven millions of dollars; mainly for the relief of the poor in London and for educational purposes in this country, chiefly with reference to the Southern States. Certainly, this was an immense public benefaction, creditable to his judgment as well as liberality, and made



with a discriminating spirit. To say or intimate that he was led to confer it by any personal considerations of popular conspicuity or historical renown might be exceedingly unjust; but he could have no doubt that it would quickly make him famous, secure for him the applause of his native land and his adopted country, and render him "the observed of all observers" wherever he might direct his steps.

That Mr. Peabody was not wholly insensible to considerations like these is noticeably shown in the peculiar disposal made by him of Queen Victoria's handsome acknowledgments for his gift of a million of dollars in aid of the London poorer classes. These come in the shape of a grateful and complimentary letter, written with her own hand and in terms creditable to her womanly heart; followed by the presentation of her portrait, at large expense, for which she expressly sat, and some other tokens of her royal regard. Of course, Mr. Peabody had a right to feel both gratified and honored by such testimonials; but would it not have been much more in accordance with a truly modest and disinterested philanthropy to have kept them in his private collection of cherished articles than to have built for them in the Peabody Institute [Peabody, Massachusetts] a costly fire-proof chamber, therein to be put on public exhibition from generation to generation, to be gazed at and talked about, whether wisely or foolishly? For, though ostensibly it has the appearance of profound homage for the Queen, and a desire to keep her memory green on this side of the Atlantic rather than his own, still it is George Peabody as much to be remembered and honored as Victoria herself; for is he not to be the hero of the story? Is there not something of human weakness in this poor showy device, if not of vulgar ambition?

So, too, his erection of a handsome church to the memory of his mother (a most exceptional act for a Protestant in religious matters). It has a filial aspect; but is it not equally a memorial of her son? Can the one be named, or preached about, to the forgetfulness of the other? And is this a token of self-humiliation?

The conditions on which he gave the church in trust revealed how strongly he was wedded to his traditional theological training, and how utterly unwilling to have any new ideas or modified interpretations promulgated from the pulpit, in accordance with an advancing Christianity and an enlightened and progressive age. "It hath been said by them of old time" suited him far better than "forgetting the things that are behind" and pressing onward to a higher and nobler plane of action.

A large portion of his adult life was spent in England; and during that long period there were various struggles in the cause of popular liberty, and for the relief of the oppressed and disfranchised classes; and as an American he should naturally have given them, in some way or other,



his sympathy and aid. But who ever knew him to do anything of this kind?

His sympathies in his own country were much more strongly with a pro-slavery South than with an anti-slavery North; and he carried his feelings in that direction almost to the verge of the Rebellion.\* He took no interest in any effort, religious or political, having in view the liberation of those in bondage, or the restriction of slavery to its original limits. His patriotic record during the war cannot be examined with any pride or pleasure. The country in its sore extremity, needed all that he could have said or done for it; but he said little, and did less. He did not want the Union to be dissolved; neither did he want the South to be conquered. He was willing to have peace on any conditions that would have been satisfactory to the Slave Power touching the "peculiar institution;" for he appears to have had no moral sensibility in regard to that "sum of all villainies."

The atrocious Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 struck down all the safeguards of personal freedom at the North by what it conceded and required in regard to the rendition of fugitive slaves. When the legislature of Massachusetts passed the "Personal Liberty Bill" for the common security against Southern slave-hunters and kidnappers, a certain number of the most eminent conservatives in the state affixed their signatures to an appeal to the citizens of Massachusetts denouncing that bill in the strongest terms, and virtually demanding that no obstruction be thrown in the way of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Among them was George Peabody. They talked of being actuated by their "sense of responsibility to God," and of their "honest and profound convictions for the cause of truth and right," and "solemnly" declared that they "believed the State of Massachusetts had violated our great national compact by laws on her statute-book," which laws they counseled the repeal of without delay. But they had not one word to say

\*Corroborative of this charge, take the testimony of Charles W. Felt, Esq., as given in a letter to the *Evening Post*, dated Manchester (Eng.), Jan. 8th last: "I was in London in October and November, 1861, having a letter of introduction from Edward Everett to Mr. Peabody. I was astonished and mortified to hear Mr. Peabody, in the course of a short conversation, indulge in such expressions as these: 'I do not see how it can be settled, unless Mr. Davis gives up what Mr. Lincoln says he is fighting for—the forts the South has taken—and then separate.' 'You can't carry on the war without coming over here for money; and you won't get a shilling.' 'Harriet Beecher Stowe was over here, but I would not go to see her, though I was invited: and now she writes that this is *our war!* Such things don't go down over here.' . . . I made one other call upon him; but I could only regard him as *recreant to his country in the time of her greatest need.*"

against the sin and shame of slavehunting on Massachusetts soil, and were quite willing that more than legal facilities should be allowed those engaged in that nefarious business.

Let whatever credit fairly belongs to Mr. Peabody for his munificent gifts, at a later period, in a right direction, be awarded unstintingly, but these can never render him worthy to be placed among the best and worthiest of the world's benefactors.

### The Defense By Franklin Parker

Most of us are conservative in some aspects of life. Businessmen are often more so and George Peabody was a successful businessman. Mr. Peabody became successful and famous not by pursuing popular causes but by astutely making causes which had been little noticed in his day much more acceptable.

Mr. Peabody, born in Massachusetts, not far from Newburyport, Mr. Garrison's birthplace, had gone South in his teens, been successful in the mercantile business in Georgetown, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland, had become a rich banker in London, where he lived during the last half of his life, and had given away most of his fortune in philanthropy to England and America.

There is no need to describe each of Mr. Peabody's philanthropies. It is enough to say that his gifts, which established lecture halls and funds, libraries, municipal housing for low income working people, and schools in the destroyed areas of the South, had little precedent before their time, were not immediately popular, required moral courage to initiate and personal independence to channel into lasting paths.

Three instances of Mr. Peabody's courage in countering a popular trend may be given. After the Panic of 1837 nine American states refused to pay the interest on their bonded indebtedness abroad. Mr. Peabody, then in Europe on his own business and as fiscal agent for Maryland, publicly rebuked American officials for renouncing their debts, was criticized for it, but saw his efforts justified years later.

Again, in 1851, when American exhibitors found themselves in London without funds to set up their products in the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, when neither they nor the American ambassador in London knew where to turn for funds in the absence of Congressional appropriations, Mr. Peabody stepped forward to advance a loan of \$15,000, thereby enabling McCormick's reaper, Colt's revolver, Power's statuary, and other products of a young country to be seen by the world.

Although science was beginning to become popular in the America of

the 1850's, Mr. Peabody was still ahead of his time in this field. He initiated a chemical school and laboratory in Maryland, stimulated archaeology and ethnology at Harvard, the natural sciences at Yale, established professorships in mathematics and science in three institutions, and founded an academy of science in New England.

Mr. Peabody's original philanthropic motives came from the prompting of his conscience, a desire to repay Divine Providence, as he put it, for the good fortune which came to him. His plan was to give to each city where he had labored a lasting gift and he was farsighted enough (or conservative enough) to realize that among the most lasting and valuable endowments are educational institutions.

Mr. Peabody's philanthropy was troublesome to him, busy as he was with his own business affairs. His general pattern was to gather advice about needs and ways of insuring success of the philanthropic endeavor; to announce his gift, stating its purpose in a founding letter; to select devoted, experienced men as trustees and then leave them to carry out the details without interference. It was local pride which gave popular acclaim to his gifts. Founding letters were published, it is true. Publicity inevitably followed each of his gifts since each was unusual for that time in amount and purpose. Good public relations seemed necessary because each gift was to a particular section of the public and Mr. Peabody meant for that public to carry on what he had begun.

Mr. Garrison's real anger was leveled at Mr. Peabody's connections with the South and alleged evidence, including Felt's letter, of Peabody's anti-Union sentiment during the Civil War. Mr. Peabody's Southern connections were based on more than twenty-two years spent working in the District of Columbia and Baltimore, Maryland, years in which he travelled as a merchant and was not actively concerned with slavery. After 1837 he remained in London, remote from the slavery controversy.

There is much evidence of Mr. Peabody's patriotism and loyalty to the Union. He stated in public his desire to see the Union preserved, even if by compromise. When preserving the Union meant Civil War and the physical crushing of the South, he understood these measures to be necessary, was grieved, and in his own way made private amends.

It should be remembered that both Garrison's articles and Felt's letter were written several years after the war. Three men in the best position to know the facts have, in fact, vindicated Mr. Peabody's course during the Civil War. Henry Adams, son of the American ambassador to England during the war, recorded in his autobiography comments on Mr. Peabody's undivided loyalty to the Union.<sup>3</sup> Thurlow Weed, New York

<sup>3</sup>Henry Adams, *Education of Henry Adams, an Autobiography* (New York, 1918), p. 121.



political figure and Mr. Lincoln's special emissary to keep England and France from entering the war on the side of the South, wrote a long account of Mr. Peabody's views and of his aid to the Union.<sup>4</sup> Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio publicly endorsed Mr. Weed's remarks.

Mr. Weed's account is worth examining. He called on Minister Adams in London. Afterwards he went to the firm of George Peabody and Co., where he found English and American merchants panic-stricken over the *Trent* Affair. Mr. Peabody again told Mr. Weed that he regretted that the Federal Government had not made greater effort to avert civil war. Mr. Weed then tried to explain how this position had been forced on the North. Later Mr. Peabody made every effort to help Mr. Weed and Bishop McIlvaine contact important British officials in their work for President Lincoln.

Mr. Peabody's private correspondence early in the war reflected pain over the conflict, respect for his Southern friends, and loyalty to the Union cause. But not to be publicly for the Union was misconstrued by rabid abolitionists and super-patriots as being pro-Southern. A more balanced view is to note that though he did not take sides publicly, he privately aided Mr. Weed and Bishop McIlvaine to promote the Union cause, that morally he stood against slavery as an institution, and that financially he chose not to buy Confederate bonds nor to aid in their sale. The *New York Times* of May 23, 1861, reported that Mr. Dudley Mann, a Southern agent, sought an interview with Mr. Peabody to negotiate the sale of Confederate bonds but "had been politely, but firmly repulsed."<sup>5</sup> Mr. Peabody later hotly denied in public that he had made money on Confederate bonds. The reverse, he said, was true.<sup>6</sup>

As late as March, 1861, Mr. Peabody did urge concession and compromise to avert war and to reinstate American credit abroad,<sup>7</sup> but there is no evidence that after hostilities had begun he wanted reunion on terms favorable to the South. In March, 1862, he had news by private telegram from his New York agent of the Union victory at Fort Donelson in Tennessee. He went immediately to the American Embassy to share

<sup>4</sup>Thurlow Weed, "The Late George Peabody: A Vindication of his Course During the Civil War," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, XIX (1931), pp. 9-15.

<sup>5</sup>*New York Times*, May 23, 1861.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, January 27, 1870.

<sup>7</sup>Letter from George Peabody to the *Boston Courier*, March 8, 1861, quoted in the *New York Herald*, March 27, 1861.



with the Americans there this news. Mr. Weed commented on this incident as follows:

I know of no more unerring test of men's real sentiment and sympathy in a season of war, than their manner of receiving good news. . . . Tried by this test, Mr. Peabody's sympathies were loyal, for he voluntarily came out of his way to bring news of an important Union victory; though he never ceased as often as he had occasion to speak on the subject, to deplore the war.<sup>8</sup>

A reporter recorded Mr. Peabody's views of the war, of Mr. Lincoln, and of the South as follows:

Mr. Peabody was a genuine American. His long residence in London wrought no change in his feelings toward his country. "The war might have been, should have been prevented," said he to me one day; "but the Union is cheap even at this great sacrifice of blood and treasure. Mr. Lincoln erred, at times, in the first part of his administration, and I have spoken against some of his measures:—my so doing has gained for me the reputation of being Southern in feeling. True, I want justice done in the South. I want to see the whole country prosperous and happy."<sup>9</sup>

Another generally overlooked aspect of Mr. Peabody's war record was his donation in 1863-64 of \$10,000 to the United States Sanitary Commission, a relief organization for soldiers and their dependents created by the Federal Government in 1861.<sup>10</sup>

Mr. Garrison was critical of Mr. Peabody's early gift to Maryland, made, he stated, when that state was rotten with treason and meant, he added, to encourage her rebellious course. Mr. Garrison may have meant the creation in 1857 of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, consisting of a lecture hall and fund, reference library, music academy, and art gallery. It is extremely doubtful that Mr. Peabody harbored such intentions in this gift as Mr. Garrison suggested. The idea of this gift to Baltimore went back a good many years and was first discussed seriously by Mr. Peabody with a Baltimore friend in London in 1851. Mr. Peabody's

<sup>8</sup>New York Times, December 23, 1869.

<sup>9</sup>From the correspondent of the New York Post, quoted in the Daily Signal, Zanesville, Ohio, November 24, 1869.

<sup>10</sup>Anglo-American Times, London, December 23, 1865.

chief adviser in this project was John Pendleton Kennedy, a former Secretary of the United States Navy and during the Civil War a supporter of the Union. It is difficult to imagine how this gift could have encouraged pro-slavery and anti-Union sympathies.

Mr. Garrison's ire was particularly aroused by Mr. Peabody's visit to a Southern spa that summer of 1869 and by an address Mr. Peabody made there praising Southerners for their heroism. It was indeed a significant occasion and one largely unplanned. Mr. Peabody's gift of one million dollars to establish the Peabody Education Fund in 1867 marked the first stage in the revival of the South. Now in 1869, old, weak, and a few months from death, Mr. Peabody hurried to America, visited his relatives, added to his institutions, and doubled his donation to the Peabody Education Fund. The New England climate did not agree with his very bad cough. He wanted both the warm sun and the company of an old friend, William W. Corcoran, at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. At that famous resort that particular summer were gathered by coincidence several former Confederate generals including Robert E. Lee. Because of Mr. Peabody's age and infirmity and because of his effort to revive the South through his education fund, some of the guests presented him with a resolution of appreciation. He acknowledged it by praising the Southerners for their heroism.

Looked at in retrospect from the present, Mr. Peabody's presence and his remarks that last summer of his life appear to be reasonable and justified. Mr. Garrison, however, viewed the scene through different eyes and saw fit to castigate Mr. Peabody for "aiding and abetting the criminals of the South."

Another criticism is that the Peabody Education Fund would be used to benefit white rather than Negro children in the South. Mr. Garrison had no way of knowing how the Trustees would eventually distribute the Fund. What the Fund did for the whites it did commensurably for the Negroes. When the Trustees dissolved the Fund in 1914, they gave \$346,797 to the Slater Fund for its work with Negro colleges. Today George Peabody College for Teachers, which also benefited when the Fund was dissolved, accepts Negroes as well as whites.

As a dedicated, active abolitionist, Mr. Garrison was obviously intensely hostile to any kind of Southern revival after the Civil War. As a liberal writer with this keen persuasion he was passionately for Negro advancement and as bitterly opposed to anything which smacked of aid and comfort to the South. He continued to look upon the South as an enemy long after the war was over.

Mr. Peabody's Southern connections, his unknown attitude toward

the Civil War, his gift for education to the South, his visit to White Sulphur Springs in 1869 together with his warm praise for Southern heroism—all rankled in Mr. Garrison's mind. Like the reformer he was, Mr. Garrison wielded his mighty pen against what he thought was not right.

Time, however, has shown Mr. Peabody in a fuller light. It seems to me that Mr. Peabody's efforts, conservative though they may have seemed, did more good in tying up the nation's wounds than did Mr. Garrison's attack, which only widened the breach. The pinpricks of criticism of the one pale in comparison to the noble philanthropies of the other.

In his second article, written after Peabody's death, Garrison's primary criticism was that Peabody's philanthropy was motivated by a vulgar ambition to win praise.

Mr. Peabody did receive unusual honors for his philanthropy, honors which came, for the most part, after 1862, during the last seven of his seventy-four years of life. Before 1851 he was an ordinary man of business, living modestly in plain lodgings without a private carriage or a servant. While he stinted on himself in everyday life, he was generous to his relatives and a lavish host to visiting Americans in London, whom he helped in various ways.

After 1851 he did emerge socially and begin his philanthropy but continued his simple private bachelor life. This public emergence, socially and philanthropically, did seem to come rather suddenly but there was an earlier pattern and motive for both. Previously generous with a small group of personal friends and having long planned someday to use his wealth for significant educational institutions, he did in fact consciously pursue favorable public relations in regard to his philanthropy. One of his trustees has described this as follows:

There was in Mr. Peabody a touch of egotism and a satisfaction in publicity which worked to the advantage of this fund; by the selection of men of national fame as trustees he called the attention of the whole country to the educational needs of the South and the common interest of North and South in building up a united Nation. . . . As an object lesson to the country that North and South were socially as well as politically united, the trustees brought their wives to the annual meeting in New York, and in the evening met at the most sumptuous dinner that the great hostelry of those day, the Fifth Avenue Hotel, could provide; the report of which and of what they had to eat and drink was headlined in the press of the South and North. This annual



event took place upon the suggestion of Mr. Peabody and at the expense of the fund, and in its social influence and publicity was well worth the cost.<sup>11</sup>

Of the vault which Mr. Peabody ordered to be built to house and display his mementos, the following comments can be made. The honors which he received for his philanthropy were unusual; some were valuable and had to be safely stored somewhere. These honors included a letter of thanks from Queen Victoria for his gift of model housing for the poor of London, a miniature portrait of the Queen specially painted for him, a scroll and gold box which gave him the Freedom of the City of London, testimonials from various organizations, a medal and resolution of praise from Congress for the Peabody Education Fund, together with other valuable documents. To store these mementos he had a vault built in the Peabody Institute in his hometown of South Danvers, now Peabody, Massachusetts. The vault was a small one, as can be seen today. It attracted some attention at the time because the Queen's portrait, a priceless possession, was displayed on a special track so that it could be pushed back inside the vault at night. Whether or not the press notices about the vault, which were few and short, or the vault itself can honestly be cited as an example of a showy device is an open question. Men of affairs before and since have built libraries and museums to house their papers and mementos.

The following is the background for the church which Mr. Peabody had built in memory of his mother. His mother and his sister had been members of an orthodox Congregational Church in Georgetown, Massachusetts. A doctrinal dispute occurred among the church members and Mr. Peabody's sister sympathized with the dissenters who preferred to worship elsewhere. She suggested to him that he might like to build a memorial church in Georgetown in memory of their mother. On a visit to the United States in May, 1866, Mr. Peabody selected a site and named a building committee. On June 19 ground was broken and on September 19 the cornerstone was laid.<sup>12</sup> At the dedication of the church the following letter from Mr. Peabody was read:

<sup>11</sup>William Lawrence, *Memories of a Happy Life* (Boston, 1926), pp. 268-269.

<sup>12</sup>*The Peabody Memorial Church, In Georgetown, Mass. Its Origin, the Exercises Connected with the Laying of the Corner-stone, the Dedication, and the Ordination of its Pastor* (Georgetown, Mass., 1869), pp. 7-8.



. . . In the building of this church my sister and I desire two things, to consecrate the memory of our mother and to build a house of worship to Almighty God in the Orthodox Congregational faith to which she belonged.

We convey this building to you subject to four conditions: that it always be called 'The Memorial Church' in memory of our mother; that it exclude political and other subjects not in keeping with its religious purpose; that the minister shall be chosen from the Orthodox Congregational Church; and that tablets be installed to commemorate our mother and your former pastor, the late Isaac Braman.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Peabody's stipulation that the church was never to be used for the discussion of subjects inconsistent with the Gospel found objection with John Greenleaf Whittier, the poet, who had composed a hymn for the church. He had written the hymn in honor of a brother's and sister's tribute to their mother but had later learned with sorrow and surprise of Mr. Peabody's restrictions.<sup>14</sup> The *New York Independent*, with which Mr. Garrison was associated, printed an article on the controversy entitled "A Marred Memorial" stating that the poem would never have been written nor the author's name lent to the occasion had Whittier known of the restriction.<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Garrison referred to the erection of this church as vanity on the part of Mr. Peabody and to Mr. Peabody's restrictions as illustrating the philanthropist's theological conservatism. This bias depends on one's interpretation of the event and of Mr. Peabody's motive, a bias which Mr. Garrison expressed in accordance with his own interpretation. Though the building of this church was probably one of his least effective gifts, Mr. Peabody's motives appear to have been wholesome and sincere. Even without the chafing stipulations, the church would probably have lacked appeal because the membership had not had the binding experience of joint effort in raising money for it.

Anyone who has studied Mr. Peabody's life closely would be puzzled by Mr. Garrison's reference to him in connection with the Massachusetts "Personal Liberty Bill." The following impressions lead me to surmise that if a George Peabody signed the protest against the bill, it was probably not the philanthropist at all but another man of the same name,

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>14</sup>*Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, January 24, 1868.

<sup>15</sup>*The [New York] Independent*, January 16, 1868.

perhaps the distant cousin who was President of the Eastern Railroad. First, I have never found any references to the bill among the philanthropist's personal papers nor in contemporary newspaper accounts about the philanthropist. Second, the philanthropist was away from America and had been away since 1837. He was busy establishing his business firm in London and did not follow the slavery controversy closely. Third, Mr. Peabody was a man with many boyhood and business friends in Massachusetts of liberal persuasion in regard to slavery whose respect he would not have jeopardized by signing the petition against the bill. Finally, the two men with the same name have been confused before. The error is recorded in the records of the Library of Congress (it was corrected by a letter of explanation containing proof by me), and Scott H. Paradise who wrote the George Peabody sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (XIV, 337) incorrectly stated that the philanthropist was President of the Eastern Railroad. For these reasons, then, it is more likely that the George Peabody who signed the petition was the President of the Eastern Railroad, a prominent conservative who was more active in the Massachusetts scene than the philanthropist during the Fugitive Slave Law controversy.

The title of Mr. Garrison's article suggested and Mr. Felt boldly stated, in an omitted portion of his letter as originally published, that Mr. Peabody was honored beyond his true merit, that it would have been better if he had remained in the United States instead of going to England to die, that he returned to England as a bid for notoriety.<sup>16</sup>

These are petty remarks in the tradition of American debunkers and suggest that the vehemence of these critics arose from dismay and jealousy at the honors heaped upon the dead philanthropist. Mr. Peabody had no way of knowing where or when he would die. To suggest that he deliberately arranged to die in London and be buried in America so as to attract as much attention as possible to himself is foolish.

His family and friends would have preferred the quiet return of his body and a simple funeral in accordance with his will. The events which did follow simply got out of hand. America tried to outdo England, which had provided temporary burial in Westminster Abbey and had fitted out as a funeral vessel its newest and largest warship. President Grant ordered an American naval escort and arranged for Admiral Farragut to assemble a veritable armada of small naval ships to receive the funeral fleet in Portland harbor. Local pride, which demanded a share in the funeral arrangements, was responsible for the mounting

<sup>16</sup>Letter from Charles Wilson Felt in the *New York Evening Post*, January 21, 1870.

honors and elaborate ceremonies in Portland's City Hall and in Peabody, Massachusetts.

This remarkable series of international tributes from individuals, organizations, and states in America and abroad was spontaneous. Somehow Mr. Peabody's life and philanthropic greatness caught, held, and stirred men's hearts. It was this display of emotion, so repugnant to Mr. Felt and Mr. Garrison, which prompted their criticism. Would their course have been the same had the public notice of Mr. Peabody's death been normal and moderate? Probably not. Both men had frustrations of their own and particular axes to grind. The vast publicity of the Peabody funeral gave them an opportunity for bigger broadsides than they would ordinarily have directed at Mr. Peabody alone.

Mr. Felt was a struggling inventor who, needing the financial backing of capitalists, had unfortunate experiences with them. He may have gone to Mr. Peabody for this very purpose and harbored ill will toward the philanthropist personally or as a representative of the moneyed class.

Mr. Garrison looked upon the South as an enemy long after the Civil War was over. He was blind with rage at Mr. Peabody's educational fund because it was designed to revive the South which Mr. Garrison hated so. Had Mr. Peabody, instead of aiding the South, given the same money to the poor of New York City, Mr. Garrison probably would have eloquently praised the gift and the giver. Yet, this was in fact Mr. Peabody's very plan before the outbreak of hostilities. The war, the condition of the ruined South, and the advice of Thurlow Weed and Robert C. Winthrop prompted him to give his largess to revive the decimated area.

The world needs practical men of vision who cautiously lay the groundwork for the future good. Mr. Peabody, in business and philanthropy, won the approbation of his contemporaries. He appealed to and complied with the thinking of his contemporaries, sharing their passions and prejudices, their hopes and fears. He served new wine in old bottles stamped with familiar labels. He applied to social reform a shrewd business sagacity. He led future generations to new paths.

Mr. Garrison moved on the tidal wave of history. Mr. Peabody planted quieter educational roots. Mr. Garrison's utterances were dramatic, his actions incisive, his results immediate. Mr. Peabody moved cautiously, never forgot historical perspective, was not an idol-smashing reformer, yet his philanthropy was brave and daring.

Mr. Garrison led the fight for human rights. Mr. Peabody fused into traditional charitable giving the iron rod of character building. What Mr. Garrison did was to help free the Negro slave, purge America of its discordant anomaly, and set the human spirit on a nobler path. What

Mr. Peabody did was to create the first private, major multi-million dollar foundations in human history with a positive preventative attitude toward the ills of society.

Mr. Peabody was the model forerunner for modern philanthropy. Both men were significant in different directions. Who shall weigh their merits? The world needs bold men on the front of flaming reform and on the height of broad vision.



# Robert E. Lee, George Peabody, and Sectional Reunion

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In the Reconstruction years some of the few centers of Southern culture were the Springs of Virginia. At White Sulphur Springs in August, 1869, occurred the earliest gesture of friendliness the South made toward the North after the Civil War.

Robert E. Lee and George Peabody were the chief actors in this drama. Lee, Virginian and West-Pointer, had chosen to lead the Confederate Army in war. Peabody, Northern-born banker with many Southern friends, had supported the Union financially. Now, after the war and in their old age, both men had turned to the reviving power of education. Spurning many lucrative business offers, Lee had preferred to become president in 1865 of impoverished Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. Disdaining a life of extravagance his wealth made possible, Peabody had climaxed his career by creating a multimillion dollar education fund for the defeated Southern and Southwestern states. For Lee at sixty-two this was next to the last summer of life; for Peabody at seventy-four it was the very last summer of life.

It was by pure coincidence that Peabody, Lee, and eight other former Confederate generals and several prominent educators gathered at the Old White Sulphur Springs that summer. Peabody had arrived from Massachusetts by way of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore on July 23, about two weeks before Lee. Peabody was very feeble, crippled with rheumatism so that he could hardly walk, and suffering badly from a cough. He was described as "the Dives who is going to Abraham's bosom and I fear before a great while."<sup>1</sup> His condition forced him to be confined to his cottage on Baltimore row near his friends,

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<sup>1</sup>Oliver Wendell Holmes to John Lothrop Motley, July 18, 1869, in John Torrey Morse, *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1897), II, pp. 180-181.

William W. Corcoran and Johns Hopkins, both bankers and philanthropists, Corcoran from Washington, D.C., and Hopkins from Baltimore.

What made Peabody a particularly distinguished figure in this Southern setting was the fact that on June 27, 1869, a month before his arrival at the Springs, he had publicly announced the addition of a second million dollars to his education fund for the South. The facts of his life, given vast publicity, were known to all at the Springs: his humble birth in Massachusetts; his few years of schooling; his long residence in the South, first as storekeeper for an uncle in Georgetown, D.C., and then as the partner of Elisha Riggs of Baltimore in a wholesale merchandising firm.

As the traveling partner of the firm, Peabody had made many buying trips to Europe, had succeeded to the head of the firm, and had remained in London after 1837 for almost the rest of his life. Merchandising had led him to banking and his firm of George Peabody & Co. had become highly respected on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup>

Having promised himself early in life that if God favored his commercial efforts with success, he would give his money for good purposes to each city where he had labored, Peabody founded his first library, lecture hall, and fund in his hometown.<sup>3</sup> He had endowed the Peabody Institute of Baltimore in 1857 and the education fund for the Southern and Southwestern states in 1867. For the last gift Congress had voted him a gold medal and resolutions of praise. He had won the public thanks of Queen Victoria in 1862 by endowing large-scale low-rent housing projects for the poor of London. By the time of his arrival at White Sulphur Springs, he had given away an estimated eight million dollars to endow seven libraries, three museums of science, several colleges, and other institutions.

Peabody's generosity to the South and his infirmity had made many Southerners at the Springs want to do him public honor. A meeting was called for this purpose on July 27 by Major Sutherlin of Virginia in the parlor of the Old White. A committee was formed the next day to draft resolutions, and these were read before Peabody who was seated in the crowded parlor at 5:00 P.M., Wednesday, July 28. James Lyons, chairman for the occasion, said:

<sup>2</sup>John Pierpont Morgan began his financial career as the New York agent of George Peabody & Co., soon after his father, Junius Spencer Morgan, became Peabody's partner in 1854. George Peabody & Co. was the root of the House of Morgan.

<sup>3</sup>Now the Peabody Institute of Peabody, Massachusetts.

Mr. Peabody—The Southern men assembled at this fountain of health and pleasure have, for a time, forgotten their pains as well as pleasures, to perform a holy duty in rendering grateful homage to the most distinguished philanthropist of this or any other age. . . .<sup>4</sup>

James Lyons then read the resolutions:

*Resolved*, That we contemplate with unbounded respect the character and conduct of GEORGE PEABODY. By a long life of assiduous toil, marked by unswerving honor and integrity, he amassed a fortune, which few men have been permitted to acquire, in the acquisition of which he appears to have been actuated by no sordid feelings, and now moved by no selfish or ambitious motives, neither expecting nor hoping for any reward here, he has with lavish munificence, in the execution of a long cherished purpose, appropriated at least \$8,000,000 to the benefit of his fellow-men, in the manner best calculated, in his opinion, to make them happier and better subjects and citizens. Such an example of generous benevolence has never been seen before, and all good men invoke blessings upon the great "philanthropist."

*Resolved*, that on behalf of the Southern people we tender thanks to Mr. PEABODY for his aid to the cause of education among them, and hail him "benefactor."

*Resolved*, that we will, in a body, wait on Mr. PEABODY, at such time and place as may be agreeable to him and present to him this assurance of our respect and regard for him, and our reverence for his virtues.<sup>5</sup>

Peabody, visibly affected, made the effort to rise and replied:

Mr. Lyons and Gentlemen of the Committee: I beg to thank you most kindly for the sentiments you have expressed toward me. They have affected me most deeply and are such, followed as they are by the resolutions you have presented, that it is impossible for me to reply to them as I would. I can only answer briefly, and feel that even then I must claim your indulgence. I can but say, as regards the kind and flattering remarks of your Chairman, that I trust the remainder of the time I have to live may not do otherwise than justify your good opinion. I should be glad, if my strength would permit, to speak of my

<sup>4</sup>*New York Times*, July 31, 1869.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

own cordial esteem and regard for the high honor, integrity and heroism of the Southern people. But that, too, I must leave for the present. But I must not omit to say that of all the kind words you have spoken, those referring to the Southern Education Fund have been sweetest to my ears. Coming as they do from such a distinguished and intelligent body, they corroborate the opinions already expressed by other eminent men of the South. The fibres of my heart are interwoven with its success as I am sure are yours and those of all good men everywhere. The enterprise is still very young—only three years old; but it is growing with every year, and under the superintendence of the trustees' eminent agent, and under the guidance of the distinguished gentlemen of the trust, and with the warm cooperation experienced throughout the South, it cannot do otherwise than prove a success, and I am confident will serve as auxiliary in restoring the South to a state of higher prosperity and happiness than ever before. God grant it may do so.<sup>6</sup>

Robert E. Lee was also in ill health and it was on his doctor's orders that he had gone to the Springs. He had taken Mrs. Lee to the Rockbridge Baths for treatment in mid-July and there had learned of the sudden death of his brother. He arrived at Alexandria the evening of July 24, too late to attend his brother's funeral. He passed a few melancholy days at his parents' home at Ravensworth, "where," he wrote, "forty years ago, I stood in this room by my mother's bed."<sup>7</sup> On Sunday, August 1, he attended St. Peter's Church in New Kent County, and on Monday, August 2, stayed at the Exchange Hotel, Richmond, where he was compelled to hold an informal reception for the many visitors who called upon him. On Tuesday, August 3, he was back with Mrs. Lee at Rockbridge Baths, and a few days later, accompanied by his two daughters, reached the White Sulphur Springs, where a gay season was in progress.<sup>8</sup>

Friends who knew of the poor state of repair of General Lee's church in Lexington arranged for a grand concert for its benefit at the Old White on Tuesday night, August 10. To the amount of \$605 netted by the

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), IV, p. 434.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 435.



concert, Peabody and Corcoran added \$100 each, making a total of \$805, for which Lee wrote to his wife he was "extremely grateful."<sup>9</sup>

The highlight of the season was the grand ball held on Wednesday evening, August 11, in Peabody's honor. He was too ill to attend but doubtless heard some of the merrymaking. Perceval Reniers, an authority on the history of the Virginia Springs, writes: "The affair that did most to revive [the Southerners'] esteem was the Peabody Ball."<sup>10</sup> E. Merton Coulter adds: Not only was Southern society reborn in the Virginia Springs but "the greatest gesture of friendship the South ever made toward the North at the Springs was the Peabody Ball in 1869 to honor George Peabody who had recently set up the Peabody Foundation to aid Southern education."<sup>11</sup>

Through the influence of Corcoran, Peabody had decided to aid Lee's Washington College. Corcoran had been with Lee at the Old White two summers before and had corresponded since about securing aid for the college.<sup>12</sup> The news which appeared in August about the donation listed Peabody's gift as \$60,000. Corcoran and Peabody quickly reported that the correct sum was about \$55,000 given under the following circumstances. Some years before, a Washington, D.C. firm had sold to Peabody's firm in England Virginia state bonds then worth \$35,000. Peabody had sent these bonds by a courier to America for collection. The ship on which the courier sailed had collided with another vessel in a dense fog and had sunk off Newfoundland on September 27, 1854, with the loss of all passengers and the bonds. Two years later Peabody had petitioned the Virginia legislature to redeem the lost bonds but his claim had not yet been met. It was this claim, estimated in 1869 to be worth \$55,000, which Peabody turned over to Washington College.<sup>13</sup>

There is no record of Lee's earliest meeting with Peabody at the

<sup>9</sup>Robert E. Lee, *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1924), p. 367.

<sup>10</sup>Perceval Reniers, *The Springs of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 218-219.

<sup>11</sup>E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p. 308.

<sup>12</sup>Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 438; *Virginia House of Delegates Journal*, 1869-70, p. 112; *Virginia Senate Journal*, 1869-70, pp. 453-454; *New York Times*, August 29, 1869.

Springs nor a record of their conversations, but on August 16 when Peabody's health improved he is described as passing through the drawing room of the Old White leaning on General Lee's arm while "a throng of promenaders spontaneously gathered around the pair and congratulated Mr. Peabody on his convalescence."<sup>14</sup> Barnas Sears, first agent of the Peabody Education Fund, described another of Peabody's appearances at the dining hall as follows:

Yesterday he went to the public dinner table (about 1500 persons are here and dine in a long hall), and then sat an hour in the parlor, giving the ladies an opportunity to take him by the hand, and he is the better for it today.<sup>15</sup>

Peabody and Lee became the central figures in the most remarkable photograph of the Reconstruction era. It was taken on the grounds outside the Old White about the middle of August, 1869. There were thirteen persons in the photograph. Seated on cane-bottom chairs were (from left to right) Blacque Bey, Turkish Minister to the United States, Robert E. Lee, George Peabody, William W. Corcoran, and James Lyons. Standing behind them (from left to right) were eight former Confederate generals: James Conner of South Carolina, Martin W. Garry of South Carolina, J. Bankhead Magruder of Virginia, Robert D. Lilley of Virginia, P. G. T. Beauregard of Louisiana, Alexander R. Lawton of Georgia, Henry A. Wise of Virginia, and Joseph L. Brent of Maryland. The photographer slipped in a plate, uncovered the lens and fixed a bit of photographic history. There is also extant a photograph, probably taken that same day, of Lee, Peabody, and Corcoran seated together, and one of Peabody seated alone which must have been his very last photograph.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>*Richmond Daily Whig*, August 17, 1869; *New York Herald*, August 29, 1869.

<sup>15</sup>Undated letter from Barnas Sears, quoted in J. L. M. Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody* (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1898), p. 53.

<sup>16</sup>*Richmond Daily Whig*, August 20, 1869, states that the photograph was taken by Anderson and Johnson of Anderson's Richmond photographic establishment. The photographs appear in Francis Trevelyan Miller (ed.), *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Review of Reviews Co., 1911), X, p. 4; Alfred Lawrence Kocher and Howard Dearstyne, *Shadows in Silver, A Record of Virginia, 1850-1900 in Photographs Taken by George and Huestis Cook with Additions from the Cook Collection* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), pp. 189, 190; Roy Meredith, *The Face of R. E. Lee* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), pp. 84-85; and Freeman, *op. cit.*, 1947 edition, IV, p. 438. Report of a speech of General Magruder describes the circumstances surrounding the main photograph, in the *New York World*, September 14, 1869.

The presence of Lee and Peabody focused public attention on the educational needs of the South and on the work of the Peabody Education Fund in that area. This topic of conversation engaged the attention of prominent educators present at the Springs. There was Barnas Sears, first agent of the fund and former president of Brown University in Rhode Island; J. L. M. Curry, former president of Howard College, Alabama, and later second agent of the Peabody Education Fund; James Lyons, lawyer of Richmond, Virginia, who for years had been an advocate of the public schools; and John Eaton, Superintendent of Public Instruction in Tennessee and later United States Commissioner of Education, who made reference to the meeting in his annual report.<sup>17</sup> These informal meetings at the Old White Sulphur Springs in 1869, centering as they did upon Lee and Peabody and focusing attention on the educational needs of the South, established a precedent. A series of conferences on education in the South followed at the turn of the century. The first in the summer of 1898 at Capon Springs, West Virginia, while of independent origin, included John Eaton, then United States Commissioner of Education, and J. L. M. Curry, second agent of the Peabody Education Fund, both of whom had attended the Lee-Peabody talks in 1869. There were three conferences on education in the South at Capon Springs and a fourth at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1901. As a result of these conferences the Southern Education Board was founded. Abraham Flexner praised this Board by writing that it "did more to re-establish friendship and good fellowship between the North and the South in the twelve years of its active existence than any other organization in the same period of time."<sup>18</sup> The work of the Peabody Education Fund and of the Southern Education Board engaged the interest of John D. Rockefeller, who founded the General Education Board. Thus, a large measure of the later educational efforts in the South can be traced directly to the informal meetings centered around Lee and Peabody at the Old White Sulphur Springs in August, 1869.

Lee's cordiality to Peabody and the Southerner's warm response to Peabody's presence among them was not reciprocated in the North. William Lloyd Garrison, abolitionist, was vehement in his attack upon Peabody:

<sup>17</sup>John Eaton, *First Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Tennessee, Ending Thursday, October 7, 1869* (Nashville, Tennessee: George Edgar Grishman, 1869), Appendix T.

<sup>18</sup>Abraham Flexner, *Funds and Foundations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 23.

Now Mr. Peabody is very sick. He doesn't go to a Northern mineral Spring, but to White Sulphur Springs in Virginia where the *elite* of rebeldom welcome him with congratulatory resolutions. In reply Mr. Peabody tells them of his *own cordial esteem and regard for the high honor, integrity, and heroism of the Southern people!*<sup>19</sup>

As the end of August approached the distinguished guests prepared to depart. A flattering ovation was given to Peabody as he left by train on Monday, August 30, accompanied for a short distance by General Lee.<sup>20</sup> Thus, they parted after their first and only meeting. Peabody sailed from New York on September 29 and died in London on November 4; Lee returned to Lexington for his last year of labor as president of Washington College. Behind them remained the memory of an incident of reconciliation between North and South.

<sup>19</sup>New York *Independent*, August 19, 1869.

<sup>20</sup>Philadelphia *North American and U.S. Gazette*, August 31, 1869.



# Influences on the Founder of the Johns Hopkins University and the Johns Hopkins Medical School

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Known documents mention the influence of three individuals upon Johns Hopkins in founding The Johns Hopkins University and The Johns Hopkins Hospital. Since my interest in this question first arose in gathering material for a biography of George Peabody (1795-1869), and the documents relating to his acquaintance with Johns Hopkins are most extensive, a review of their acquaintance follows first.

George Peabody and Johns Hopkins were born the same year, 1795, Peabody on February 18 in Danvers (now Peabody), Massachusetts; Hopkins on May 19 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Hopkins left his Quaker farm home in 1812 to become a grocer in Baltimore. Peabody left Massachusetts about the same time to become a dry goods store-keeper in Georgetown, D.C., and then a partner in the mercantile firm of Riggs, Peabody & Co., in Baltimore. In 1822 Hopkins had founded the firm of Hopkins & Brothers which traded in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; Peabody had become the traveling buyer of Riggs, Peabody & Co., which had branches in New York and Philadelphia.

From merchandising both men turned, independently, to financial investments in banks and railroads. Hopkins remained in Baltimore to make his fortune; Peabody left Baltimore for London where his brokerage firm became the genesis of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Junius Spencer Morgan of Boston became a partner in George Peabody & Co., London, in 1854. His son, John Pierpont Morgan, began his financial career as the New York agent for this firm. Soon after Peabody's retirement in 1864, the name of the firm was changed to J. S. Morgan & Co. Peabody, a bachelor without heirs, withdrew his name from the firm, since he would have no control over its operations. Grenfell, Morgan & Co., Ltd., London, is the present direct descendant of George Peabody & Co.

Both men used their wealth for philanthropic purposes. Peabody founded the Peabody Institute of Baltimore in 1857 and the Peabody Homes for working people in London in 1862.<sup>2</sup> During a year's return (1866-1867) after thirty years abroad, he founded the Peabody Education Fund for the Southern States and Peabody Museums at Yale and Harvard universities and in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup>

Peabody's influence upon Hopkins was exercised during this year's visit to the United States. Many sources have referred to this influence but none have reproduced the original document supporting it.<sup>4</sup> The original document is a speech by John Work Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, on January 30, 1883, the thirtieth anniversary of the Baltimore Young Men's Christian Association. Garrett told the audience of his past money-raising efforts for the YMCA and of his securing from Johns Hopkins a \$10,000 donation. He then described the occasion when he brought Peabody and Hopkins together:

Mr. Hopkins had on many occasions introduced the subject of the disposition of his estate, and conferred with me as to the best course to take. . . . His plans . . . continued indefinite until during a visit of George Peabody to Baltimore. When a guest at my house I stated to him Mr. Hopkins' uncertainties and difficulties, and asked if I should invite Mr. Hopkins to dine with him, so that he might give his experience and views. . . . Mr. Peabody replied that he never gave advice but would if Mr. Hopkins wished, gladly confer with him. I called upon Mr. Hopkins and invited him to dine that evening, narrat-

<sup>2</sup>Peabody's housing gifts to London totalled \$2,500,000. More than 18,000 people live in Peabody homes in 1960.

<sup>3</sup>These were Peabody's best known philanthropies. He also founded other institutes.

<sup>4</sup>In chronological order: John Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), p. 231; *The Johns Hopkins Hullabaloo; A Yearbook of the Johns Hopkins University, 1899* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1899), pp. 9-11; Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Launching of a University and Other Papers; A Sheaf of Remembrances* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1906), pp. 10-12; Will Carson Ryan, *Studies in Early Graduate Education, the Johns Hopkins, Clark University, the University of Chicago*, Bulletin No. 30 (New York: The Carnegie Foundation, 1939), p. 16; Alan M. Chesney, *The Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine; A Chronicle, Early Years, 1867-1893* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943), vol. I, p. 6; John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), pp. 10-12.

ing the conversation between Mr. Peabody and myself. He accepted the invitation cordially. When my family left the table about 8 o'clock, I introduced the subject, and the conference continued until an hour past midnight. The conversation was remarkable. Mr. Peabody, after observing that he would give his own experience, without designing any advice, began by saying:

"Mr. Hopkins, we both commenced our commercial life in Baltimore, and we knew each other well. I," said Mr. Peabody, "left Baltimore for London, and from the commencement of my busy life I must state that I was extremely fond of money and very happy in acquiring it. I labored, struggled and economized continuously and increased my store, and I have been proud of my achievements. Leaving Baltimore, after a successful career in a relatively limited sphere, I began in London, the seat of the greatest intellectual forces connected with commerce, and there I succeeded wonderfully, and, in competition with houses that had been wealthy, prosperous and famous for generations, I carved my way to opulence. It is due to you, Mr. Hopkins, to say, remembering you so well, that you are the only man I have met in all my experience more thoroughly anxious to make money and more determined to succeed than myself; and you have enjoyed the pleasure of success, too. In vigorous efforts for mercantile power, capital, of course, and large capital, wax vital. I had the satisfaction, as you have had, of feeling that success is the test of merit, and I was happy in the view that I was, in this sense at least, very meritorious. You also have enjoyed a great share of success and of commercial power and honor. But, Mr. Hopkins, though my progress was for a long period satisfactory and gratifying, yet, when age came upon me, and when aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I had accumulated, so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity. I looked about me and formed the conclusion that there were men who were just as anxious to work with integrity and faithfulness for the comfort, consolation and advancement of the suffering poor as I had been to gather fortune. After careful consideration, I called a number of my friends in whom I had confidence to meet me, and I proposed that they should act as my trustees, and I organized my first scheme of benevolence. The trust was accepted, and I then, for the first time, felt there was a higher pleasure and a greater happiness than accumulating money, and that was derived from giving it for good and humane purposes; and so, sir, I have gone on, and from that day realized with increasing enjoyment the pleasure

of arranging for the greatest practicable good for those who would need my means to aid their well-being, progress, and happiness."<sup>5</sup>

Garrett went on to say that Hopkins was so impressed by Peabody's experiences that he "informed me on the following day that he had determined to commence making his will."<sup>6</sup>

Garrett does not give the date of this meeting. However, there were only four occasions when Peabody was in Baltimore in 1866 and 1867. He first arrived in Baltimore on October 24, 1866, spoke at the dedication of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore on October 25, met 20,000 Baltimore school children on October 26, shook hands with about 3,000 Baltimoreans on October 27, and attended the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore on Sunday, October 28.

During these busy and full days many friends called upon Peabody. He wrote letters from Garrett's house on October 30 to add to his benefactions and left Baltimore on October 31 for Zanesville, Ohio. His busy schedule and his illness make it unlikely, though possible, that the conversation with Hopkins took place during the last week of October, 1866.

Peabody's second visit to Baltimore was on November 12 and 13, 1866, on his return from Zanesville, Ohio. This was a relatively quieter period in his itinerary, and he did stay at Garrett's house. Also, Garrett's statement that Hopkins "informed me on the following day that he had determined to commence making his will" and the introduction into the Maryland Assembly of bills to incorporate The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University in January, 1867,<sup>7</sup> lend weight to November 12 or 13 as the date of meeting.

Peabody was in Baltimore for the third time on February 3, 1867, where Robert Charles Winthrop of Massachusetts joined him before leaving for Washington, D.C., to meet with the trustees of the Peabody Education Fund from February 4 to 7. This third Baltimore visit was short, and Peabody had much planning to do with Winthrop in regard to his education fund, which he considered his most important phi-

<sup>5</sup>John W. Garrett, *Address Delivered on the 30th of January, 1883, Before the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore on the Occasion of Their Thirtieth Anniversary* (Baltimore: The News Steam Printing Office, 1883), pp. 9-10; copy in The Johns Hopkins University Library; another copy among the Garrett Papers, Box 141, Library of Congress Manuscript Division; also quoted in *The Sun* (Baltimore), January 31, 1883, p. 1, c. 4.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Chesney, *op. cit.*



lanthropy. It seems unlikely that the conversation with Hopkins took place on February 3.

Peabody last visited Baltimore and stayed at Garrett's house on April 25, 1867, before he sailed from New York on May 1 for England. Many friends did call to say goodbye. But Hopkins' will had been made out more than six months before. Bills to incorporate Hopkins' two benefactions had been introduced in January, 1867, and the certificate of incorporation of the Hospital was signed in August, 1867.<sup>8</sup> The most likely date of the meeting between Hopkins and Peabody was probably November 12 or 13.

Before leaving this account of Peabody's influence on Hopkins, it is interesting to note the following statement allegedly made by the evangelist Dwight L. Moody:

I was a guest of John Garrett once, and he told me that his father used to entertain Peabody and Johns Hopkins. Peabody went to England, and Hopkins stayed in Baltimore. They both became immensely wealthy. Garrett tried to get Hopkins to make a will, but he wouldn't. Finally, Garrett invited them both to dinner, and afterward asked Peabody which he enjoyed most, the making of money or giving it away. Hopkins cocked up his ears, and then Peabody told him that he had had a struggle at first, and it lasted until he went into his remodelled London houses and saw the little children so happy. "Then," said Peabody, "I began to find out it was pleasanter to give money away than it was to make it." Forty-eight hours later Hopkins was making out his will founding the university and the hospital.<sup>9</sup>

Less is known about the two remaining persons who may have influenced Johns Hopkins. In his history of *The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University* published in 1943, Alan M. Chesney wrote that Johns Hopkins "was advised by Dr. Joseph Parrish of Philadelphia to found a hospital."<sup>10</sup> The source cited by Chesney, an obituary

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>Quoted in Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody, And A History of the Peabody Education Fund Through Thirty Years* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: University Press, 1898), pp. 17-18; Henry Mitchell MacCracken, *The Hall of Fame* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), p. 180. John Work Garrett's YMCA speech on January 30, 1883, relates that Moody was in Baltimore the spring of 1879 and called upon him about YMCA matters. Moody may have heard of the conversation between Peabody and Hopkins at this time.

<sup>10</sup>Chesney, *op. cit.*

notice, stated that Dr. Parrish was born in 1818 and died in 1891, and that he was President of the Medical Society of New Jersey in 1885. The writer of Dr. Parrish's obituary described Dr. Parrish's meeting with Hopkins as follows:

On his way to Washington, on a public errand, Dr. Parrish was met one morning at Baltimore, by Mr. Garrett (then President of the B. & O. R.R.) with whom he was well acquainted. Mr. Garrett accosting him with earnestness exclaimed in haste—"you must not leave town to-day. I have promised to drive you out and introduce you to Mr. Johns Hopkins as soon as possible. At 4 P.M. my carriage will come for you." Assuming that Mr. Hopkins' motive for meeting him (with which Mr. Garrett was utterly unacquainted) would justify the concession, Doctor Parrish remained and was introduced as proposed. He was received privately in Mr. Hopkins' library, who said—"I am not going to live much longer. I have millions of money, which I desire to devote to the welfare of mankind, but am totally at a loss to formulate any rational plan for so doing. I want you to advise me and tell me what to do with it." It was in vain for the Doctor to modestly protest his unfitness for such a purpose. Mr. Hopkins replied: "You *can* and *must* do it for me. I am helpless. Take the subject home with you, cogitate upon it, and let me hear from you soon." To the unaffected earnestness of Mr. Hopkins Dr. Parrish felt obliged to succumb. He promised to comply; and in a short time delivered to him in writing what proved to be the embryonic creation of the Johns Hopkins University.<sup>11</sup>

In his history of The Johns Hopkins University, Dr. John C. French has dated the above encounter in 1873, the year Johns Hopkins died.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the written plan mentioned in the above quotation has not been found among the Hopkins papers. Nor, unfortunately, did Garrett's YMCA speech of January 30, 1883, mention Dr. Parrish.

John C. French, in an article in this *Bulletin* in 1953, described the circumstances surrounding the third person who probably influenced Johns Hopkins.<sup>13</sup> Patrick Macaulay, M.D., a graduate of the University of

<sup>11</sup>*Transactions of the Medical Society of New Jersey* (1891), pp. 243-245.

<sup>12</sup>John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), p. 9.

<sup>13</sup>John C. French, "Mr. Johns Hopkins and Dr. Macaulay's 'Medical Improvement,'" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXVII (1953), pp. 562-566.

Pennsylvania, was eminent in Baltimore as a physician and in civic affairs. He was a stockholder and fellow director with Johns Hopkins of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The two men had summer homes less than four miles apart. A library of books, many of them medical books, containing Dr. Macaulay's bookplate, came into Johns Hopkins' possession and was consequently bequeathed to The Johns Hopkins Hospital library. French is reasonably sure from his research that Johns Hopkins and Dr. Macaulay were well acquainted.

In 1824, Dr. Macaulay had printed a pamphlet entitled "Medical Improvement" in which he advocated a plan for medical education which was far ahead of its time. Specifically, Dr. Macaulay urged the necessity of a hospital as part of a medical school, since bedside teaching was "indispensable to the attainment of a proper medical education."<sup>14</sup> In March, 1873, Johns Hopkins instructed the trustees of The Johns Hopkins Hospital: "In all your arrangements in relation to this hospital you will bear constantly in mind that it is my wish and purpose that the institution should ultimately form a part of the medical school of that university for which I have made ample provision by my will."<sup>15</sup> French concluded that it was these ideas of Dr. Macaulay's "which may have influenced the thoughts of Mr. Johns Hopkins when laying his plans for his great endowments."<sup>16</sup>

In summary, John Work Garrett is the primary source for establishing George Peabody's influence on Johns Hopkins and this influence has been affirmed by men close to both philanthropists and their benefactions. The writer of Dr. Joseph Parrish's obituary is the only source for the statement that Dr. Parrish provided Johns Hopkins with "the embryonic creation" of The Johns Hopkins University. John C. French has fully described the circumstances of Dr. Patrick Macaulay's influence on Johns Hopkins.

Later evidence may further verify these influences and perhaps uncover others. Yet in the final analysis, Johns Hopkins determined in his own mind to use his wealth for humanitarian purposes and clearly instructed his trustees how best to put it to the most fruitful use.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 565.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 562.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 565.

# George Peabody and the Search for Sir John Franklin, 1852-1854

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The background that connected George Peabody with America's earliest Arctic exploration, added Peabody Bay to the Arctic map, and aided Anglo-American relations centered about the search for Sir John Franklin, English Arctic explorer. The disappearance in the frozen North of this British naval officer, sometimes referred to as the Ulysses of his generation,<sup>1</sup> raised a hue and cry from 1845 to 1855 to find Franklin, just as in the 1870's the call went out to find David Livingstone.

Columbus's dream of a northwest passage to the East had opened the field of Arctic exploration, inspired Martin Frobisher to reach a latitude of sixty-two degrees, John Davis to make three Arctic voyages, and many others to sail below Greenland toward the top of the Americas. The central figure of Arctic exploration in the first half of the nineteenth century was Sir John Franklin.<sup>2</sup>

Franklin had fought under Lord Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar,<sup>3</sup> participated in the attack on New Orleans in the War of 1812,<sup>4</sup> and had been the governor of Tasmania. By 1845 he had already made several

This article originally appeared in *The American Neptune*, Volume XX, Number 2, April, 1960.

<sup>1</sup>Philip Whitwell Wilson, *George Peabody, Esq., An Interpretation* (Nashville, Tennessee: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1926), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>J. Kennedy MacLean and Chelsea Fraser, *Heroes of the North and Farthest South* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1932), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Albert Hastings Markham, *Life of Sir John Franklin and the Northwest Passage* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1889), p. 72.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 76.



Arctic voyages when a new plan to find the Northwest Passage reached practicality under the urging of Sir John Barrow of the Admiralty.<sup>5</sup>

Under Franklin's command *Erebus* and *Terror* sailed in May 1845 in quest of the hidden passage. After 1847 no member of the expedition was seen alive again. One hundred and thirty-seven men had voluntarily left their native land knowing that danger and maybe death awaited them, all for the purpose of adding one bright page to the scientific history of their country.<sup>6</sup> This heart-rending event precipitated the greatest man-hunt of the time.<sup>7</sup>

The international searching expeditions numbered five in 1848, three in 1849, ten in 1850, two in 1851, nine in 1852, five in 1853, two in 1854, one in 1855, and one in 1857.<sup>8</sup> George Peabody's contribution to the Second United States Grinnell Expedition under command of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane in 1853 was inspired largely by the gallant efforts of Lady Franklin in arousing American participation.<sup>9</sup> Turning a vague desire to help into an overwhelming crusade, she sent an appeal to the newly inaugurated President, Zachary Taylor, 'to join heart and mind in the enterprise of snatching the lost navigators from a dreary grave.'<sup>10</sup>

To a reward of £20,000 offered by the British Government, Lady Franklin added £3,000,<sup>11</sup> and her appeals to the United States went to

<sup>5</sup>G. J. Staunton, *Memoir of Sir John Barrow, Bart., and Description of the Barrow Monument Erected on the Hill of Hood, Ulverston, in the Neighborhood of his Birthplace, A.D. 1850*; also Richard J. Cyriax, *Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition, a Chapter in the History of the Royal Navy* (London: Methuen and Company, 1936).

<sup>6</sup>James A. Browne, *The Northwest Passage and the Fate of Sir John Franklin* (Woolrich, England: W. P. Jackson, 1860), p. vi.

<sup>7</sup>Jeannette Mirsky, *Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954), p. 51.

<sup>8</sup>Elisha Kent Kane, *Adrift in the Arctic Icepack; from the History of the First United Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin* (Oyster Bay, New York: Nelson, Doubleday, 1915), Introduction.

<sup>9</sup>Ernest Charles Buley, *Into the Polar Seas; the Story of Sir John Franklin* (London: The Sunday School Union, no date), p. 49.

<sup>10</sup>Willingham Franklin Rawnsley, ed., *The Life, Diaries, and Correspondence of Lady Jane Franklin, 1792-1875* (London: Erskine, MacDonald, 1949), pp. 197-232; Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Kane, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

<sup>11</sup>Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

Congress, then too preoccupied with the Compromise of 1850 and the admission of California as a free or slave state to take action. Her appeal, however, moved three Americans. The first was Henry Grinnell, head of Grinnell, Minturn & Co. of New York, whose early interest in northern whaling expeditions, close mercantile ties with Great Britain, and sympathy with the cause prompted him to offer two ships for the search. With this gesture of international good will before it, Congress acted quickly and on 2 May 1850 authorized United States naval personnel to man the ships.

The second man moved by Lady Franklin's appeal was Elisha Kent Kane, M.D., a medical officer of the United States Navy. In May 1850, while assigned to coast survey duty in the Gulf of Mexico, he volunteered through Navy channels to serve on any expedition searching for Franklin. In that month and year two of Henry Grinnell's ships formed the First United States Grinnell Expedition and searched the Arctic for sixteen months. The 144-ton *Advance*, under command of Captain E. J. DeHaven with Dr. Elisha Kent Kane aboard as ship's doctor, and the 91-ton *Rescue*, commanded by Acting Master S. P. Griffin, did not accomplish its mission, which was to find Franklin, his ships, or crew.<sup>12</sup>

George Peabody, the third man moved by Lady Franklin's appeal, was an American banker living in London. Born 18 February 1795 in what was then Danvers not far from historic Salem, Massachusetts, he had gone south to Georgetown, District of Columbia, in 1812 at age seventeen. Working as a storekeeper and pack peddler of retail dry goods, he served briefly in the War of 1812 and entered as junior partner in the mercantile firm of Riggs, Peabody & Co. in 1814.

Becoming head of the firm, Peabody made five business trips to Europe between 1827 and 1837, undertaking on the last trip a commission to market abroad an eight-million-dollar bond issue for the state of Maryland. He passed through the Panic of 1837 unscathed and with an enhanced reputation, having sold most of the bonds used for the expansion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. He remained in London after 1837 and almost for the rest of his life, laying the basis of his fortune by investing in American securities during the 1840s.

By 1843 Peabody had gone through the cycle from merchant to banker. From the ashes of Peabody, Riggs & Co. rose the firm of George Peabody & Co. of London, an American firm dealing with the sale of American securities abroad. 'Heaven has been pleased,' he said in a public ad-

<sup>12</sup>Naval Records, National Archives.

dress, 'to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish . . . a house in the great metropolis of England.'<sup>13</sup>

Peabody had first attracted minor international attention at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. The American exhibitors arrived with many crates of articles to be displayed but with no funds to outfit the large area assigned to them. London newspapers ridiculed the sorry show when Peabody, unknown to most of the exhibitors, quietly offered them a loan of \$15,000. It was a matter of pride for him to stand by his countrymen. He also had a strong desire to strengthen relations between his country and England. Moved by Lady Franklin's appeal, he saw the opportunity for an Anglo-American effort to rescue or locate the remains of the international explorer.

Peabody first became interested in the search for Franklin in 1852 and with typical thoroughness learned all he could of a projected Second United States Grinnell Expedition. Hamilton Fish, Senator from New York, had presented a memorial from Henry Grinnell asking Congress for United States naval support in conjunction with his ships for the second search. On 4 March 1852, Peabody wrote to a business associate in New York, William Shepard Wetmore, of his intention to aid the search with \$10,000. Wetmore wrote to William Wilson Corcoran, another business associate in Washington, D.C., to learn Congress's intent through Hamilton Fish.<sup>14</sup>

Knowing of Grinnell's ships and Peabody's aid, John Pendleton Kennedy, then United States Secretary of the Navy, coordinated the matter in its early stage. He had dinner with Dr. Kane in the middle of November 1852, and later recorded in his journal:

Pleasant little party at dinner with Dr. Kane of the Arctic Expedition and Lt. Gilleys of the Astronomical Department. . . . Kane had brought his drawings—a rich portfolio of Polar scenes—to show us. I have given him permission to go again, at the request of Lady Franklin on the new expedition recently set on foot by Mr. Henry Grinnell and Mr. Peabody.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>*Proceedings At The Reception and Dinner in Honor of George Peabody, Esq., of London, by the Citizens of the Old Town of Danvers, October 9, 1856* (Boston: H. W. Dutton and Son, 1856), pp. 51-52.

<sup>14</sup>Letter from William Shepard Wetmore to George Peabody, marked 'Private,' 19 March 1852, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute, Box 91.

<sup>15</sup>Kennedy's journal, VIIg (1 June 1852 to 17 July 1852), entry dated Washington, 5 December 1852, Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

Kennedy issued orders for Dr. Kane to take command, secured for him ten volunteers, and made the purpose of the expedition a scientific and geographic one.<sup>16</sup> Certain now that a second expedition would set forth, William Shepard Wetmore informed Henry Grinnell he was ready to transfer Peabody's \$10,000 when needed. Grinnell gratefully acknowledged the gift and arranged for Dr. Kane to depart in May 1853.<sup>17</sup> Kane needed publicity to secure instruments and equipment and he asked permission to publish Peabody's letter,<sup>18</sup> which was widely quoted. Peabody had written:

I hope that Congress will nobly respond to what appears to be the feeling of the nation; but aware of the uncertainty of votes on appropriation of money for such objects . . . I . . . subscribe for the purpose . . . ten thousand dollars.<sup>19</sup>

Kane rushed into print a hastily written narrative of the first expedition<sup>20</sup> which did much to bring the mystery and allure of the unknown North to a wide audience. Elisha Kent Kane's father, at his son's request, sent Peabody a copy of the 1853 book.<sup>21</sup> With Henry Grinnell acting as treasurer for the enterprise and with George Peabody's \$10,000 behind them, Kane lectured for funds and donated his own salary.<sup>22</sup> On 30 May 1852, Dr. Kane, in command of *Advance*, left New York bound for Smith

<sup>16</sup>Elisha Kent Kane, *Arctic Exploration; the Second Grinnell Expedition, 1853-55* (Philadelphia: Childs and Sampson and Company, 1856), II, Appendix.

<sup>17</sup>Letter from Henry Grinnell, New York, to William Shepard Wetmore, 3 January 1853; also letter from Wetmore to Grinnell, same date, both in Peabody Papers, Essex Institute, Box 91.

<sup>18</sup>Letter from Henry Grinnell, New York, to William Shepard Wetmore, 4 January 1853, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute, Box 91.

<sup>19</sup>*The Republic* (Washington, District of Columbia), 4 February 1853, p. 2, c. 5; *Baltimore Patriot*, 1 February 1853, p. 2, c. 4; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, District of Columbia), 1 February 1853, p. 3, c. 4; *Essex County Mercury & Danvers Courier* (Salem, Massachusetts), 9 February 1853, p. 3, c. 3; *New York Times*, 14 October 1856, p. 2, c. 4.

<sup>20</sup>The bibliographic entry for the 1853 edition is not known. A later revised edition is given in footnote 8.

<sup>21</sup>Letter from Elisha Kent Kane, Philadelphia, to George Peabody, 8 December 1853, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute, Box 1.

<sup>22</sup>Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 110.



Sound in the Arctic.<sup>23</sup> Thus set sail the Second United States Grinnell Expedition, a private venture with *Advance* contributed by Henry Grinnell and most of the equipment purchased from George Peabody's \$10,000. The Smithsonian Institution, the Geographical Society of New York, and the American Philosophical Society also aided the enterprise.<sup>24</sup>

Disappointment and hardship followed this second expedition which lasted two and a half years. On 24 May 1855, Kane and his men left *Advance*, frozen in the Arctic, and trekked 1,300 miles in eighty-four days during which one third of the crew perished. A passing Danish vessel rescued the suffering survivors at Godhaven, North Greenland.<sup>25</sup> Reaching safety Kane wrote to Peabody of his ill-fated voyage and Peabody had the correspondence published<sup>26</sup> so as to reach the Admiralty, Lady Franklin, Grinnell, and others quickly.<sup>27</sup> To Lady Franklin Peabody wrote:

Having been instrumental in promoting Docr. Kane's expedition in search for your late lamented husband . . . I have . . . felt much anxiety for their safety & it is therefore a great relief to my mind that Docr. Kane and so large a portion of the brave men [with] him safely arrived in their own country.<sup>28</sup>

The discovery of the tragic fate of Sir John Franklin and his men fell to two other explorers, Dr. John Rae of the Hudson's Bay Company<sup>29</sup> and Sir Leopold McClintock separately proved conclusively that Sir John

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>24</sup>Moses C. Shelesnyak, 'The Story of Elisha Kent Kane, Surgeon, U.S. Navy,' *U.S. Naval Medical Bulletin*, XLVII, No. 5 (September-October 1947), pp. 86-87.

<sup>25</sup>Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 178; *The Times* (London), 26 October 1855, p. 7, c. 5; 27 October 1855, p. 7, c. 2.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 26 October 1855, p. 7, c. 5; *Morning Post* (London), 26 October 1855.

<sup>27</sup>Letter from George Peabody to John Barrow, Admiralty, 27 October 1855, Accession No. 35,306f.3616, British Museum Manuscript Division, London, England.

<sup>28</sup>Draft of letter from George Peabody to Lady Franklin, 27 October 1855, Peabody Papers, Essex Institute, Box 92, Package 3.

<sup>29</sup>Clements R. Markham, *The Lands of Silence: a History of Arctic and Antarctic Exploration* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1921), p. 272.

Franklin had died on 11 June 1847.<sup>30</sup> Dr. Kane, gravely ill, spent the last year of his life painfully writing his second book.<sup>31</sup>

Three things can be said of Peabody's part in the search for Franklin.<sup>32</sup> First, financial support was an integral part of the second expedition and Peabody's was the largest money outlay made. Whether or not the expedition would have taken place at all without this aid is a moot question. He gave it, and the expedition took place. What Kane achieved he owed in part to Henry Grinnell, to George Peabody, to the United States Government, and to the organizations which made his trip possible.

Kane pioneered in American Arctic exploration; his was the first American expedition to the Arctic.<sup>33</sup> His second book, which scored a great success, sold 65,000 copies in its first year,<sup>34</sup> 145,000 in its first three years,<sup>35</sup> and was perhaps the most extensively read of all early books dealing with the Arctic.<sup>36</sup> Even though his geographic discoveries did not count for much,<sup>37</sup> his most objective critic wrote:

Despite all, however, Kane's expedition was rich in results. Thus the expedition discovered and indicated approximately the boundaries of Kane's Basin and the southern part of Kennedy Kanal. Further the expedition discovered and mapped the coast of Inglefield Land, Hum-

<sup>30</sup>Henry Harbour, *Arctic Explorers: Sir John Franklin, Fridtjof Nansen* (London: Collins, no date), p. 91.

<sup>31</sup>Kane, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup>Of incidental interest in the search for Franklin was the story of H.M.S. *Resolute*, a British ship searching for Franklin, which had to be abandoned in the Arctic ice. Her battered hull, extricated by Captain Buddington of the United States whaler, *George Henry*, was purchased by the United States, fitted for sea, and returned to Britain as a gift. In due course *Resolute* had to be broken up and from her timbers was made a massive table given by Queen Victoria to the President of the United States, which is now in the White House where successive presidents have transacted upon it official business of state. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 50. See also placard on this desk in the President's Apartments, Executive Mansion, the White House, Washington, District of Columbia.

<sup>33</sup>Joseph Nathan Kane, *Famous First Facts* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1950), p. 185.

<sup>34</sup>Lauge Koch, *Survey of North Greenland* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Ferlag, 1940), p. 19.

<sup>35</sup>Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>36</sup>*Loc. cit.*

<sup>37</sup>Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 184; Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

boldt Glacier, and the southern part of Washington Land, and Kane extended the Greenland coast from about 78° 20' Northwest to about 80° 30' N. latitude.<sup>38</sup>

Kane's heir was Robert Edwin Peary of the United States Navy, who furthered American Arctic exploration.<sup>39</sup> Kane's recent biographer calls him a pioneer of the seafaring frontier.<sup>40</sup> He took away from the Arctic its terror and pushed American exploration in that area along its initial path. George Peabody can stand honorably in his shadow. In appreciation for Peabody's financial aid Kane named Peabody Bay, off Greenland, for him. He recorded this fact in his report to the Secretary of the United States Navy as follows:

The large bay which separates it (Washington Land) from the coast of Greenland and the Glacier I have described bears on my chart the name of our liberal countryman and contributor to the expense of the expedition, Mr. George Peabody.<sup>41</sup>

Second, Peabody's aid to the Kane expedition fitted into the earliest modern undertakings of the United States in international technical cooperation. The Great Exhibition of 1851 and the search for Franklin, with both of which Peabody was connected, were two occasions in the 1850s when the United States joined other nations in furthering scientific development and exploration. What began simply in the 1850s was to increase tremendously in the next hundred years. Anyone who seeks to trace the roots from which arose such present-day international coopera-

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>39</sup>Mirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>Elisha Kent Kane, 'Report to the Secretary of the United States Navy, at Washington, of the expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, during the years 1853-4-5, with a chart showing the discoveries made in the Arctic Regions,' *The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society*, XXVI (1856), p. 8; *New York Daily Times*, 12 October 1855, p. 1, c. 1; letter from Gerald FitzGerald, Chief Topographic Engineer, United State Department of the Interior Geological Survey, Washington, District of Columbia, to the author, 13 July 1955, in the author's possession, states: 'The United States Board on Geographic Names considers Peabody Bay an accepted name. The center of the bay is at latitude 79° 30', longitude 66° 59'. It is defined in *Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World*, 1922 edition, as the eastern portion of Kane Basin, west of Washington Land, Greenland. It is shown as Peabody Bay on the Danish Geodetic Institute map, scale 1:300,000, 1932 edition; as Peabody Bugt [bay] on the Army Aeroplane map no. 41, and the World Aeronautical Chart No. 20.'

tive ventures as atomic research must take into consideration the technical cooperation between nations of the 1850's.<sup>42</sup>

Third, George Peabody knitted another small bond between the land of his birth and the country to which his business took him. It had been his original intention to aid a joint United States-British search party. When this did not materialize he supported the Kane-led expedition as a step toward his publicly avowed objective of bringing together America and Britain in friendship.

George Peabody's subsequent life was marked by success. He made a fortune large in its day and laid the foundation for the House of Morgan. In October 1854, he took in as partner Junius Spencer Morgan, retired ten years later, and removed his name from the firm. J. S. Morgan and Company in London and the J. P. Morgan Company in New York grew directly out of the work of George Peabody & Co.

It was through philanthropy that George Peabody made a lasting impression. From 1852 to his death in 1869 he gave away more than eight million dollars, creating four Peabody Institutes and seven libraries; founding Peabody Museums at Harvard, Yale, and in Salem; and endowing historical societies, academies, and colleges. His largest gifts were a two-and-a-half-million-dollar fund for a series of low-cost housing projects in London for the families of working men in 1862 and a two-million-dollar fund for education in the Southern states in 1867.

Much tribute for his philanthropy came to Peabody during his lifetime: a letter of thanks and a priceless miniature from Queen Victoria, a statue erected in London, the Freedom of the City of London, honorary degrees from Oxford and Harvard universities, a resolution of praise from the United States Congress, admission to ancient guilds, respected clubs, and societies, along with other expressions of esteem. His death in London on 4 November 1869 was followed by a funeral service in Westminster Abbey, the transfer of his remains to America on a British ship of war, a United States naval reception at Portland, Maine, and an impressive burial service in his home town, renamed Peabody in his honor. Yet almost forgotten amid the drama of his life was the part he played in the search for Sir John Franklin, British Arctic explorer.

<sup>42</sup>Richard O. Cummings, 'The Growth of Technical Co-operation with Governments Abroad, 1849-1853,' *Pacific Historical Review*, XVIII, No. 2 (May 1949), p. 212.



# George Peabody's Influence on Southern Educational Philanthropy

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For four years the American states tested a principal of union in the crucible of war. The industrial North crushed the agrarian South. To help heal the breach, the Federal Government created the Freedmen's Bureau. But what could the bureau do when Northern radicals treated the South as a conquered province? Major General Oliver O. Howard, the bureau's director, intended well. But his Northern agents were often inefficient or corrupt. Everything conspired to make the bureau an irritant to the open sore it sought to heal. Its failure highlighted the inability of the North to effect reconciliation. What the government could not do, a private philanthropist attempted.

While radical revenge smothered reconstruction, an old man and some distinguished trustees bowed their heads in prayer, gave birth to the Peabody Education Fund, and started a revival of education in the Southern states. Two years after Appomattox the philanthropist founded this fund with these words:

With my advancing years my attachment to my native land has become more devoted. My faith in its glorious future grows brighter and stronger. Looking beyond my stay on earth I see our country emerging from the clouds still around her, taking high rank among nations, becoming richer and more powerful than ever. To make her prosperity more than superficial her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth. I give you, my friends, one million dollars to promote and encourage the intellectual, moral, industrial education of the destitute children of the Southern states.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Letter from George Peabody to the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, February 7, 1867, original in the Archives of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

On doubling the fund two years later, he concluded: "With God's blessing on the gift I do this as a permanent boon not only to the South but to the whole of our dear country."<sup>2</sup> Four and a half months later he died. He built better than he knew. What he gave was significant in its time. What he unleashed was tremendous in its influence.

To understand the origin of the Peabody Education Fund one might witness a meeting which took place between George Peabody and Johns Hopkins in Baltimore in 1866. Both were born in 1795, Peabody on February 18 in Danvers (now Peabody), Massachusetts; Hopkins on May 19 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Hopkins left his Quaker farm home in 1812 to become a grocer in Baltimore. Peabody left Massachusetts in 1811 to become a dry goods storekeeper in Georgetown, District of Columbia. Hopkins founded the mercantile firm of Hopkins and Brothers in Baltimore in 1822. Peabody became a junior partner in the mercantile firm of Riggs, Peabody & Co. in Baltimore in 1815. The Hopkins firm traded in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Riggs, Peabody & Co., from its Baltimore headquarters, sent Peabody out as traveling buyer to its branches in New York and Philadelphia.

Both men turned, independently, from merchandising to investing in banks and railroads. Hopkins remained in Baltimore to make his fortune. Peabody left Baltimore for London where his mercantile and brokerage firm became the genesis of the banking house of J. P. Morgan and Company.<sup>3</sup>

Peabody and Hopkins had met in 1856-1857 when Peabody, on a year's visit to the United States, founded the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.<sup>4</sup> They met again in November of 1866 when Peabody again visited the United States. He had by then already established the Peabody Homes

<sup>2</sup>George Peabody, *Three Letters of Mr. George Peabody who Established the Peabody Education Fund A.D. 1867* (Cambridge, 1910), 22.

<sup>3</sup>Junius Spencer Morgan of Boston became a partner in the firm of George Peabody & Co., London, in 1854. His son, John Pierpont Morgan, began his financial career as the New York agent for this firm. Soon after Peabody's retirement in 1864, the name of the firm was changed to J. S. Morgan & Co. Peabody, a bachelor without heirs, withdrew his name from the firm since he would have no control over its operations. Grenfell, Morgan & Co., Ltd., London, is the present direct descendant of George Peabody & Co.

<sup>4</sup>Enoch Pratt, trustee of this institute, was influenced by this connection to found the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore. George Washington Howard, *The Monumental City, Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1873), 947; Richard H. Hart, *Enoch Pratt, the Story of a Plain Man* (Baltimore, 1935), 47; Franklin Parker, "George Peabody, Founder of Modern Philanthropy" (Ed.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1956), Vol. II, Chapter XLIII, "George Peabody's Contributions to Baltimore," 976-84.

for working people in London (1862)<sup>5</sup> and after his arrival in New York in May of 1866, he had founded the Peabody Museums of Yale and Harvard universities and the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>6</sup> His stopover in Baltimore with Hopkins in November, 1866, preceded by three months his founding of the Peabody Education Fund.

Hopkins, a bachelor, had asked friends how best to use his wealth for philanthropic purposes. John Work Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and a mutual friend, brought Hopkins and Peabody together in his home. In a long conversation after dinner, Peabody compared his career with that of Hopkins, pointing out that, like Hopkins, he had sought wealth as the test of success and had long been happy with what he had achieved.

Yet, when age came upon me, and when aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I had accumulated, so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity. I looked about me and formed the conclusion that there were men who were just as anxious to work with integrity and faithfulness for the comfort, consolation and advancement of the suffering poor as I had been to gather fortune. After careful consideration, I called a number of my friends in whom I had confidence to meet me, and I proposed that they should act as my trustees, and I organized my first scheme of benevolence. The trust was accepted, and I then, for the first time, felt there was a higher pleasure and a greater happiness than accumulating money, and that was derived from giving it for good and humane purposes; and so, sir, I have gone on, and from that day realized with increasing enjoyment the pleasure of arranging for the greatest practicable good for those who would need my means to aid their well-being, progress, and happiness.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chapter XLIV, "George Peabody's Contributions to Municipal Housing," 985-90.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chapter XLV, "George Peabody as a Benefactor of American Science," 991-96.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chapter XLIII, "George Peabody's Contributions to Baltimore," 976-84; Franklin Parker, "Influences on the Founder of the Johns Hopkins University and the Johns Hopkins Medical School," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXXIV, No. 2 (1960), 148-53. The basic source for Peabody's influence over Hopkins is John W. Garrett, *Address Delivered on the 30th of January, 1883, Before the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore on the Occasion of Their Thirtieth Anniversary* (Baltimore, 1883), 9-10; copy in Johns Hopkins University Library; another copy among the Garrett Papers, Box 141, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division; also quoted in *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1883.



Hopkins made out his will the next day. Two months later bills to incorporate his benefactions were in the Maryland legislature. The evidence is sufficient to allow Peabody partial influence over Hopkins. Peabody may honorably stand in the shadow of what has been achieved by the Johns Hopkins University, hospital, and medical school. This Peabody-Hopkins talk provides invaluable insight into Peabody the man and the philanthropist.

As for the Peabody Education Fund itself, four men are mainly responsible for its origin and early operation. George Peabody was its founder and inspiration. His money endowed it. Robert Charles Winthrop provided the leadership that gave the fund national stature. Peabody had long admired Winthrop's distinguished career as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and successor to Daniel Webster in the United States Senate. As President of the Board of Trustees for twenty-seven years, Winthrop carried forward Peabody's vision and kept the fund in popular favor with Northerners and Southerners alike.

Winthrop also found the man to direct the fund's early operation. Barnas Sears had been Professor of Theology and later President of Newton Theological Seminary. He had succeeded Horace Mann as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. He was President of Brown University in Rhode Island when Winthrop prevailed upon him to become the fund's first agent. It was Sears who guided the fund's early operation by deciding where and how to use its financial influence.

The fourth man was Thurlow Weed, a key figure in explaining the evolution of the fund in Peabody's mind. Weed was an influential New York State journalist and political manager with whom Peabody had long been acquainted. Peabody went to Weed for advice in 1851, 1861, and 1866, hoping that Weed would undertake the practical direction of his intended gifts. Weed declined and suggested Winthrop as eminently more qualified. After Peabody's death, Weed disclosed that the money which went into the fund was originally intended for the poor of New York City:

Some of Mr. Peabody's accusers discern, or think they discern, evidence of rebel sympathies in his great educational gift for the poor of the formerly slave States; but even in this they err. That money, until some time after the conclusion of the war, was intended for the City of New York. Soon after handing his check for 100,000 guineas to his London trustees, he reverted to what he had told me fifteen years earlier about his intention to do something for the industrious poor of New York, adding that as he was then a much richer man, his dona-



tion would be a much larger one; and that he intended to carry out his purpose, after his then approaching withdrawal from business. But the war and its consequences changed his views. While the poor of the South had multiplied in numbers, the City of New York had not only been growing in wealth, had established schools, the doors of which were wide open to every child in the city, but we were also fortunate in having among our citizens several capitalists vastly richer than himself. But these circumstances, while in his thoughts, had not decided his action when he arrived, nor until he had conversed with several Northern friends, all of whom approved of the effort to educate and elevate the masses in ignorance and poverty, black and white, which pervades the whole South. . . .<sup>8</sup>

After the idea of aiding the South was finally decided upon, Weed helped name the fund's trustees and Winthrop helped develop the fund's plan. When Peabody arrived in the United States in May, 1866, Weed continued:

He communicated his then immature programme for the education and elevation of the Southern poor, and consulted with us in relation to suitable men for trustees. And it may be proper to say here, that the beneficent plan finally adopted, was the suggestion of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston.<sup>9</sup>

Southern acceptance of the Peabody Education Fund was assured by Robert E. Lee's early approval. They met in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, in August, 1869.<sup>10</sup> For Lee at sixty-two this was the next to the last summer of life. For Peabody at seventy-four it was the very last summer of life. In their old age both men had turned to the reviving power of education, Lee in 1865 as President of impoverished Washington College in Lexington, Virginia; Peabody in 1867 as founder of the Peabody Education Fund.

<sup>8</sup>Thurlow Weed, "The Late George Peabody; a Vindication of His Course During the Civil War," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, XIX (1931), 14-15; *New York Times*, December 23, 1869; Franklin Parker, "George Peabody, Founder of Modern Philanthropy" (Ed.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1956), Vol. II, Chapter XXIX, "The Creation of the Peabody Education Fund, February, 1867," 702-56.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*; Weed, "The Late George Peabody," 9.

<sup>10</sup>Franklin Parker, "Robert E. Lee, George Peabody, and Sectional Reunion," *Peabody Journal of Education*, XXXVII (1960), 195-202.

Prominent educators were also at the Springs that summer, among them Barnas Sears, first agent of the Peabody Education Fund; J. L. M. Curry, later second agent of the fund; James Lyons, Richmond lawyer and friend of the Virginia public schools; John Eaton, Tennessee Superintendent of Public Instruction and later United States Commissioner of Education.

This meeting set a precedent in focusing public attention on the educational needs of the South and on the work of the Peabody Education Fund. Conferences on Education in the South followed at the turn of the century. The first in the summer of 1898 at Capon Springs, West Virginia, while of independent origin, included John Eaton, then United States Commissioner of Education, and J. L. M. Curry, then second agent of the Peabody Education Fund, both of whom had attended the Lee-Peabody talks in 1869.

Three Conferences on Education in the South were held at Capon Springs, West Virginia, and a fourth at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1901. These conferences led directly to the founding of the Southern Education Board (1901-1914). The work of the Peabody Education Fund and of the Southern Education Board so attracted the attention of John D. Rockefeller that he engaged J. L. M. Curry and others as trustees for his General Education Board (1902-1914). Barnas Sears, J. L. M. Curry, Wickliffe Rose, and other trustees of the Peabody Education Fund also served as officers and trustees of the other early foundations. It is difficult to distinguish from 1902 to 1913 between the programs and work of the Peabody Education Fund, the Conferences for Education in the South, the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the John F. Slater Fund, and the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation. There was the closest cooperation between the men, trustees, officers, and directors of these various boards and funds.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Southern Education Foundation, *Biennial Report for 1950—1951-52* (Atlanta, 1955), 30; Edwin Anderson Alderman and Armistead Churchill Gordon, *J. L. M. Curry, A Biography* (New York, 1911), 375; William K. Boyd, "Some Phases of Educational History in the South Since 1865," *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (New York, 1915), Chapter XI. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, for example, was at one time agent for both the Peabody and Slater Funds, director of the Southern Education Board, and member of the General Education Board. Southern Education Foundation, *Biennial Report for 1950*, p. 30. In his founding letter Slater wrote: "I am encouraged to the execution in this charitable foundation . . . by the eminent wisdom and success that has marked the conduct of the Peabody Education Fund in the field of operation not remote from that contemplated by this trust." J. L. M. Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody, and a History of the Peabody Education Fund Through Thirty Years* (Cambridge, 1898), 92. Slater selected as trustees for his own fund two trustees of the Peabody Education Fund. Curry is also the source for attributing to the influence of the Peabody Education Fund the gifts of Paul Tulane (Tulane University) and Anthony J. Drexel (Drexel Institute). Drexel was a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund from 1881 to 1893.

The problem was a common one, to uplift the destitute people of the South. The Peabody Education Fund first labored in this area. To negate its existence is to remove the foundation stone upon which rested all subsequent philanthropic effort in the South. It was the first private multimillion dollar foundation in American history with a positive approach toward the prevention of social ills. It was the first such foundation whose scope was recognized as national rather than local. It was the first such foundation which provided operational flexibility as conditions changed. It was the first such foundation to select trustees from professional and financial circles.<sup>12</sup> The following are some principles it established and some precedents it set.

The decision of early foundations not to give funds to state institutions was based in part on a test case conducted by the Peabody Education Fund from 1870 to 1880. The trustees desired to create a few superior state normal schools. Barnas Sears sought to establish the first of these in Nashville. But the Tennessee legislature refused to appropriate matching funds to assure its permanency. The Peabody Education Fund then decided to endow the Peabody Normal College as a private teachers college. The Nashville experiment tested every phase of a foundation's relationship to both private and state-controlled higher education. Henceforth the leading foundations promoted private institutions of learning as model demonstrations to the rest of the country.

Here is the heartbeat of American educational philanthropy—private wealth taking the initiative in creating models of excellence, the results if good, serving as examples for others, particularly state governments, to emulate. The Peabody Education Fund was the first modern exponent of this principle.

The Peabody Education Fund was the first foundation to use the stimulating effects of matching grants for permanent improvement. Its trustees made grants only if communities initiated and perpetuated public school legislation. This policy was a prime lever in stimulating public support of Southern education. The principle was carefully followed of helping only those who would be willing to help themselves.<sup>13</sup>

The Peabody Education Fund set another precedent in the way it sought public support. Its original purpose, to elevate Southern society, required the stimulus of an awakened people. Through newspapers, public speeches by its agents, addresses to state legislatures, publication

<sup>12</sup>Leonard P. Ayres, "Seven Great Foundations. 1. The Peabody Education Fund," *Journal of Education*, LXXII (1910), 199-200.

<sup>13</sup>Ernest Victor Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* (New York, 1938), 39.



of its minutes and proceedings, the Fund set the public relations pattern used by subsequent foundations to build good will.<sup>14</sup>

Peabody also helped to free corporate philanthropy from the dead hand of peculiar limitations imposed by donors. Having chosen his trustees carefully and having stated his broad purpose in a founding letter, he did not interfere further with the deliberations or decisions of his trustees. This precedent enabled trustees of subsequent foundations to become more independent of the control of the founder and the founder's family.<sup>15</sup>

Modern foundation executives are frequently distinguished as former university presidents. This pattern was less marked before the example of the Peabody Education Fund. Both Barnas Sears and J. L. M. Curry were presidents of collegiate institutions before working with the Peabody Education Fund, Sears as President of Brown University in Rhode Island, and Curry as President of Howard College in Alabama. This pattern was later reflected in the foundational leadership of such men as Wallace Buttrick, James H. Dillard, Wickliffe Rose, and Henry S. Pritchett.<sup>16</sup>

Since World War I corporate philanthropy has interested itself in discovering potential leaders through scholarship grants. The Peabody Education Fund gave \$580,660 for Peabody scholarships.<sup>17</sup> Probably no

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 68-69. A Peabody Education Fund trustee wrote of Peabody's publicity consciousness: "There was in Mr. Peabody a touch of egotism and a satisfaction in publicity which worked to the advantage of this fund; by the selection of men of national fame as trustees he called the attention of the whole country to the educational needs of the South and the common interest of North and South in building up a united Nation. . . . As an object lesson to the country that North and South were socially as well as politically united, the trustees brought their wives to the annual meeting in New York, and in the evening met at the most sumptuous dinner that the great hostelry of those days, the Fifth Avenue Hotel, could provide; the report of which and of what they had to eat and drink was headlined in the press of the South and North. This annual event took place upon the suggestion of Mr. Peabody and at the expense of the fund; and in its social influence and publicity was well worth the cost." William Lawrence, *Memories of a Happy Life* (Boston, 1926), 268-69; also quoted in Hoy Taylor, *An Interpretation of the Early Administration of the Peabody Education Fund*. Contributions to Education No. 114 (Nashville, 1933), 25.

<sup>15</sup>Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations*, 80.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>17</sup>Peabody Education Fund, *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, 1893-1899* (Cambridge, 1910), V, 168, 228, 283, 337, 404; Tracy Mitchell Kegley, *The Peabody Scholarships, 1877-1899*, Contributions to Education No. 413 (Nashville, 1949).



earlier philanthropic foundation had a similar program of scholarship aid to outstanding youths. The fund set an early precedent by using scholarship aid to bolster the teaching profession and to strengthen teacher preparatory institutions.<sup>18</sup>

When the Peabody Education Fund was dissolved in 1914 it distributed its assets of \$2,324,000 three ways: \$1,500,000 endowed George Peabody College for Teachers, \$474,000 went to fourteen universities and colleges, and \$346,797 to the Slater Fund for its work in Negro colleges. Here was an early instance of corporate philanthropy endowing American higher education.<sup>19</sup>

The resources of today's giant foundations have overshadowed George Peabody's gift to Southern education. His influence has become somewhat forgotten, although recorded in academic works. Yet his education fund was the parent of modern foundations, their model, forerunner, and inspiration.<sup>20</sup>

Historians have referred to this influence as follows. E. Merton Coulter: the greatest act of help and friendship to the South during Reconstruction.<sup>21</sup> Paul H. Buck: a fruitful experiment in harmony and understanding between the sections.<sup>22</sup> Thomas D. Clark: it worked as an education leaven.<sup>23</sup> Harvey Wish: no kindness touched the hearts of the Southerners quite so much as did Peabody's educational bequest.<sup>24</sup>

Educational historians have said the following. Jesse Brundage Sears:

<sup>18</sup>Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations*, 174-75.

<sup>19</sup>Southern Education Foundation, *Biennial Report for 1950*, 2, 96; Peabody Education Fund, *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund 1900-1914* (Cambridge, 1916), VI, 542-46, 634; Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations*, 206; Joseph Walter Brouillette, "The Third Phase of the Peabody Education Fund 1905-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1937), 305. The figure of \$474,000 is computed from the Peabody Education Fund, *Proceedings, 1900-1914*, 634. Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations*, 228, gives this figure as \$460,000.

<sup>20</sup>This tribute appeared on the sixtieth anniversary of the Peabody Education Fund in "The Followers of George Peabody," *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), February 9, 1917.

<sup>21</sup>E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 327.

<sup>22</sup>Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937), 164.

<sup>23</sup>Thomas D. Clark, *The Southern Country Editor* (New York, 1948), 30.

<sup>24</sup>Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America* (New York, 1952), II, 37.

the first successful precedent-setting educational foundation.<sup>25</sup> Daniel Coit Gilman: all subsequent foundations adopted the principles Peabody formulated.<sup>26</sup> Charles William Dabney: the meeting between George Peabody and Robert E. Lee in August, 1869, inspired the Four Conferences on Education in the South from which emerged the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board.<sup>27</sup> Abraham Flexner: there was the closest cooperation among, and interlocking officers and trustees of, the Peabody Education Fund, the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the Samuel F. Slater Fund, the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, and the Rosenwald Fund.<sup>28</sup>

One can only speculate on why Peabody became a philanthropist. He did feel keenly about his own lack of schooling. To a nephew he wrote:

Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late. . . .<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps as his wealth mounted, Peabody wondered why he had been favored. Age and illness may have led him to seek happiness in doing good. For whatever reason, he used with prudence what Providence had given him, and religious idealism was a motivating factor. Five days before he died he wrote to friends:

<sup>25</sup>Jesse Brundage Sears, *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education*, Bulletin No. 26 (Washington, D.C., 1922), 91.

<sup>26</sup>Gilman credits the principles of the John F. Slater Fund, John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, the Andrew Carnegie foundations, and the Russell Sage Foundation to the influence of George Peabody. Daniel Coit Gilman, "Five Great Gifts," *The Outlook*, LXXXVI, No. 13 (1907), 657.

<sup>27</sup>Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1936), I, Chapter VII; II, Chapters I-IV.

<sup>28</sup>Abraham Flexner, *Funds and Foundations: Their Policies Past and Present* (New York, 1952), Chapters I-II.

<sup>29</sup>Letter from George Peabody to his nephew, George, son of David Peabody, May 18, 1831, Peabody Papers, The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Franklin Parker, *George Peabody (1795-1869), Founder of Modern Philanthropy* (Nashville, 1955), 25-26.

For a score of years I have prayed daily to God to spare my life to carry out the work I was endeavoring in my feeble way to accomplish, and He has done it.<sup>30</sup>

To Robert Winthrop, who expressed wonder at the education plan for the South, Peabody said:

Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; . . . *I have prayed my Heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled before I died, to show my gratitude by doing some great good to my fellowmen.*<sup>31</sup>

Those last words are cut into the granite marker of his memorial in Westminster Abbey. They form a fitting epitaph.

<sup>30</sup>Robert Charles Winthrop, *Eulogy Pronounced at the Funeral of George Peabody, at Peabody, Mass., 8 February 1870* (Boston, 1870), 11; Salem (Massachusetts) *Gazette*, November 16, 1869.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

## Maryland's Yankee Friend— George Peabody, Esq.

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Maryland has long been proud of one of its great citizens and benefactors, George Peabody, 1795-1869, founder of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

Maryland had been the scene of his first business success. To Maryland he left a rich cultural legacy. The Maryland Historical Society publications have been made possible in part from his gift. The Johns Hopkins University and Medical School were indirectly inspired by him. The Peabody Library of Baltimore has one of America's finest special reference book collections. The Peabody Conservatory of Music occupies a respected place among schools of music.

When news reached Baltimore of George Peabody's death, stores and schools were closed, and bells tolled. Victor Hugo said of him, "America has reason to be proud of this great citizen." Robert E. Lee wrote, "Nowhere have his generous deeds . . . elicited more heartfelt admiration than at the South."

George Peabody was a New Englander, born in South Danvers (now Peabody), near Salem, Massachusetts. His school years were short and he was apprenticed to a country storekeeper at age eleven. The death of his father when young Peabody was fifteen made him take on the support of the family of seven members. At age seventeen he went with his uncle to Georgetown, District of Columbia, where the older relative opened a dry goods store. Young Peabody worked for a time as a pack peddler selling goods and wearing apparel in and around the city. He enlisted in the War of 1812 in Captain George Peter's Company and served with such famous Marylanders as Francis Scott Key, John Pendleton Kennedy, and Elisha Riggs. Kennedy later recalled Peabody

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in those days as a "trig young soldier," wearing a flashy blue and scarlet uniform with crossed belts and a nodding plume in his hat.

Elisha Riggs of Montgomery County, Maryland, an older and established merchant, invited the nineteen-year-old Peabody to become his partner in 1814. The dry goods importing firm of Riggs, Peabody & Company soon moved to Baltimore and ten years later had branch offices in New York and Philadelphia. When Elisha Riggs withdrew from the firm in 1829, his nephew, Samuel Riggs, took his place while Peabody became the senior partner. Baltimore was an excellent city in which to lay the foundation of a fortune. By 1830 it had outstripped Boston and Philadelphia in size and stood second to New York as a commercial city. Sometime during this early period of busy commercial endeavor Peabody had determined that should his fortune rise, he would give liberally for educational causes. As early as 1832, in his amended will, just before going to Europe for his third buying trip, Peabody set aside \$2,000 for the infant school of Baltimore and \$20,000 to the mayor and city council of Baltimore to be used for educational purposes.

During his fifth European trip, which kept him in London as a merchant and banker for almost the rest of his life, Peabody was commissioned to sell Maryland's eight million dollar bond issue to promote the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Under the difficult handicaps of the financial panic of 1837 and the temporary repudiation of indebtedness by nine American states, including Maryland, he sold the bonds and upheld Maryland's reputation abroad. Not wishing to add to Maryland's burdens he never claimed the \$60,000 commission due him for his services, a fact which did not become known until 1847.

Meanwhile Peabody established himself in London as a merchant for Peabody, Riggs and Company, and after 1843 as a banker for his own firm, George Peabody and Company. He entertained visiting Americans, particularly Marylanders, one of whom, William S. Albert, described his kindness as follows:

In 1838, when on a visit to London, I lodged in the same house with him for several weeks. Under the same roof were assembled mutual friends from the city of his adoption, upon whom he took pleasure in bestowing those marks of attention so grateful in a foreign land, making the house a home to us all.

Hearing that funds were being raised in 1845 for an Athenaeum and public library in Baltimore, Peabody sent \$500 and offered more should it be needed. Two years later Governor Thomas G. Pratt publicly praised

him for relinquishing his \$60,000 commission "While the state was struggling with its pecuniary difficulties," and the next year, 1848, the legislature passed a unanimous resolution of praise "for his devotion and interest." On Peabody's being elected an honorary member of the Maryland Historical Society in 1850, the corresponding secretary wrote to him: "In common with all your fellow citizens of Maryland, we hold in high regard your unwavering confidence in the integrity of your state, and your influence in averting a threatened strain upon her honor."

Becoming prominent in wealth and social standing as an American banker in London, Peabody carefully sought ways to enrich Maryland's culture. He donated \$1,000 to the Maryland Institute for a chemical school and laboratory in 1851 and the next year planned and paid for the copying of documents pertaining to Maryland's colonial history from English depositories, shipping seven large volumes to the Maryland Historical Society.

But his most important gift to Maryland, the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, took more than a decade to reach fruition. Peabody first mentioned his desires to establish a cultural institution in Baltimore to Charles James Madison Eaton then visiting in London in 1851. Eaton was interested in reviving the moribund Library Company of Baltimore, of which he was president. The Maryland Historical Society planned to raise \$25,000 toward this end and Eaton hoped Peabody's gift might constitute this fund.

Nothing was done until late 1854 when Peabody mentioned his intention to James Watson Webb and Reverdy Johnson, then in London, urging Johnson to formulate a definite plan with prominent Baltimore men. Johnson relayed Peabody's request to John Pendleton Kennedy. Peabody also wrote about the matter to William Edward Mayhew who also consulted Kennedy. In the spring of 1856 Kennedy was in London and Peabody said to him:

I suppose you Baltimore people do not care to have an institution established among you, as I have heard nothing of the suggestion made through Mr. Mayhew some years ago.

Kennedy smiled, said that they were interested in the proposal, adding that it was always a delicate thing to talk about money, and asked what Peabody's plans were and how much he intended to give. Peabody in turn asked Kennedy to state the kind of cultural institute he thought would be most useful. From Kennedy's fertile mind came the plan for an educational institute modeled on the British Museum, which Peabody adopted: a reference library, lecture hall and lecture fund, music academy, art gallery, and funds for prizes for outstanding Baltimore school

pupils. The Maryland Historical Society was to administer all departments and have its rooms in the Institute's building while a governing board of trustees appointed by Peabody would have visitation powers.

Peabody visited the United States in 1856, spent part of January and February, 1857, in Baltimore, was flatteringly received by the city authorities, and honored with a reception by the Maryland Historical Society on January 30. His founding letter of February 12, 1857, gave \$300,000 as a beginning sum for the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

Kennedy outlined Peabody's plan to the Maryland Historical Society members, March 3, 1857, and found them eager to cooperate. They appointed a select committee, headed by Kennedy, to plan the Society's part in the Institute. Peabody wanted the Society to move into the Institute building when completed so that he could purchase their Athenaeum building to give to the Mercantile Library Company. One month later Kennedy reported that the select committee had accepted the administrative role assigned to the Maryland Historical Society in Peabody's founding letter.

There was difficulty in finding a site. There was also disagreement about the size of the building and the scope of the Institute's operations. Confidence rose when the Howard lot, the present location on Mount Vernon Place, was decided upon and the cornerstone laid on April 16, 1859. But apprehension still existed as to who would control the Institute, the trustees appointed by Peabody or the Maryland Historical Society. Some members of the latter feared the loss of independence of their older organization in the new venture.

Perceiving that a wrangle might lie ahead, Eaton advised Peabody to placate the Society members with a donation to their publication fund so as to make parting less painful. But Peabody, being an ocean's distance away, often ill, and with business worries of his own, had faith that his Maryland friends would reconcile their differences. Divided loyalties during the Civil War further affected differences over the Peabody Institute. Respecting the Southern sympathies of some of his Maryland friends yet loyal himself to the Union, Peabody wrote to Kennedy his hope that his Institute might "yet be dedicated in the 'United States.'"

A year after the end of the war when he was seventy-one years old Peabody revisited the United States and added to his philanthropic institutions. But his prime concern was to reconcile his trustees in Baltimore with the Maryland Historical Society prior to the dedication of his Institute on October 25, 1866. His Trustees had asked the Society to withdraw from the project; and the Society, while friendly toward Peabody, was hostile to the Trustees. Kennedy summed up the difficulty as follows:



I am myself responsible for Mr. Peabody's committing the Institute to the Society but this was done at a time when the Society nobly showed some appreciation of its object.

Peabody admitted the wrong on the part of his trustees and acknowledged the moral and legal right of the Society in the affair. His sincerity and nobility softened nine years of animosity and the Society willingly withdrew. Just as humbly he then asked for the privilege of contributing to the Society's work. Thus, he created the first permanent \$20,000 publication fund which made possible the Society's scholarly publications of historical importance.

At the dedication on October 25, 1866, his face wreathed in smiles, Peabody mingled happily with his trustees and the Maryland Historical Society members. After being welcomed by Governor Thomas Swann, Peabody said, "May not this Institute be a common ground where all may meet, burying former differences and animosities? May not Baltimore," he pleaded, "the birthplace of religious toleration, become the star of political tolerance and charity?" The next day a large crowd at Mount Vernon Place watched 20,000 school children march by Peabody on the steps of the Institute building. Josias Pennington described how Peabody, a bachelor, picked up the younger children, kissed them, and put them down with the tenderness of a father. "The scene brought tears into many eyes," wrote Pennington, "and many a handkerchief that waved was moist."

It was John Work Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who arranged a special dinner with George Peabody and Johns Hopkins as guests before Peabody left Baltimore to return to London in 1867. Hopkins had earlier intimated to Garrett his search for a benefaction to endow in his will and Garrett wanted Peabody to explain for Hopkins' enlightenment how he had got the idea for his own vast gifts. In a remarkable conversation which lasted several hours, Peabody told how he had early in life wanted to accumulate a fortune and that he long had been satisfied with his success.

"When age came upon me," said Peabody,

And when aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I had accumulated so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity.

Peabody told how, after consulting with friends, he had asked them to be his trustees and had increasingly turned over to them greater sums of money which they wisely used "for good and humane purposes; and so, sir, I have gone on, and from that day realized with increasing enjoy-



ment the pleasure of giving." Many authors, referring to this conversation, have credited Peabody as one of the influences on Hopkins who in his will endowed the University and Medical School which bear his name.

At age seventy-four Peabody paid his last visit to Baltimore on September 22, 1869. With feeble steps he walked through his Institute, gave a final sum of money to the trustees, and affectionately took leave of them. Slowly and painfully he entered his carriage and left behind him the Institute to which he had given a total of \$1,400,000. He sailed to England, was taken to the home of a friend in London, and there died on November 4.

His epitaph is contained in his letter doubling his million dollar fund to revive education in the Southern states. Peabody had referred to education as "a debt due from present to future generations." This debt he paid in full to the Maryland he honored, the South he respected, and the nation he loved.

# The Funeral of George Peabody

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The George Peabody funeral was unusual. It took ninety-six days, involved two countries, extended to two continents, and touched many lives. It reverberated at 10 Downing Street, resounded in the United States Congress, was discussed at Buckingham Palace and talked about in the White House. It echoed in the legislative halls of state capitols. It involved the British and American navies. It affected royalty and commoner, Whig and Tory, Republican and Democrat, northerner and southerner. Hundreds participated in it, thousands watched it, hundreds of thousands read about it.

The sequence of events was spectacular. George Peabody died. His body was interred for a month at Westminster Abbey. A British warship transported the body to America. The British navy turned the remains over to Admiral Farragut at Portland, Maine. A funeral service was held at Peabody, Massachusetts. Final burial took place in Salem at Harmony Grove Cemetery. All this was accompanied by vast publicity.

One unfamiliar with the man and the time is bound to wonder why. The answer lies in Peabody's wealth, in his philanthropies, in Anglo-American rivalry, and in the human desire for spectacle.

Who was George Peabody?

## The Man

He was born in Danvers, Massachusetts, on February 18, 1795. His family was poor, though distantly related to the wealthy shipowner Joseph Peabody of nearby Salem. His father Thomas, a cordwainer, farmer, and small trader, died at forty-nine, leaving Mrs. Judith Dodge Peabody and their eight small children with a mortgaged home and other debts.

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George Peabody left school after four years of irregular attendance and was apprenticed to a country storekeeper. In 1811, when his father died, he was working for his older brother David in a drapery shop at Newburyport. A fire in Newburyport ruined all business prospects. Seeking opportunity elsewhere, Peabody went south with an uncle to Georgetown, District of Columbia.

He was a clerk in his uncle's dry goods store. He was also a peddler of goods on foot and on horseback. During the War of 1812 he served briefly in the militia defending Washington. The next step in his commercial career came from contact with a military companion, Elisha Riggs.

This older established merchant formed a partnership with nineteen-year-old Peabody. Their firm imported and sold dry goods and other merchandise. Tall, manly, energetic, and ambitious, Peabody worked hard. He travelled widely for the firm along the eastern seaboard.

Riggs and Peabody prospered. In 1815 they moved from Georgetown to Baltimore. By 1822 the firm was renamed Peabody, Riggs & Co., and had branch offices in New York and Philadelphia.

Peabody had early assumed the support of his mother. Soon he was employing his older brothers. He also enabled his sisters and younger relatives to attend good schools. To one nephew he wrote, "Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late."<sup>1</sup>

He made five buying trips to Europe between 1827 and 1837. Maryland was then engaged in vast internal improvements. He was commissioned by the legislature in 1837 to sell in Europe eight million dollars worth of Maryland state bonds. Peabody was thus financially active in promoting the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Peabody remained in London after 1837. He came to respect British tradition but retained his American citizenship. He gained some notoriety by bringing together American and British friends at Fourth of July dinners. After 1843 he became more of a broker and banker, buying and selling American state bonds. In London between 1844 and 1864 he earned a large fortune.

<sup>1</sup>George Peabody to his nephew, George, son of David Peabody, May 18, 1831, Peabody Papers, Box 1, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; Charles Schuchert and Clara Mae LeVene, *O. C. Marsh, Pioneer in Paleontology* (New Haven, 1940), p. 21.

The firm of George Peabody & Co. was respected and affluent. In a speech Peabody once said, "Heaven has been pleased to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish a house in the great metropolis of England. I have endeavored to make it an American house, to give it an American atmosphere, to make it a center for American news, and an agreeable place for my friends visiting London."<sup>2</sup>

In 1854 he took as partner a Boston merchant named Junius Spencer Morgan. Morgan's son, John Pierpont, gained his early business experience through this connection. George Peabody & Co. was, in fact, the beginning of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.

Early in his career Peabody told close friends that some day he would become rich and that he would use his wealth for good purposes. These intimations sounded strange at the time. But Peabody had an unusual drive for success. This ambition became intensified after a disappointing love affair and broken engagement. He never married. And he kept his philanthropic resolve. In 1852 he founded his first institute with this sentiment: "Education: A Debt Due from Present to Future Generations."<sup>3</sup> He then began a remarkable series of philanthropies which eventually totalled more than eight million dollars.

The Peabody Institutes he founded in seven cities contained a library, lecture hall, and lecture fund. His Peabody Institute of Baltimore contained, in addition, an art gallery and a conservatory of music. His museums at Harvard and Yale universities aided the early study of anthropology in the United States. His museum in Salem, Massachusetts, added to anthropology the study of maritime history. The academic chairs he endowed at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, Kenyon College in Ohio, and Washington College in Virginia advanced the study of mathematics and science. He aided the American exhibitors at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. He helped equip an American Arctic expedition in 1854. He contributed to the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

His gift in 1862 of model homes for working people in London created a sensation. With later supplements this philanthropy totalled more than two million dollars. What evoked special respect for this gift was the fact that he was an American and that he gave such a large amount for such a noble purpose to a country not his own and at a time when England and America were close to war.

<sup>2</sup>*Proceedings at the Reception and Dinner in Honor of George Peabody, Esq., of London, by the Citizens of the Old Town of Danvers, October 9, 1856* (Boston, 1856), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup>*Centennial Celebration at Danvers, Mass., June 16, 1852* (Boston, 1852), pp. 142-143.



Even more dramatic was the Peabody Education Fund of 1867. At a time of sectional distrust, this fund of more than two million dollars was intended to revive the schools of the southern and southwestern states.

The purpose and size of his gifts attracted wide attention. He was showered with honors. Queen Victoria wrote him a letter of thanks and had a special miniature portrait made for him. His statue was erected in London and was paid for by popular subscription. Oxford and Harvard universities gave him honorary degrees. Guilds, clubs, and historical societies admitted him to membership. His home town of South Danvers changed its name to Peabody. Congress praised his gifts and gave him a gold medal.

At seventy-four George Peabody was the greatest living philanthropist.

### Last Days

It was August, 1869. Bitter feeling over the Civil War was strong on both sides.

At the famous White Sulphur Springs in West Virginia, two old men enjoyed the sun and talked about the future. One was George Peabody. The other was Robert E. Lee. One was a banker; the other a soldier. They had one thing in common. After the war both had turned to education, Robert E. Lee as president of Washington College in Virginia, George Peabody as the founder of the Peabody Education Fund.

The meeting focused public attention on the educational needs of the South. It began a series of important events in the history of foundations. Lee's approval won southern acceptance of the Fund. Four conferences on education in the South followed (1898-1901). These led to the founding of the Southern Education Board (1901-1914) and to John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board (1902-1914).

For Lee at sixty-two the summer of 1869 was next to the last summer of life. For Peabody at seventy-four it was the very last summer of life. His once massive frame was frail with illness; his once strong face gaunt with pallor. Sadly he left Lee at White Sulphur Springs on Monday, August 30.

In Baltimore the next day he held in his shaky hand a photograph of his statue just erected in Threadneedle Street on the London Exchange. Its American sculptor, William Wetmore Story, had written to describe its public unveiling and to report how the crowds had cheered speeches about Peabody by Edward, Prince of Wales, and by John Lothrop Motley, American Minister to England.

In New York on September 9, Peabody made out his will. It read in part, "My remains shall be sent to Peabody, Massachusetts, and buried in Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem."

In Salem, Massachusetts, on September 10, he had a tomb built and ordered a granite sarcophagus for his grave. On Wednesday, September 29, he boarded the *Scotia*. He reached London in weak condition and went straight to the home of a close friend. A newspaper reported his condition, "Mr. Peabody has been lying all week very ill at the home of Sir Curtis Lampson at 80 Eaton Square."<sup>4</sup>

There was great concern in high places over the seriousness of Peabody's illness. Queen Victoria's privy counselor, Sir Arthur Helps, wrote to Sir Curtis Lampson on October 30, "Regarding Mr. Peabody, the Queen thinks the best way would be for her to ask him down to Windsor for one or two nights, where he could rest—and need not come to dinner but where she could see him quietly at any time of the day most convenient to him."<sup>5</sup> But Peabody was too ill to travel.

One report told how Peabody stirred on his sick bed and asked, "Am I dying?" His nurse answered that he was very ill. "It is a great mystery," he is said to have whispered. "But I shall know all soon."<sup>6</sup>

At 11:30 P.M., November 4, 1869, he died.

#### A Public Funeral

Peabody's death received wide notice in the press. Details of his career and the praise lavished on his philanthropies appealed to readers. Sentiment for a public funeral came from several sources. The London *Daily News*, for example, printed, "We have received a large number of letters, urging that the honours of a public funeral are due to the late Mr. Peabody."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>*Anglo-American Times* (London), October 30, 1869, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>Arthur Helps to Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson, October 30, 1869, Royal Archives, Q. 11/78, Windsor Castle, England. The Queen's invitation is mentioned in: *The Times* (London), October 30, 1869, p. 8; *New York Tribune*, November 12, 1869, p. 1; *The Sun* (London), October 30, 1869, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Robert Charles Winthrop, *Eulogy Pronounced at the Funeral of George Peabody, at Peabody, Mass., 8 February, 1870* (Boston, 1870), pp. 21-22; Robert Charles Winthrop, *Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions From 1869 to 1879* (Boston, 1879), III, p. 47; Peabody Education Fund, *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund From Their Original Organization on the 8th of February, 1867* (Boston, 1875), I, p. 165; *New York Times*, February 9, 1870, p. 1; Charles Pettit McIlvaine to Robert Charles Winthrop, November 20, 1869, quoted in William Carus (ed.), *Memorials of the Right Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, Late Bishop of Ohio in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States* (London, 1882), pp. 294-296.

<sup>7</sup>*Daily News* (London), November 8, 1869, p. 5.

The offer of Westminster Abbey for the funeral came about in this way. Peabody's desire to be buried in America was not known to the Dean of Westminster Abbey, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. He was out of the country at the time and described his decision in his "Recollections" as follows, "I was at Naples, and saw in the public papers that George Peabody had died. Being absent, considering that he was a foreigner, and at the same time, by reason of his benefactions to the City of London, entitled to a burial in Westminster Abbey, I telegraphed to express my wishes that his interment there should take place. Accordingly it was so arranged."<sup>8</sup>

Sir Curtis Lampson did know that Peabody's will stipulated burial in America. Lampson was a native of Vermont who had lived in London since 1830. He had married an English girl, raised a family, and had become a naturalized British subject in 1844. He was later knighted for his work as a director of the Atlantic Telegraph Company. Lampson had known Peabody since 1837. They were close friends and business associates. Lampson was a trustee of the Peabody Homes of London.

On Lampson fell the responsibility of arranging Peabody's funeral. He at first thought that Peabody would recover. When death came, he immediately telegraphed a favorite nephew of the deceased, George Peabody Russell, in Massachusetts. The nephew replied that he would leave immediately for England to take the body home. It was thus inevitable that Peabody's remains would be in England for at least two weeks.

Because Peabody's family and heirs were in America, Lampson was in a difficult position. He sought advice from the American Minister and from Peabody's other friends in London. The press was eager for details. There was the Queen's letter to Peabody during his last days. Should this letter be released to the press? There was the offer of Westminster Abbey. Could this honor be accepted?

Lampson first went to Benjamin Moran, secretary in the American Legation, who had long experience with Americans abroad. They discussed the propriety of a public funeral in England. Moran recalled a precedent, the case of Horatio Ward, an American businessman who had died in London and whose funeral had been held there. This satisfied Lampson. They talked about what might be involved in having the funeral at Westminster Abbey.

Lampson heard on Sunday, November 7, from one of the Westminster Abbey canons that Friday, November 12, had been appointed for the

<sup>8</sup>Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, "Recollections by Dean Stanley of Funerals in Westminster Abbey 1865-1881," Westminster Abbey, London, pp. 21-22.



service and temporary interment. Lampson shared this news on Monday, November 8, with Arthur Helps, Benjamin Moran, and the American Minister, John Lothrop Motley. Arthur Helps said that he saw no objection to this arrangement if the Anglican clergy had none. He related this news to the Queen and added, "There are many persons in this country who very much wish to pay publicly some respect to the memory of that good man."<sup>9</sup>

American Minister Motley sent a description of these events to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, adding, "Lampson believed that temporary burial there would please Mr. Peabody's friends in America and be a graceful tribute of high ecclesiastical authorities here."<sup>10</sup>

While these arrangements were being made, two physicians embalmed Peabody's remains. The physicians were Dr. Frederick W. Pavy of Guy's Hospital and a Dr. William W. Gull.

#### Gladstone Offers H.M.S. *Monarch*

Prime Minister William E. Gladstone first suggested using as the funeral ship H.M.S. *Monarch*. She was England's newest and largest warship. He mentioned this to Sir Curtis Lampson on Tuesday morning, November 9, asking Lampson to sound out the opinion of American Minister Motley and other friends of Peabody's. Lampson immediately called on Minister Motley, who hesitated because he had no official instructions. The offer was without precedent. To give his approval would be to accept in the name of the United States Government. He conferred with the legation secretary, Benjamin Moran, and they both decided to refer the matter immediately to Washington.

Lampson reported to Gladstone by messenger that day, telling of Motley's inquiries to Washington and relating that Peabody's friends approved the use of the *Monarch* as "the greatest compliment," one that would "be so considered by every citizen of the United States."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Arthur Helps to Queen Victoria, November 8, 1869, Royal Archives, Q. 11/81, Windsor Castle, England.

<sup>10</sup>John Lothrop Motley to Hamilton Fish, November 9, 1869, Dispatch No. 144, "Dispatches from United States Ministers, Great Britain," National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>11</sup>Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson to William Ewart Gladstone, November 9, 1869, Gladstone Papers, Accession No. 44,423f.56, British Museum Manuscript Department, London.



That night, November 9, at the Lord Mayor's Day Banquet, Gladstone gave a major foreign affairs address. He referred to the difficulties between England and the United States. He spoke at length about Peabody's love for both countries. While Peabody wanted to be buried in his native land, he said, it had pleased "God to ordain that he should die in England." Gladstone's conclusion, "With the country of Mr. Peabody we are not likely to quarrel," brought loud cheers.<sup>12</sup>

This speech was widely noted on both sides of the Atlantic as a desire to ease feelings over the *Alabama* Claims.

The *Alabama* was a British-built Confederate warship. It had sunk millions of dollars worth of Union cargo in the Civil War. The United States had demanded reparation. England resented this demand. Anglo-American tension was at a high pitch when Peabody died.

The British Cabinet met at No. 10 Downing Street at 2:00 P.M., November 10. The "Peabody Remains" were discussed. Gladstone immediately afterward informed the Queen, "The Cabinet has today determined to offer to the friends of Mr. Peabody that the remains of that gentleman should be conveyed to America in one of your Majesty's ships. This resolution is one which, there is reason to believe, will give much pleasure in America."<sup>13</sup>

### Westminster Abbey

At noon on November 12 the hearse, drawn by four horses and followed by five mourning coaches, slowly left fashionable Eaton Square. London, normally bustling, was strangely quiet that Friday. Windows of many houses were draped in mourning. Silent crowds lined the streets along the funeral route. "It was touching to observe upon the faces of the vast crowd a general air of respect and earnest sympathy," John Motley wrote to Hamilton Fish. "The silence and decorum in the midst of the chief thoroughfares of this immense city were impressive."<sup>14</sup>

The funeral party and dignitaries followed the coffin past the crowds through the Abbey entrance into the nave. The choir blended with the

<sup>12</sup>*The Times* (London), November 10, 1869, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>William Ewart Gladstone to Queen Victoria, November 10, 1869, Royal Archives, Q. 11/83, Windsor Castle, England.

<sup>14</sup>John Lothrop Motley to Hamilton Fish, November 13, 1869, Dispatch No. 151, "Dispatches from United States Ministers, Great Britain," National Archives, Washington, D.C.

organ and filled the Abbey. Golden beams drifted down oblique shafts of sunlight from small high windows warming the somber interior.

Benjamin Moran, among the many present, wrote of the scene,

I reflected on the marvelous career of the man, his early life, his penurious habits, his vast fortune, his magnificent charity; and the honor that was then being paid to his memory by the Queen of England in the place of sepulchre of twenty English kings. . . . An anthem was sung and the service was at an end—George Peabody having received burial in Westminster Abbey, an honor coveted by nobles and not always granted kings.<sup>15</sup>

### Anglo-American Reaction

Several American states took special notice of Peabody's death and funeral. The Tennessee legislature, for example, resolved on November 10, "In the death of this distinguished American, we deplore the loss of a benefactor of . . . all mankind."<sup>16</sup>

In Baltimore and Boston bells tolled, public buildings were draped in mourning, flags were lowered to half mast, stores were closed, and pupils were dismissed from public schools.

Praise mingled with criticism. "It is not his fault that the London poor are very little better off for his benevolence,"<sup>17</sup> someone wrote in a Scottish newspaper, referring to the Peabody Homes of London. "I cannot help thinking," a London newspaper editor asked, "suppose he had earned a shilling and given away sixpence, as many a hungry laborer does?"<sup>18</sup> Another writer scoffed, "There is nothing particularly impressive in black drapery and hearse plumes."<sup>19</sup>

The sermon about Peabody at Westminster Abbey on Sunday, November 15, was particularly newsworthy. The Bishop of London conducted

<sup>15</sup>Benjamin Moran's journal, XXIV (October 1, 1869-February 28, 1870), entry dated Friday, November 12, 1869, Moran Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

<sup>16</sup>*Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the First Session of the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly, for the Years 1869-1870* (Nashville, 1870), Resolution No. XV, p. 667.

<sup>17</sup>*The Ayrshire Express* (Ayr, Scotland), November 13, 1869, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>*The Spectator* (London), November 13, 1869, p. 1317.

<sup>19</sup>*The Aberdeen Herald* (Aberdeen, Scotland), November 20, 1869, p. 3.

the service. "By an arrangement which had not then been fully established, an external preacher took my place," Dean Stanley recalled. "It was the Bishop of London who on that occasion. . . . preached the sermon."<sup>20</sup> This sermon, addressed to a large congregation, added to the notoriety of Peabody's funeral. "No untitled commoner ever drew round his grave so large a concourse of sincere mourners as George Peabody," said the Bishop. "His name will be the birthright of two great nations."<sup>21</sup>

The news that the *Monarch* had been selected to transfer Peabody's remains to the United States was warmly received. "Our ship goes forth as an ambassador of peace,"<sup>22</sup> wrote the editor of a British newspaper. "First and best service possible for *Monarch*, bringing back the body of Peabody,"<sup>23</sup> was the message American industrialist Andrew Carnegie cabled to Member of Parliament John Bright.

American Minister Motley received two messages simultaneously on November 13, one from Lord Clarendon of the Foreign Office stating the Queen's desire to transport Peabody's remains on the *Monarch*, the other from Secretary of State Hamilton Fish stating that the American naval commander in Marseilles was sending an American ship for the same purpose. "These communications threw Mr. Motley into one of his fits of indecision and when I arrived he hardly knew what to do," wrote Benjamin Moran in his journal.<sup>24</sup>

Motley informed Fish of the Queen's intent. Fish replied that President Grant yielded to the Queen but wished an American vessel to escort the *Monarch*. The British Admiralty agreed to have the *Monarch* wait at Portsmouth. The U.S.S. *Plymouth* sped over the 1,800 miles from Marseilles, arriving in Portsmouth on December 4. The day of transfer of Peabody's remains from the Abbey to the *Monarch* was set for December 11.

<sup>20</sup>Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>21</sup>*New York Times*, November 27, 1869, p. 1; *Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, England), November 15, 1869, p. 2; *The Herts Advertiser and St. Albans Times* (St. Albans, England), November 20, 1869, p. 3; *The Brighton Daily News* (Brighton, England), November 15, 1869, p. 5; *News of the World* (London), November 20, 1869, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup>*Inverness Advertiser* (Inverness, Scotland), December 14, 1869, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup>Andrew Carnegie, *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (New York, 1933), p. 270.

<sup>24</sup>Moran's journal, *op. cit.*, entry dated Saturday, November 13, 1869.

Benjamin Moran's journal entries reflected the consternation caused by these messages at the American Legation. "Peabody haunts the Legation from all parts of the world like a ghost."<sup>25</sup> Again: "Old Peabody has given us much trouble and it seems as if he never would be quiet."<sup>26</sup> And again: "Will that old man ever be buried? . . . He gives trouble to all classes of officials . . . and has stirred up commotion all over the world."<sup>27</sup>

### Transfer to *Monarch*

A cold drenching rain did not halt the crowds from lining the funeral route. At 12:30 P.M., Saturday, December 11, the coffin was taken from the Abbey. Carriages followed the hearse to Waterloo Station. At 2:41 P.M. the special train entered Portsmouth and made its way on a railway jetty to the dock. In the steady downpour a double line of marines formed an honor guard. Hundreds of spectators were huddled on the dock close to the military guard. Portsmouth town council members stood out boldly in their scarlet robes of office. The scene of so many people holding black umbrellas mingled oddly with lines, spars, and beams of the assembled British ships.

A gun salute went up from the *Excellent*. The bow battery of the *Monarch* echoed the boom and bugles sounded a funeral dirge. The British ships lowered their ensigns to half mast and raised the American ensign abreast foretopmast crosstrees. The *Plymouth* lowered her ensign from her peak. The guns of the *Duke of Wellington* fired at minute intervals. The somber booming mingled with the fall of cold rain. A fresh gale blew the wind vigorously through the rigging.

The cannon booming stopped. Minister Motley faced Captain John E. Commerell beside the coffin on the *Monarch's* quarterdeck. Motley's speech concluded, "As Minister of the Republic at the Court of Her Majesty I deliver to your safe keeping, at the request of the relatives and executors of Mr. Peabody, his revered remains."<sup>28</sup> Captain Commerell's formal reply concluded with his acceptance of "this sacred trust."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, entry dated Tuesday, November 16, 1869.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, entry dated Monday, November 15, 1869.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, entry dated Monday, December 6, 1869.

<sup>28</sup>*Hampshire Telegraph* (Portsmouth, England), December 15, 1869, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*



The *Monarch's* hawsers were cast off, and a steam tug turned her bow. The church bells of St. Thomas pealed. At Spithead Harbor, near Portsmouth, the *Monarch* awaited the gale's end and the voyage home.

### Congressional Debate

Honors in England brought bitter dispute in America. "It would have been better if Mr. Peabody had remained in the United States instead of going to England to die," wrote an American in the *New York Evening Post*. "His purpose in doing so was a bid for notoriety."<sup>30</sup>

In a speech in Boston George Francis Train said, "I regard the fact of George Peabody's remains being brought over on a British ship of war the greatest insult ever offered to America."<sup>31</sup>

"George Peabody," Train declared, "was a secessionist."

This charge, often made, had as often been denied.

"My sympathies were with the Union," Peabody had once told a Baltimore audience in 1866. "Three-fourths of my property was invested in United States Government and State securities. When war came I saw no hope for America except in Union victory."<sup>32</sup>

"But I could not in the passion of war," he admitted, "turn my back on Southern friends."<sup>33</sup>

Two Americans, sent by President Lincoln early in the war to try to keep England neutral, gave public testimony of Peabody's patriotism. These men, Thurlow Weed of New York and Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio, told how Peabody in 1861 and 1862 had helped them confer with influential British officials.

But the charge of treason persisted.

Congress wrangled over the question of a naval reception for Peabody's remains. The House of Representatives was strongly divided. Republicans opposed the idea and raised old doubts about Peabody's patriotism. Democrats sprang to Peabody's defense, substantiated his patriotism, and praised his philanthropies. Grudgingly the opposition

<sup>30</sup>*New York Evening Post*, January 21, 1870.

<sup>31</sup>*Boston Journal*, December 28, 1869, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup>*New York Times*, October 27, 1866, p. 5; *Baltimore Worker Freitag*, October 26, 1866; George Washington Howard, *The Monumental City, Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1873), p. 330.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

was won over. The resolution passed the House, was approved in the Senate, and was signed into law. President Grant ordered Admiral Farragut to head a naval reception to meet the *Monarch* on American soil.

### The Voyage Home

The trim *Monarch* had been transformed into a slate grey funeral ship. Visitors by the hundreds boarded her while the storm continued outside Spithead Harbor. The captain's cabin had been made over into an impressive mortuary chapel. The coffin rested on a black-covered dais in the middle of the cabin. Sentinels stood continuous guard.

The storm at last subsided. On Tuesday, December 21, the *Monarch* and *Plymouth* sailed from Spithead. Off Ushant, France, a windy gale struck. The ships lost sight of each other. The *Plymouth* went back on her course but could not find the *Monarch*.

"We separated during the night," wrote an officer of the *Plymouth*. "There was always some nonsense about going too fast or too slow, and no end of signals."<sup>34</sup>

The *Plymouth* reached the rendezvous point off Madeira and anchored in Funchall Bay. The *Monarch* proceeded cautiously, reaching Madeira on December 30. It took on coal and sailed west on January 2, 1870. The *Plymouth* sailed into Bermuda slightly in advance and took on provisions and dispatches.

Tuesday morning, January 25, broke clear and bright. A two-day storm left a glittering coat of ice on the funeral ships. At dusk they approached Portland. The *Plymouth* boomed her cannon for a pilot.

### Portland Reception

A rivalry had sprung up between Boston and Portland over the funeral. Because of its historic past, commercial importance, and personal connection with Peabody, Boston was sure it would be the receiving port. When news came that little Portland had been chosen because of its deeper harbor, the Boston people were chagrined. Provincial Portlanders would blunder, wrote Boston merchants to the deceased's nephew, George Peabody Russell. "Nothing," their letter stated, "could be in worse taste."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup>*Hampshire Telegraph* (Portsmouth, England), January 8, 1870, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>*Mortuary Honors to the Late George Peabody in Portland, Me.* (Portland, Maine, 1870), p. 4.

Controversy also stirred the Maine legislature. A resolution introduced in the House required attendance in a body of the entire legislature, state council, and department heads. This was to be in addition to arrangements already made by the governor of Maine: two state militia companies as honor guards, lowered flags on state buildings, gun salutes from the Portland Arsenal and Fort Preble, and the state militia's inspector general to arrange landing operations.

A reconciliation committee at last got the legislature to agree to attend in a body. But why all the wrangling? Radicals looked on the South as an enemy long after the war. They were antagonistic to Peabody for his generosity to the "rebels."

Another motive was hinted in the *Boston Times*. "Mr. Peabody, although applied to, refused to subscribe to the Portland fund after the great fire of July 4, 1866. At least it is whispered that this fact had no little influence in disturbing harmonious action concerning the funeral."<sup>36</sup>

Admiral David Glasgow Farragut had been appointed to command the naval reception. He had several connections with Peabody. He was an original trustee of the Peabody Education Fund. He had been named along with Peabody in a presidential cabinet reshuffle intended to head off impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. This funeral reception was Farragut's last tour of duty. He was then very ill. Six months after commanding the Portland events he died.

Coming ashore from the *Monarch*, Captain Commerell called on Admiral Farragut. Her Majesty's government, Commerell said, wished to have the remains stay on board for two days as a final mark of respect. Farragut consulted local officials and decided to comply. He reported to the Secretary of the Navy, "The body will not be landed until Saturday at which time I shall see that it is done with all the solemnity I can command."<sup>37</sup>

The delay enabled Portland people to visit the *Monarch*. On January 27 and 28 visitors were taken to the funeral ship by tenders. Awed and silent crowds moved past the coffin in the mortuary chapel.

January 29, 1870, was a cold New England winter day. On the wharf uniformed men were drawn up in ranks and curious onlookers were bundled against the cold. Seamen of the *Monarch* raised the coffin from

<sup>36</sup>*The Boston Times*, January 30, 1870, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup>Admiral David Glasgow Farragut to Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson, January 26, 1870, "Admirals and Commodores' Letters January-June 1870," Naval Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

its dais, placed it on a wheeled bier, and took it up to the main deck on an inclined ramp.

Drummers sounded a muted roll and the ship's band played the somber *Death March*. Marines drew themselves to attention. Officers and crew bared their heads. The boatswain's whistle piped shrilly. The coffin was made fast with a roped rig and swung over the *Monarch's* side to the deck of the waiting *Leyden*. The coffin was lifted from the *Leyden* to the Eastern Wharf. It was borne in slow procession along the wharf and placed in a waiting hearse.

Captain Commerell saluted Governor Chamberlain of Maine. "Into your hands," Commerell said, "I now deliver my sacred trust."<sup>38</sup> Chamberlain replied, expressing "the appreciation of the American people for the tender honors with which the Queen of England restored to its native land this precious dust."<sup>39</sup>

The coffin was taken to Portland's City Hall for a lying in state. More visitors filed by. On February 1, three hundred voices sang a chorus from the *Messiah*, and Mozart's *Requiem* sounded as the coffin was borne out of the hall, placed on a hearse, and drawn through Portland's streets to the funeral train. Bells tolled, the band played a dirge, and the train moved through the swirling snow.

#### Peabody, Massachusetts

Robert Charles Winthrop was to give the final eulogy. This Massachusetts statesman of outstanding reputation had been Peabody's chief philanthropic advisor since 1866. He was President of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund.

"The present delay in Peabody, Massachusetts," Robert C. Winthrop wrote to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, "is due to a request of George Peabody himself. He had told his friends he would like to rest for a week in his native town before being put under the ground."<sup>40</sup>

There was grave apprehension about the possibility of Robert E. Lee's attendance at the funeral. His presence might evoke an incident embar-

<sup>38</sup>*Mortuary Honors, op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>40</sup>Robert Charles Winthrop to Hamilton Fish, February 2, 1870, "Correspondence of Hamilton Fish," LXVII (January 6-February 22, 1870), Fish Papers, Accession Nos. 9514 to 9517, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.



passing to him and one that might mar the funeral. Anti-Southerners were bitter about the rumor of his coming. "I first thought that General Lee should *not* go but have now changed my mind," wrote a trustee of Lee's college.<sup>41</sup>

Wanting to avoid embarrassing Lee, Robert C. Winthrop wrote to a mutual friend, "There is apprehension here, that if Lee should come to the funeral, something unpleasant might occur, which would be as painful to us as to him. Would you contact friends to impart this to the General?"<sup>42</sup> But Lee, ill and under a doctor's care, did not intend to come. He wrote, "I am sorry I cannot attend the funeral obsequies of Mr. Peabody . . . but I am unable to undertake the journey."<sup>43</sup>

Prince Arthur, Queen Victoria's son, was a surprise visitor to the funeral. He had been on a tour of Canada and the United States and was in New York when the idea occurred to him and his staff to attend the Peabody funeral. A member of the Prince's staff informed his superior in England, "Should Mr. Peabody's funeral take place soon . . . Col. Elphinstone thought that it would be a gracious act on the part of the Prince to attend."<sup>44</sup> Prince Arthur and his retinue arrived in Peabody, Massachusetts, February 8. They proceeded directly to the South Congregational Church for the service and Winthrop's eulogy.

The coffin was taken from the reading room of the Peabody Institute Library where it had lain in state. There visitors had paid their last respects. On view were the honors Peabody had received in life: Queen Victoria's portrait, the Congressional gold medal and resolution of praise, the Freedom of the City of London in a gold box, membership

<sup>41</sup>Boliver Christian to William Wilson Corcoran, January 26, 1870, Corcoran Papers, XVI, Accession Nos. 10523 and 10524, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

<sup>42</sup>Robert Charles Winthrop to John Pendleton Kennedy, February 2, 1870, Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

<sup>43</sup>Robert E. Lee to William Wilson Corcoran, January 26, 1870, Corcoran Papers, XVI, Accession No. 10522, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.; also quoted in William Wilson Corcoran, *A Grandfather's Legacy; Containing A Sketch of His Life and Obituary Notices of Some Members of his Family Together with Letters from his Friends* (Washington, 1879), p. 311.

<sup>44</sup>Lieutenant Colonel H. Elphinstone to General Charles Grey for Queen Victoria, January 27, 1870, Royal Archives, Additional Manuscript A/15/1557, Windsor Castle, England.

scrolls of the Fishmongers' and Clothworkers' Companies, and the lunch box he had carried each day from his lodging to his office.

Many carriages followed the hearse to the church. Among the distinguished people in the congregation were the governors of Massachusetts and Maine, Charles Francis Adams, Charles W. Eliot and others from Harvard, Captain Commerell of the *Monarch* and Captain Macomb of the *Plymouth*, mayors of six nearby cities, Prince Arthur and his retinue, and the trustees of Peabody's various institutes and funds. With the anthem over and the Scripture passage read, Robert C. Winthrop rose to speak.

### Harmony Grove Cemetery

"What a career this has been whose final scene lies before us!" he began. "The trusts he established, the institutes he founded, the buildings he raised stand before all eyes. I have authority for saying that he planned these for many years."<sup>45</sup>

Winthrop then told how Peabody had counselled with him in 1866 before establishing his most important foundations:

When I expressed my amazement at the magnitude of his purpose, he said to me, "Why Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; and I have prayed my heavenly Father day by day, that I might be enabled, before I died, to show my gratitude for the blessings which He has bestowed upon me by doing some great good for my fellow-men."<sup>46</sup>

Harmony Grove Cemetery lies on the boundary between Peabody and Salem. It had been a thick walnut grove when Peabody was a boy. There, on a knoll where he had once played, he had built the family tomb. There he had brought together the bodies of his mother and father, and his sisters and brothers. There he was laid to rest.

### In Perspective

American history moved on to larger issues and more dramatic events. Peabody's funeral and its fleeting connection with the *Alabama Claims* were forgotten.

Wealthier philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller,

<sup>45</sup>Winthrop, *Eulogy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-11.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*

and Henry Ford captured public imagination. The size and international nature of their giant foundations have overshadowed Peabody's gifts.

Where, then, does Peabody's influence lie?

He was the first American to create private multi-million dollar foundations specifically designed to prevent social ills. His trustees established precedents followed by subsequent major foundations. Peabody was in fact the founder of modern philanthropy.

The Anglo-American public of 1869 sensed this more clearly than we do now. His career from rags-to-riches and his nobility in giving made a distinct impression. Did he have the dimensions of a hero? The people of his time were not sure.

But in their longing for the heroic in man, they gave his funeral a touch of grandeur.

#### Note On Sources

George Peabody's papers are invaluable for mid-nineteenth century history of business, international trade, southern education, and philanthropic foundations. They provide insights of the period into Anglo-American relations; histories of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Maine; and university study of archaeology and anthropology. The papers refer among others to presidents James Buchanan and Andrew Johnson, Maryland novelist John Pendleton Kennedy, Yale paleontologist O. C. Marsh (Peabody's nephew), banker J. P. Morgan, and public figures in Massachusetts and Maryland.

George Peabody's papers were taken from London in the early 1870s by Robert Singleton Peabody, a nephew, and stored at Phillips Academy at Andover. In the early 1930s they were sorted by date and subject into 140 boxes and about 250 account and ledger books, newspaper albums, and memorabilia. They were deposited in 1935 at the Essex Institute.

Some Peabody papers are at the following institutions: Boston Public Library; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Library of Congress; Maryland Historical Society; Massachusetts Historical Society; New York Historical Society; New York Public Library; Peabody Historical Society of Peabody, Massachusetts; Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore; Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, Massachusetts; Peabody Library Association of the Public Library of Washington, D.C.; Peabody Museums of Harvard and Yale; Harvard and Yale Universities' archives; Pierpont Morgan Library of New York; British Museum; and the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle.

Twenty years of Peabody's business career were painstakingly detailed in Dr. Muriel Emmie Hidy's dissertation, "George Peabody, Merchant and Financier, 1829-1854," Radcliffe College, 1939. The Peabody Educa-



tion Fund has been amply documented in these and other dissertations: Edward Bane Roberts, "The Administration of the Peabody Education Fund from 1880 to 1905," George Peabody College for Teachers, 1936; Joseph Walter Brouillette, "The Third Phase of the Peabody Education Fund, 1905-1914," George Peabody College for Teachers, 1937; and Richard Connelly Peck, "Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, Educational Crusader," George Peabody College for Teachers, 1942.

Most, but not all, of the voluminous newspaper articles on Peabody's career are among the Peabody papers at various institutions. Major clipping albums are at the following institutions: two at the Essex Institute; two at the Peabody Institute of Baltimore; and individual folders at the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, Massachusetts, Peabody Historical Society of Peabody, Massachusetts, and the Peabody Museums of Harvard and Yale. An invaluable index of local Massachusetts newspapers of the period exists at the Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, Massachusetts. Mrs. Parker and I, in the fall of 1954, found many hitherto unknown British newspaper accounts in the British Museum's Colindale Newspaper Library. The *New York Times* and the *London Times*, being indexed, are invaluable.

The Westminster Abbey funeral and the use of H.M.S. *Monarch* as the funeral ship are described in Dean Stanley's "Recollections" at Westminster Abbey, Queen Victoria's papers at the Royal Archives in Windsor Castle, and the Gladstone papers at the British Museum. United States Government participation in the funeral is recorded in the following papers at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.: "Admirals and Commodores' Letters," "Dispatches from United States Ministers, Great Britain," "Naval Records," and the "Log of the U.S.S. *Plymouth*." British Government participation is detailed in these documents at the Public Record Office in London: "Admiralty Papers," "Foreign Office Papers," and the "Log of H.M.S. *Monarch*."

Further funeral voyage details are contained in the papers of William W. Corcoran and Hamilton Fish at the Library of Congress. The Maine Legislative quarrel is contained in the Executive Council's "Register" for 1870 in the Maine State Library. Funeral arrangements in Peabody and Salem, Massachusetts, are described in *Mortuary Honors*, cited in footnote 35. R. C. Winthrop's widely reprinted *Eulogy* is cited in footnote 6. My own dissertation contains a comprehensive bibliography of 124 pages.

Though appreciation is due to all helpful personnel of institutions containing Peabody papers, special thanks must be paid to the Director and Staff of the Essex Institute who devotedly maintain a rich documentary vineyard.



# George Peabody and the Peabody Museum of Salem

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The Peabody Museum of Salem owes its name to the generosity of George Peabody, 1795-1869. His gift of funds in 1867 helped to combine the museum of the East India Marine Society (1799) and the natural history collections of the Essex Institute (1833) to establish the Peabody Museum of Salem which, since 1867, has been administered by a self-perpetuating board of trustees.

## Life of George Peabody

George Peabody was born in Danvers, Massachusetts, February 18, 1795. His family was poor, though distantly related to the wealthy clipper ship owner, Joseph Peabody of nearby Salem. His father Thomas, a cordwainer, farmer, and small trader, died at forty-nine, leaving his mother, Judith Dodge Peabody, and their eight small children with a mortgaged home and other debts.

After four years of irregular attendance George Peabody left school and was apprenticed to a country storekeeper. In 1811, when his father died, he was working for his older brother, David, in a dry-goods shop at Newburyport. A fire in Newburyport ruined all business prospects. Consequently, he sought opportunity elsewhere, and with an uncle, went south to Georgetown, District of Columbia.

He worked in his uncle's store and as a pack peddler on foot and horseback. During the War of 1812 he served briefly in the militia defending Washington. The next step in his commercial career came from contact with a military companion. Elisha Riggs, an older established merchant, formed a partnership with nineteen-year-old Peabody. Importing and selling dry goods and other merchandise, Riggs and Peabody prospered, and, in 1815 moved from Georgetown to Baltimore. Tall, manly, energetic, and ambitious, Peabody worked hard and trav-

elled widely for the firm along the eastern seaboard. By 1822 the firm, then known as Peabody, Riggs & Co., had branch offices in New York and Philadelphia.

Peabody had early assumed the support of his mother. Soon he employed his older brothers and made it possible for his sisters and younger relatives to attend good schools. To one nephew he wrote in middle life,

Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late.

Between 1827 and 1837 he made five buying trips to Europe. On the last trip he was commissioned to sell Maryland's \$8,000,000 bond issue to finance internal improvements in the state. In this way Peabody was financially active in promoting the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. After 1837 he lived in London as an expatriate, although he always retained his American citizenship. Peabody came to respect British tradition and enjoyed bringing together American and British friends at Fourth of July dinners. After 1843 he became a banker rather than a merchant, and between 1844 and 1864 he laid the basis of his fortune by buying and selling American state bonds in London. The firm of George Peabody & Co. was not only respected but affluent. In a speech Peabody once said:

Heaven has been pleased to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish a house in the great metropolis of England. I have endeavored to make it an American house, to give it an American atmosphere, to make it a center for American news, and an agreeable place for my friends visiting London.

In 1854 a Boston merchant, Junius Spencer Morgan, became a partner. Morgan's son, John Pierpont, gained his early business experience through this connection. In fact, the banking house of J. P. Morgan had its beginnings with George Peabody & Co.

Early in his career Peabody had told close friends that, some day, he would become rich and that he would use his wealth for good purposes. These predictions sounded strange at the time. But Peabody had an unusual drive for success, one that became intensified after a disappointing love affair and broken engagement. He never married. But

he kept his philanthropic resolve. In 1852 with this sentiment, "Education: A debt due from present to future generations," he began a remarkable series of philanthropies which eventually totaled over eight million dollars.

He created institutes in seven cities, each of which included a library, a lecture hall, and a lecture fund. In addition, the Peabody Institute of Baltimore had an art gallery and a conservatory of music. The collections in the Peabody museums at Harvard and Yale universities were invaluable assets in the early study of anthropology in the United States. The Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, added maritime history to the study of anthropology. The chairs endowed by Peabody at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, Kenyon College in Ohio, and Washington College in Virginia advanced the study of mathematics and science. He also aided the American exhibitors at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. In 1854 he helped equip an American Arctic expedition. During the Civil War he contributed to the Sanitary Commission.

In 1862 his gift of model homes for working people in London created a sensation. Subsequent supplements to this philanthropy brought the total gift to over two million dollars. What evoked special respect was the fact that this gift from an American to a country not his own was made at a time when relations between England and America were far from harmonious. Even more dramatic was his multimillion dollar Peabody Education Fund of 1867 dedicated to help revive public education in the defeated southern and southwestern states.

The purpose and size of Peabody's gifts attracted wide attention. He was showered with honors. Queen Victoria wrote a letter of thanks and had a special miniature portrait of herself made for him. Paid for by popular subscription, a statue of him was erected in London. From Oxford and Harvard universities, he received honorary degrees. Guilds, clubs, and historical societies both in England and the United States admitted him to membership. His home town, South Danvers, changed its name to Peabody. Members of Congress praised his gifts and voted him a gold medal.

Following a visit to the United States Peabody returned to London where he died November 4, 1869, at the age of seventy-four. The people of both nations suddenly realized the magnitude of his philanthropy. England honored him with temporary burial in Westminster Abbey and sent his body back to the United States on its then newest warship as a funeral vessel. The United States Government, several of the State governments, and various private organizations passed resolutions of regret at his death and praise for his philanthropies.



### The Peabody Museum of Salem

Peabody's gift of \$140,000 to promote science in Essex County, Massachusetts, made the Peabody Museum of Salem possible. To view the importance of this gift in proper perspective, one must examine the history of the two organizations it combined, to realize their moribund condition before amalgamation, and become aware of the new interest and life Peabody's gift promulgated.

The East India Marine Society was organized by Salem shipmasters as a charitable club to help widows and orphans of shipmasters. The society collected information which would improve navigation and accumulated a collection of artifacts which acquisitive Yankee shipmasters had acquired on voyages beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. From China, Sumatra, India, and the Pacific Islands Salem shipmasters brought back curious items of ethnological interest, so that in the course of time the East India Marine Society became a treasure house of maritime history and natural science. By 1867, however, this society lacked funds to house, supervise, and display its valuable collections adequately.

The Essex County Natural History Society was organized in 1833 to promote the science of natural history and to safeguard the antiquities of New England. It merged with the Essex Historical Society, founded in 1821, a society whose primary function was to preserve the history and relics of Essex County. This merger in 1848 resulted in the Essex Institute.

Shortly before 1867 the semi-moribund East India Marine Hall was available for purchase. The situation and existing need were brought to Peabody's attention. The East India Marine Hall with its unique collections of maritime objects was in need of funds. The natural history collection of The Essex Institute was outgrowing its position as a primarily historical institute. In 1867 Peabody's donation made it possible to combine the two as the Peabody Academy of Science.

### The Maritime History Department

The foreign commerce of Salem is probably better documented than the comparable activity of any other port in the United State. There were two great periods of commercial activity in the city; the first from 1700 to 1760, and the second from 1785 to 1825. After 1825, the average merchant vessel was too large to enter Salem Harbor; as a result, Salem merchants moved their business to other cities.

There is a common misconception that Salem was concerned with the



THE EVOLUTION OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM

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East India Marine Society (1799)

Essex Historical Society (1821)

Essex Institute Natural  
History Society (1833)

Combined to  
form

The Essex Institute (1848)

Natural History collection of  
Essex Institute  
transferred

Peabody Academy of Science (1867)

Peabody Museum of Salem (1915)

The Essex Institute  
Continues Independent

Peabody and Essex Museum (1992)

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clipper ships; actually, the smallest clipper ship was far too large to be docked in Salem. Another common misconception assumes that slave trading was an important part of Salem commerce. Before the Revolution Salem vessels were too small to carry a large cargo of slaves and there are few documented cases of slave trading after the Revolution. This trade was unpopular with Salem merchants and with the public.

In 1785 Elias Hasket Derby sent the ship *Grand Turk* to the Cape of Good Hope. The ship's master, seizing an opportunity that presented itself, pushed on to Canton. One of the relics brought back from this voyage, now in the museum, is the Lowestoft punch bowl decorated with the portrait of the vessel.

Although the China trade has received the greater public attention, statistics demonstrate that it was one of the lesser branches of Salem shipping activity. Between 1785 and 1800, sixteen Salem vessels sailed for Canton; during the same period, fifty vessels sailed from Salem to India. Trade with both Canton and India enriched the ethnological collections of the Museum. In 1795, Captain Jonathan Carnes discovered that pepper could be obtained in Sumatra. For the next twenty years Salem dominated this lucrative trade. The results of this trade can be seen in the Museum's collection of pepper contracts signed with local rajahs, the bags of sample pepper, the heavy iron beams and weights used to weigh it, and the large number of Indonesian weapons.

At the same time that the rich oriental trade was in progress, Salem conducted an extensive commerce with the West Indies and Europe. The maritime history collection of the Museum illustrates Salem's great activity in these areas through some 300 portraits of merchants and ships' captains and innumerable documents and log books.

The books and objects relating to the science of navigation form one of the most complete collections in the United States. The series of devices used to determine latitude is unusually complete and includes the simple quadrant, similar to the one used by Columbus; the astrolabe, used for many years in Mediterranean countries; the cross-staff, the favorite instrument of Northern Europe; and continuing to the back-staff or Davis quadrant, which remained the favorite of Yankee skippers into the nineteenth century; and finally, the Hadley quadrant and the sextant, which represent the highest development in this field. Nearly all of the tools of navigation are to be found in the collection: logs and log lines, chronometers, compasses, circles of reflection, traverse boards, and charts.

Nearly all the editions of the "American Practical Navigator" by Nathaniel Bowditch, a standard work in navigation first published in 1802, are also in the Museum. Nathaniel Bowditch was for many years

an official of the East India Marine Society and as a result of this connection there is a fine collection of material relating to him and his works.

Figureheads that once decorated the bows of ships are also well represented. The miniature female figure carved by McIntire is typical of those on a late eighteenth century vessel. The life-sized figure of the French actor, Talma, which had been on the ship *Talma* of New York, represents the early nineteenth century style while the huge figureheads of the *Rembrandt* and the *Grandee* demonstrate the tendency in the late nineteenth century to carve them on a heroic scale. The only stern boards in the Museum are the conventional eagle and flag types. A large collection of tools related to ship building, rigging, sail-making, and cooperage rounds out this series.

Included among portraits of Salem merchants and sea captains consisting of over two hundred paintings are portraits of Elias Hasket Derby, Joseph Peabody, and Nathaniel Silsbee, typical portraits of Salem merchants. Portraits of Naservanjee, Eshing, and Lamqua depict the oriental merchants of the period. Among the paintings of Salem sea captains are Jonathan Carnes, who discovered pepper growing in Sumatra; William Driver, famed for nicknaming the American flag "Old Glory;" and Benjamin Carpenter, who presented the crystal chandeliers that hang in East India Marine Hall. A catalogue of the entire portrait collection has been published by the Museum.

Some 600 watercolors and oils and 850 prints in the collection portray both sail and steam vessels. For ship portraiture, a specialization in painting, the greatest emphasis was placed on draftsmanship. The portraitists, largely unknown artists, rarely ventured beyond their specialty. Roux is the most famous name in ship portraiture. The family practiced this art in Marseilles from 1770 to 1900. The Museum owns two paintings by Joseph Roux, the founder of the dynasty. His son, Antoine (1765-1835), a great favorite with American shipmasters, is well represented in the collection, which includes many of his sketch books. Antoine had three sons, Antoine, Jr., François, and Frédéric, whose works are represented by numerous ship portraits. There is also a watercolor by Antoine's daughter, Ursula Roux, the only one known to be in the United States. Louis Roux, who painted until the beginning of the twentieth century, was the last famous artist of the family. A fine collection of the maritime paintings of Michele Felice Corné, born on the island of Elba, who came to Salem in 1800, also forms part of the collection.

A collection of about 700 ship models consists of European and American rigged models, builders' half models, and ethnological types. Early models of ships were constructed exclusively by sailors whose facsimiles

approximated the scale of vessels they knew. Of model ships, the building in the twentieth century is dominated by landsmen, many of whom have made accurate miniature replicas of famous vessels. The collections of the Museum include examples by both schools of builders, as well as a contemporary model of an unidentified eighteenth-century vessel. A seven-foot model of the famous pepper trader, *Friendship of Salem*, with brass cannon cast by natives of Palembang in Sumatra, was constructed by the ship's carpenter for the captain's son. However, it was too big to be taken into the house so it was given to the East India Marine Society in 1803.

A model of the frigate *Constitution*, presented to the Society by Captain Isaac Hull in 1813, shows exactly how "Old Ironsides" looked in the days of her greatest fame. In 1814 this particular model was used as a table decoration at a banquet to Commodore Bainbridge. During the dinner her miniature guns were loaded to fire a salute, which damaged the rigging extensively. Repairs were made by British prisoners-of-war quartered in Salem. Sailors' models include barks, brigs, schooners, fishing boats, and various small craft.

An outstanding example of present-day craftsmanship is the excellent model of the four-masted bark *Kenilworth*, a marvel of painstaking accuracy, constructed by the late Carrol Ray Sawyer. Richard Orr's work is represented by a model of the famous clipper ship *Red Jacket*. A model of *Fanny M.*, a Piscataqua gundalow, a now-vanished type of salt-river craft, and the Indian Head fishing schooner *Quonnapowatt*, both by D. Foster Taylor, are also examples of modern workmanship.

The varied collection of builders' half-hulled models, owned by the Museum, includes every type of commercial vessel and is particularly rich in representations of fishing vessels built in Essex County. Of special interest is the half-hull model of the ketch *Eliza* of Salem, built by Enos Briggs in 1794. It must have been constructed in 1793 and is the oldest documented lift model known.

In addition to builders' models the collection includes plans of vessels, such as some of the original plans of Donald MacKay, that are of interest to marine architects. Modes of non-European types of craft are displayed with the ethnological collection. There are also collections of furnishings used on shipboard, an exhibit of Liverpool ware, scrimshaw, and many other items related to shipping and commerce.

### The Natural History Department

One of the objectives of the East India Marine Society was to collect natural curiosities. An elephant's tooth presented by Captain Jonathan



Carnes was the first contribution to the natural history collection in 1799. During the early years the collection contained a general miscellany of animals, insects, birds, and minerals from all over the world. Among the notable specimens displayed was the first penguin exhibited in this country, collected in 1828, and a Malay red fighting cock, the ancestor of the famous American breed, the Rhode Island Red. In 1833, there was enough interest in natural history as a science to bring into being the Essex County Natural History Society, which, in 1848, united with the Essex Historical Society to become the Essex Institute. In 1867, when the Peabody Academy of Science was established, the collections of the Essex County Natural History Society were transferred to that institution.

The Museum has an extensive collection of rocks and minerals from Essex County, some 700 specimens, collected by John H. Sears, a former curator. The botanical collection, one of the earliest herbaria in existence in Massachusetts, contains over 5,000 sheets of plants. An extensive assemblage of Essex County woods was made by John Robinson, also a former curator. Paintings of plants and flowers include the George E. Morris collection of 1,100 watercolors representing mushrooms, the F. H. Silsbee series of 425 similar watercolor sketches, and the Mrs. John H. Thorndike collection of 265 watercolors of flowers.

Marine invertebrates are represented by the starfish, sea-urchin, crab, lobster, and other similar species. A collection of many thousands of specimens of the insects of Essex County was arranged by Albert P. Morse, a former curator. Included in the collection are 10,000 North American coleoptera of 2,700 species, presented by F. Waldo Dodge.

Salt-water fish specimens are numerous, ranging from a large codfish weighing eighty pounds to a tremendous sunfish. In all, some sixty-eight specimens of salt-water fish can be found in the Salem area; a number of local fresh-water fish specimens are also on display.

The amphibians include frogs, toads, and salamanders. Of great interest is Fowler's toad, a new species discovered locally in 1863, represented by two skeletons, the gift of the discoverer, and by paintings made by Augustus Fowler. Colored casts of twelve specimens of serpents are shown; all but two are harmless. The copperhead and banded rattlesnake, the only two poisonous specimens, are extremely rare in Essex County. The nine species of turtles known to exist in the county are all represented. On display are two sea turtles, Kemp's or Ridley's turtle, and a leatherback turtle found in Rockport, Massachusetts, weighing 750 pounds.

Except for the whitetailed deer, which is excluded because of its size, all mammals still extant in Essex County are displayed. The large mam-

mals of the county disappeared very early. The moose was believed to have been killed off by 1733; in 1940, however, one reappeared within the county. The black bear disappeared before the Revolution, but in recent years a few have been seen. Such smaller mammals as wildcats, fox, raccoons, mink, and otter still exist and can easily be found.

The sea mammals represented are the black fish, the sperm whale, and the common harbor seal. Some fifty-five species of mammals are to be found in the area; most of them are shown in the collection. The overlapping of life zones and the proximity of the ocean bring in many strays.

The objective of the collection is to represent the natural history of Essex County fully, and this purpose is accomplished by the Peabody Museum, which has one of the finest collections in the area.

### The Department of Ethnology

The ethnological collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem were begun in 1799 with the gift of a two-stemmed pipe from Sumatra. By 1821 the printed catalogue listed much material from foreign lands illustrating a variety of modes of life. The basic motive was to collect curios, but very early traces of systematic collecting are observable. Most of the rare ethnological items in the Museum were brought back by early captain-collectors. Captains Clifford Crowninshield and Matthew Folger, jointly gave a number of pieces of tapa, showing an early interest in the bark-cloth of the Pacific islands. Worthless curios have been removed from the collection and a documented series of ethnological value remains.

The Polynesian Collection of the Peabody Museum, the finest in the country, has an international reputation, especially because of the great age of the objects and the excellent data accompanying them. The Polynesians were quite willing to trade with strangers. Warclubs, wooden bowls, tapa cloth, personal ornaments, spears, and fish-hooks flowed back to the Museum in a steady stream. The natives were willing to give up their stone adzes for iron adzes and their barkcloth for cheap western calicoes. Through the years, friends of the Museum have added to the original collection: Mr. Stephen Willard Phillips and Mrs. Stephen H. Phillips purchased for the Museum the Goodale Collection made by Reverend and Mrs. Asa Thurston between 1820 and 1868. Among the first missionaries to Hawaii, the Thurstons were able to find and accumulate many objects of native origin. In addition, Mr. Phillips added many fine single pieces to the Polynesian section. Dr. Charles G. Weld purchased the J. S. Emerson Collection, which contains remarkable stone artifacts. The sea captains brought back a fine series of weapons,

fish-hooks, fans, tapa, canoe models, and wooden bowls from all of the Polynesian groups. Among the unique pieces are the specimen of tapa, a Marquesan outrigger canoe, Hawaiian tattooing instruments, and a Hawaiian throwing club.

A few pieces were collected in Micronesia by the members of the East India Marine Society; subsequent additions from other sources have built a well-rounded collection from this area.

Except for the Fijian artifacts, most of the Melanesian material is much more recent than the Polynesian collection. Early traders frequented the Fiji Islands to gather material for the China trade. Western goods had little sale value in China, but there was a great demand for *bêche-de-mer*, a slimy sea slug, and sandalwood, both of which were obtainable in Fiji. Not only did traders visit the islands to gather these products, but they left an agent in residence to prepare a cargo for the next voyage. The merchants and agents obtained artifacts from the southern part of the Fiji Islands between 1811 and 1845. Clubs, bowls, tapa beaters, spears, canoe models, and a model of a two-towered temple were presented by members of the Society. In 1951 Mr. Stephen Willard Phillips added 124 objects from the northern islands to the Fijian collection, making it one of the most important in the world.

The American Indian collection is a by-product of another ethnological activity, but a number of rare and valuable pieces were in the Museum at an early date. A full-sized Penobscot birchbark canoe was in the Museum in 1826. Model canoes by Micmac and Malecite Indians were added in 1802. The oldest known Iroquois elm bark canoe model was given to the Museum in 1826.

In 1877, Edward S. Morse, for many years a director of the Museum, went to Japan to study marine biology. This was the first of several visits. Japan was then undergoing rapid westernization; consequently, objects of their older culture were being discarded. Capitalizing on his opportunity, Morse began to collect representative material to illustrate Japanese culture. Dr. Charles G. Weld also became interested in these Japanese artifacts and built a hall to house his large accumulation of materials. Emphasis was placed on household objects and those in common use, such as pottery, basketry, textiles, metal work, tools, arms, games, and religious objects. Dr. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum in Tokyo has stated that the Japanese collection at the Peabody Museum of Salem is the best of its kind in the world. The ethnological collections contain 40,000 items from all of the non-European world, with special emphasis on the Pacific islands and Japan.

As can now be observed in the Peabody Museum of Salem, George Peabody's gift made possible the amalgamation of early collections in

Essex County and their preservation and growth. He was himself largely self-taught and self-made. As a merchant and partly through his travels and residence in Europe, he arrived at an appreciation of culture and a desire to perpetuate knowledge. George Peabody is a good representative of the long line of private donors whose concern was essential to the early museum movement in America.

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# To Live Fulfilled: George Peabody, 1795-1869, Founder of George Peabody College for Teachers

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Commencement is a traditional time for stocktaking, for seeing where we are, from where we came, and where we are going. As for the past, this educational institution's distinguished lineage of 185 years includes Davidson Academy, 1785-1806; Cumberland College, 1806-1826; University of Nashville, 1826-1875; Peabody Normal College, 1875-1909; and George Peabody College for Teachers, 1909 to the present. Of the founders and contributing stalwarts, George Peabody's philanthropic motive has given this institution since 1875—almost a century—its purpose of preparing high quality educational leaders for the South and the nation. That goal remains, although powerfully affected by new demands and pressures. Isaac Newton once said that if he saw further than most men of his time, it was because he had stood on the shoulders of giants. Perhaps, in that spirit, by renewed acquaintance with George Peabody's philanthropic motives, we can gain insights into improving this important educational institution's future.

George Peabody's legacy, larger in influence than amount, includes, of course, this college, legatee of the multi-million dollar Peabody Education Fund of 1867, whose educational influence in the post-Civil War South was large. From it came four important conferences on education in the South at the turn of the century (1898-1901), which led to the Southern Education Fund (1901-1914), to John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board (1902-1914), to the John F. Slater Fund, to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and to the whole trend of foundations in this country.

The legacy includes three Museums of Science—Archaeology, Ethnology, and Anthropology at Harvard, Paleontology at Yale—aided when these subjects were still fighting for a place in higher education,

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and a Museum of Maritime History in Salem, Mass. The legacy includes the Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore plus a unique reference collection in the companion Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore. The legacy includes five other Peabody Institute Libraries, whose lecture halls and lecture funds once served adult education and whose book collections are now part of the public libraries of Thetford, Vt.; Danvers, Peabody, and Newburyport, Mass.; and Georgetown, D.C. The legacy includes the Peabody Homes of London, in which over 20,000 persons of low-income families live today and which served as a pioneer private prototype for low-income government housing. The legacy includes direct influences on the Johns Hopkins University and Medical School and on the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and probable influence on Andrew Carnegie's vast philanthropies. In international banking that legacy included George Peabody and Co. as the basis of the House of Morgan, since J. P. Morgan's father was Peabody's junior partner and young J. P. Morgan began his career as George Peabody's New York agent.

The legacy includes Peabody Bay near Greenland, so named because George Peabody equipped an American Arctic Expedition in that area. The legacy also includes endowed chairs at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, at Kenyon College in Ohio, and at Washington and Lee University in Virginia.

This briefly but not completely summarizes George Peabody's philanthropy. One wonders why and how this legacy was initiated, organized, and perpetuated; why he went to all this trouble; what manner of man he was; and what motivated him.

These same questions were also asked by his contemporaries who knew more about him than we do today. They had unusual opportunity to scrutinize his life and motives. At his death, unique accidents of history put him under vast publicity. This is what happened.

In 1869 Peabody was in London where he had spent over half of his 74 years. He had a compulsion to return to America before he died to make sure of his philanthropies. In August he went to White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., for an early conference on education in the South with Robert E. Lee, then president of Washington College in Virginia, southern governors, educators, and Peabody Education Fund trustees. In New York in early September he made his will, asking to be buried in Harmony Grove Cemetery, near Salem, Mass. In Salem he arranged a place for himself in the family burial plot. He then returned to England. In London he lay ill at the home of a long-time friend, Sir Curtis Lampson. Queen Victoria thought to invite him to spend a few quiet days at Windsor Castle, but he died on Nov. 4, 1869. Death notices and public letters of appreciation appeared in the press. Recorded the *London Daily*

*News:* "We have received a large number of letters urging that the honors of a public funeral are due to the late Mr. Peabody."

The Dean of Westminster Abbey, who was in Italy when he learned of George Peabody's death, telegraphed the offer of the Abbey for the funeral. Sir Curtis Lampson got the approval of the American Ambassador and of Peabody's other London friends, who agreed that the Abbey funeral would be a high honor. But Anglo-American relations were then frictionable. Negotiations had been underway between the two governments over the *Alabama* claims. They concerned indemnities sought by the United States from Civil War damages caused by the British-built Confederate warship, the *Alabama*. It was Prime Minister William E. Gladstone who, in a Nov. 10 cabinet meeting, proposed that H.M.S. *Monarch* be offered as a funeral ship to return Peabody's remains to America. Thus as a political maneuver as well as a gesture of appreciation, Her Majesty's government decided to honor Peabody by outfitting as his funeral ship England's newest and largest warship.

We have this diary account by a participant of the solemn Westminster Abbey funeral on Nov. 12:

I reflected on the marvelous career of the man, his early life, his penurious habits, his vast fortune, his magnificent charity; and the honor that was then being paid to his memory by the Queen of England in the place of sepulchre of twenty English Kings. . . . An anthem was sung and the service was at an end—George Peabody having received burial in Westminster Abbey, an honor coveted by nobles and not always granted kings.

The coffin lay in the Abbey a month. On Dec. 11, in a cold drenching rain it was taken by special train to Portsmouth Harbor and put aboard the *Monarch* amid gun salutes and bugle dirges. President Grant had dispatched the U.S.S. *Plymouth* from Marseilles to escort the funeral ship across the Atlantic. Meanwhile in the U.S. Congress an acrimonious debate broke out over honoring Peabody. Radicals claimed he held Southern sympathies during the Civil War. He was called a secessionist, a charge made often and as often denied. "My sympathies were with the Union," Peabody had told a Baltimore audience in 1866. "Three fourths of my property was invested in United States government and state securities. When war came I saw no hope for America except in Union victory. But I would not in the passion of war turn my back on Southern friends."

The wrangling ended. Resolutions passed both houses calling for a U.S. Naval reception of the funeral ships. President Grant ordered Admiral Farragut to lead the naval reception.



The winter's stormy seas delayed the funeral armada, which approached Portland, Maine, on Jan. 25. Bostonians were chagrined that little upstart Portland, Maine, because of its deeper harbor, would reap so much publicity. The *Monarch's* captain had orders to keep the remains on board for two days as a last mark of respect. This delay allowed huge crowds to visit the funeral ships. On Jan. 29 amid the drummers' muted roll the casket was handed over to Admiral Farragut. The remains lay in state at Portland City Hall, where more visitors paid their respects. Then on Feb. 1 a funeral train carried the body to Peabody's birthplace. Among those attending the final church service was Queen Victoria's son, Prince Arthur, along with the Governors of Massachusetts and Maine, Charles Francis Adams, a Harvard delegation led by Charles W. Eliot, and trustees of Peabody's various institutes and funds.

The eulogy was given by Robert Charles Winthrop, whom Peabody had asked in 1866 to be his chief philanthropic advisor. Said Winthrop:

What a career this has been whose final scene lies before us . . . the trusts he established, the institutes he founded, the buildings he raised stand before all eyes. I have authority for saying that he planned these for many years.

Winthrop then told how Peabody had come to him in 1866 and had laid before him his philanthropic plans, and particularly the ambitious Peabody Education Fund. Winthrop continued:

When I expressed my amazement at the magnitude of his purpose, he said to me, Why Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; and I have prayed my heavenly father day by day that I might be enabled, before I died, to show my gratitude for the blessings which He has bestowed upon me by doing some great good for my fellowman.

They buried him in Harmony Grove Cemetery, once a thick walnut grove where he played as a boy and where he had brought together the bodies of his mother and father and his sisters and brothers.

It was a poor family of four girls and four boys, of whom Peabody was the third born and the second son. The father, always poor, died early, leaving the family in debt. Peabody had only a few years of formal schooling, after which he was apprenticed in a general store, then worked in his older brother's drapery shop, and then joined an adventurous but bankrupt uncle in a store in Georgetown, D.C. After brief service in an artillery company during the War of 1812, Peabody caught the eye of an experienced Maryland merchant, Elisha Riggs. They



formed a partnership, even though Peabody was only 19 years old, but already the main family support. Buying and selling dry-goods, Peabody traveled from the Baltimore office to the warehouse branches in New York and Philadelphia. He employed two of his rather indolent brothers. He paid for the education of his younger brothers and sisters, and later of his nephews and nieces. To one nephew entering Yale College he wrote:

Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late for me. . . . And I can only do to those who come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me.

Peabody had made several buying trips to Europe, and after 1837 he remained in England for the rest of his life except for a few brief visits home. In England during 1837, a year of financial panic, Peabody helped save from bankruptcy the firm of Brown of Liverpool, source of his own European credit. In saving the Brown firm he bolstered his own credit. He wrote to his partner: "We are almost the only American importer of European goods that have met every engagement on both sides of the Atlantic." That year, too, Peabody had difficulty selling in Europe Maryland's \$8 million bond issue to finance its internal improvements. Because of the financial crisis, Maryland and a few other states stopped paying interest on their bonds. Peabody's belief that this repudiation was temporary proved correct. He later earned considerable money from such bonds which he bought cheaply when others considered them a bad investment.

That year of 1837 brought Peabody a personal disappointment in a broken engagement. The girl was Esther Elizabeth Hoppin from Providence, Rhode Island, visiting England to see the coronation of young Queen Victoria. She returned to the United States, broke off the engagement, and married someone else. Although Peabody's name was later linked romantically with several eligible women, he never married.

He withdrew from Peabody, Riggs and Co. in 1843 and started in London his own firm of George Peabody & Co., gradually making the transition from merchant to broker and international banker.

During the 1850s Peabody emerged as a public figure in society and in philanthropy. In 1851 the Great Exhibition, an early World's Fair, opened in London. Hearing that the American exhibitors desperately needed

money to equip their pavilion, Peabody gave them a loan. London was then full of visiting Americans and Peabody planned a Fourth of July dinner to bring together leading English and American guests. The American Ambassador and other friends warned Peabody that English notables would not attend an American Independence Day dinner. But when Peabody persuaded the aging Duke of Wellington to attend, English society followed. Thereafter for many years Peabody hosted successful Anglo-American dinners and basked in favorable publicity.

In 1852 Peabody chose the 100th Anniversary of his hometown to begin his first institute. He could not attend but he sent a check, instructions for creating a lecture hall and library, and a sentiment: "Education—a debt due from present to future generations." This was the first of six such institutes he founded in towns and cities where he had worked. The most ambitious of these institutes, the one in Baltimore, which also included an art gallery and a music conservatory, caused Peabody some anguish. The Civil War divided the Board of Trustees and only Peabody's personal intervention enabled the Baltimore Institute to open in 1866, ten years after its founding.

In 1854 Peabody freed himself somewhat from business by taking as a partner Boston merchant Junius Spencer Morgan. This change enabled him to visit the United States for a year in 1856-1857 and to add to his philanthropic design.

His gift to London in 1862 was a delicate and tense matter. He was a foreigner and Anglo-American relations were strained over Britain's aid to the Confederacy. Peabody sought counsel on the kind of gift that would be acceptable. On the advice of Lord Shaftesbury, ideas for a network of drinking fountains and a large donation for the ragged schools were dropped in favor of housing for the poor. Despite the tenseness, it turned out that trustees of just the right status agreed to serve and the announcement came at a time when the British press happened to be free of anti-American tirades. Peabody was surprised at the warm reception accorded his gift. Later Queen Victoria thanked him by letter and sent him a rare portrait of herself as a gift.

Peabody retired in October, 1864, and thus was free to visit the United States for a year during 1866-1867. It was then that he endowed three Peabody Museums at Harvard and Yale Universities and in Salem, Mass. He was influenced to make these gifts by his nephew, Professor O. C. Marsh. Peabody had paid for the education of his nephew at Yale and in Berlin and saw young Marsh begin an important career as America's first professor of paleontology at Yale.

Feb. 7, 1867, was the date of his letter founding the important Peabody Education Fund. As early as 1847, Peabody had thought to do something

of importance for the poor of New York City. As late as 1862, on founding the Peabody Homes in London, he still had the New York poor in mind. But the aftermath of the Civil War changed his mind and Northern advisors confirmed his view that education in the South would be the nation's greatest need for the rest of the century. To advisor Robert Charles Winthrop he said in October, 1866, about his plans:

And now I come to the last. . . . You may be surprised when you learn precisely what it is; but it is the one nearest my heart, and the one for which I shall do the most, now and hereafter.

And he then proceeded to read the rude sketch of the endowment for Southern education.

Thus it was that an old sick man of 74 subjected himself to a transatlantic crossing in 1869 for a last look at his institutes and a last talk with his trustees. Five days before he died he wrote to friends:

For a score of years I have prayed daily to God to spare my life to carry out the work I was endeavoring in my feeble way to accomplish, and He has done it.

George Peabody was a complex man and his motives no doubt were also complex. As he grew older, he put more and more of his energies into his philanthropies. The proof of his creative giving lies in the fact that his institutions still exist, still function, still do good. I believe that before he died George Peabody was satisfied with what he had done. I believe that at the end he felt that he had lived fulfilled.

### Notes on Sources

George Peabody's papers are in the Essex Institute Library, Salem, Mass. Some Peabody papers are also in these depositories: Boston Public Library; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Library of Congress; Maryland Historical Society; Massachusetts Historical Society; New York Historical Society; New York Public Library; Peabody Historical Society of Peabody, Mass.; Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore; Peabody Library Association of the Public Library of Washington, D.C.; Peabody Museums of Harvard and Yale; Harvard and Yale Universities' archives; Pierpont Morgan Library of New York; British Museum; and the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle.

George Peabody's life and philanthropic legacy is fully described in Franklin Parker, "George Peabody, Founder of Modern Philanthropy" (Dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1956). The Westminster Abbey funeral and the use of H.M.S. *Monarch* as the funeral ship are

described in Dean Stanley's "Recollections" at Westminster Abbey, Queen Victoria's papers at the Royal Archives in Windsor Castle, and the Gladstone papers at the British Museum. United States Government participation in the funeral is recorded in the following papers at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.: "Admirals and Commodores' Letters," "Dispatches from United States Ministers, Great Britain," "Naval Records," and the "Log of the U.S.S. *Plymouth*." British Government participation is detailed in these documents at the Public Record Office in London: "Admiralty Papers," "Foreign Office Papers," and the "Log of H.M.S. *Monarch*."

Further funeral voyage details are contained in the papers of William W. Corcoran and Hamilton Fish at the Library of Congress. The final funeral events in the United States are described in *Mortuary Honors to the Late George Peabody in Portland, Me.* (Portland, Maine, 1870) and Robert Charles Winthrop, *Eulogy Pronounced at the Funeral of George Peabody, at Peabody, Mass., 8 February, 1870* (Boston, 1870).

The source for stating that the money which went into the Peabody Education Fund was originally intended for the New York City poor is Thurlow Weed, influential journalist and sometimes Peabody's advisor; see Weed's "The Late George Peabody: a Vindication of his Course During the Civil War," *New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1869.



# The Creation of the Peabody Education Fund

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Several years before his American visit in 1866, Peabody had considered establishing a fund in New York City for the benefit of "the industrious poor." When in the States, however, especially after traveling as far south as Maryland and talking to Southern friends, he was so deeply moved by the misery and poverty prevalent in the South after the Civil War that to help there became his first objective.

The pessimistic letters he received depressed him further. William Aiken, former governor of South Carolina, wrote to Peabody in care of W. W. Corcoran that the South was ruined and that nothing could save the Southern states from absolute want. "Its destruction," Aiken asserted, "is now certain."

Peabody was convinced that, in the long run, only a better standard of education would help solve the problems confronting the South. He believed that education would counteract the despair of Southerners and thus build up a new and viable society. What Peabody learned during his visit to America about Southern education, or rather the lack of it, appalled him.

During the war educational institutions everywhere in the South were destroyed or had become inactive, and few of them had been rebuilt. As a result, a whole generation of Southerners was growing up practically illiterate. Many of the boys who had been twelve when the war broke out six years before and were now young men of eighteen had never gone to school. The state governments were too poor to finance education, and this disheartening situation had worsened.

Knowledge of these conditions and his sympathy for the South prompted George Peabody to give one million dollars for the Southern Education Fund—a sum which was doubled two years later—"with

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which to promote and encourage the intellectual, moral, and industrial education of the destitute children of the Southern States."

Efficient men helped Peabody to organize this great enterprise, and they continued to carry out his wishes long after his death. Robert Charles Winthrop, Peabody's confidential advisor, assisted in the selection of suitable trustees for the Southern Education Fund, and for twenty-seven years he was the policy maker of the fund.

Winthrop also found and appointed the man who actually directed the administration of the fund, Barnas Sears, who had been professor of theology and later president of Newton Theological Seminary. He had succeeded Horace Mann as secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, and when Winthrop approached him in connection with Peabody's Southern Education Fund, he was president of Brown University in Rhode Island.

Another man who supported Peabody's Fund for Southern Education was his old friend Thurlow Weed, with whom in London he had discussed his various philanthropies for so many years. It was Weed who had suggested Winthrop as a suitable advisor.

Winthrop was in Baltimore late in January and early in February 1867, and he and Peabody met often. The excellent advice Winthrop gave Peabody is reflected in the trustees of the fund whom he and Peabody appointed. These men came from different geographical backgrounds, had such divergent interests, that together they were bound to become a team with a broad outlook. They were

Robert Charles Winthrop, Massachusetts

Hamilton Fish, New York

Bishop Charles Pettit McIlvaine, Ohio

General Ulysses Simpson Grant, United States Army

Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, United States Navy

William Cabell Rives, Virginia

John Henry Clifford, former governor of Massachusetts

William Aiken, former governor of South Carolina

William Maxwell Evarts, New York

William Alexander Graham, former governor of North Carolina

Charles McAlester, Pennsylvania

George Washington Riggs, Washington, D.C.

Samuel Wetmore, New York

Edward B. Bradford, Louisiana

George N. Eaton, Maryland

George Peabody Russell, Massachusetts

After these men had been invited by letter to become trustees and had accepted, Peabody and Winthrop went to Washington to meet them in a

group at Willard's Hotel. In the meantime, with Winthrop's help, Peabody had drafted his founding letter, which was dated February 7, 1867, and was addressed to the sixteen trustees.

In his letter he emphasized that to be a really great country, the United States' "moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth." Without good education in the South as well as in the North, such a well-balanced development could never take place. And, as he declared in this founding letter, "the impoverished people of the South cannot, without aid, advance themselves in knowledge and power" and thus contribute to the growth of the nation.

The meeting of the trustees on February 8, 1867, was an emotional affair. It was not quite two years since Appomattox, and for the first time former governors of Northern and Southern states came together for a peaceful purpose. Before beginning their conference, the trustees and Peabody knelt in prayer led by Bishop McIlvaine.

In a Founder's Day address given on February 18, 1916, President Bruce Ryburn Payne of George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, presented a touching description of the scene. With Winthrop in the chair, President Payne stated, Peabody, standing between General Grant and Bishop McIlvaine, read the deed of gift, which was "the first guarantee of a reunited Country and of perpetual Union."

At the meeting at Willard's Hotel, Peabody and his trustees could not possibly have foretold the future importance of the Peabody Education Fund. At the time it was clear that no gift was more needed by the Southern states, but no one could yet envisage the beneficial consequences of the fund, or know that for thirty years it would echo and re-echo and inspire the John F. Slater Fund, the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and influence the founding of Tulane University and the Johns Hopkins University and Medical School.

The fund awakened the public school movement in the Southern states and caused legislators to vote for free public schools. The fund made possible the training of teachers and gave great impetus to normal schools. And in 1914, when the fund's chief task had been completed, its main resources were concentrated on the Peabody Normal College, Nashville, Tennessee, an outgrowth in 1875 of the moribund literary department of the University of Nashville, which has since 1909 achieved renown as George Peabody College for Teachers.

At the first meeting with the trustees, Peabody was conscious only of the immediate and desperate need of a revival of education in the South. Before the trustees parted, they decided to meet again in New York on March 19.

In the meantime, Winthrop and Barnas Sears, who was appointed a little later, began working out detailed plans for the disposal of the fund.



Sears was aware that Peabody wanted Southern communities to help themselves rather than to receive charity. Sears declared that, as the agent of the Peabody Education Fund, he would grant financial aid to such Southern schools as were already established and which were supported and administered by the Southern people. Other schools which were threatened by suspension because of a lack of funds would be given financial assistance until such time as they could be self-supporting. Sears also announced that some money would be given to communities where no schools existed so that new schools could be built, but these grants were to be made on condition that these communities themselves become responsible for the support of the schools.

Sears also mentioned normal schools in his early announcements. He said that donations from the Peabody Fund would be concentrated on a few well-run institutions rather than on a large number of less efficient normal schools. But the normal schools, too, were expected to become self-supporting or be financed by their own state or community.

Sears and Peabody were frequently asked whether some Southern states would not benefit more than others from the fund. Peabody, who had delegated decisions to the trustees, answered such questions by referring to them.

"I leave absolute discretion to the Board of Trustees," he wrote, "as to the localities in which the Fund will be expended. I hope all the Southern States which have suffered from the war will ultimately receive benefits according to their needs."

For when George Peabody had contributed to any cause and had handed over the administration to a body of trustees, he was often impatient when he was asked about details concerning the trustees' activities. Besides, immediately after the first meeting of the Peabody Education Fund trustees in Washington, he was preoccupied with other developments. On the day after the meeting, he was surprised and gratified when President Andrew Johnson and his secretary, Colonel William G. Moore, called upon him at Willard's Hotel.

President Johnson had welcomed Peabody's gift to the South, which, he hoped, would be a factor in reuniting the country. Johnson was not experiencing an easy term of office. He faced a hostile Congress, both Houses of which were controlled by Radical Republicans with strong desires to punish the former Confederate States. With a threat of impeachment hanging over Johnson at this time, he was a worried man.

His political advisor, Francis Preston Blair, was recommending strong measures, such as a complete change of the Cabinet, and Peabody had been mentioned as a possibility for Secretary of the Treasury. It is not



known whether in their meeting on February 9 President Johnson discussed Blair's suggestion with Peabody, but he would without a doubt have refused an invitation to become a member of the Administration. He knew that he was far too old to launch forth on a new career, even had it interested him. And it did not interest him because he was concentrating on his philanthropies. In fact, he now appeared to be in a hurry to complete plans for his various charities. He gave the impression of a man who realized that he had not much more time.

Before returning to Salem toward the end of February, he gave an additional \$15,000 to the public library in Newburyport and wrote the instrument of trust which created the Peabody Academy of Science (after 1915 called the Peabody Museum of Salem).

These gifts and above all his enormous donation to Southern education caused him once more—as he had been in London—to be overwhelmed by hundreds of begging letters. He asked his sister Judith to sift through his mail, and one can imagine with what relish, perhaps a little self-importance, she conscientiously assumed this task. Finally Peabody was obliged, in a letter to leading newspapers, to announce that he had delegated others to attend to his correspondence, and he added that about four thousand begging letters had been burned in his presence.

Early in March, resolutions were passed by both Houses of Congress praising Peabody, thanking him for his gift to the South, and requesting that the President have a gold medal struck in his honor. About the same time Queen Victoria's portrait painted especially for Peabody arrived in Washington and was presented to him by the British Ambassador, Sir Frederick Bruce. The news of this portrait added to Peabody's renown, and the newspapers, already full of stories about him, included reports about this portrait.

If this adulation of a citizen had happened in the nineteen-sixties instead of the eighteen-sixties, Peabody would undoubtedly have been eligible to become "the man of the year," and his picture might have been displayed on the cover of one of the glossy news magazines. Reporters were not very different a hundred years ago. An interview with Peabody, quoted in the *Newark Journal*, reflects the approach of the press to him as well as Peabody's modest reaction to fame.

REPORTER: What are your views on those who suggest you as President of the United States?

PEABODY: It is a kind and complimentary reference. If I were forty and could be elected unanimously, not as a partisan, I would like it. But I am seventy-two and my main concern is to preserve my health. The English climate suits me, but I will return to the United States in three years.

REPORTER: What will you do in the next three years?

PEABODY: Fish for salmon. I need the exercise and I enjoy it. It is good for my lungs and circulation.

REPORTER: Have you accomplished all you set out to do?

PEABODY: All the plans I made in London before I came have been accomplished with slight modification. Only the gift of \$140,000 for science in Essex County was not then contemplated. In all my charities Robert Charles Winthrop gave me valuable advice. If I could choose the President of the United States he would be my choice.

Having accomplished what he intended to do during his visit to the United States, Peabody had booked his return voyage to England on the *Scotia*, sailing from New York on May 1, 1867. During the last months of his stay in America, though he was feeling very tired, he did not rest. On March 22 in New York he gave a large banquet for more than seventy guests in honor of General Grant and the trustees of the Education Fund. A few weeks later he was in both parts of Danvers, where he was welcomed by the citizens and the schoolchildren, and after that he went to Georgetown to attend a farewell reception.

His last visit to Baltimore before sailing was equally strenuous; especially as he went from there for a day to Washington to be received by President Johnson in the White House. While visiting Baltimore toward the end of April he stayed for a few days at the home of his friend John Work Garrett, who lived outside the city in Oakland. Many visitors arrived at the Garrett home while Peabody was there, but he was unruffled and relaxed, obviously enjoying himself. He attended a large wedding party in Baltimore when Reverdy Johnson's daughter was married. He appeared to be indefatigable and people were impressed by his vigor. Actually, he was doing too much. He lost twenty pounds during this visit to America, and his spurts of energy were bad for his ailing constitution.

The visit of one of Garrett's friends in Oakland had far-reaching results. This visitor was Johns Hopkins, Baltimore merchant and financier who had casual contact with Peabody in 1856. Now Hopkins came to Garrett's home to have a quiet discussion with Peabody. Garrett was aware that Hopkins, a bachelor, was wondering what to do with his great wealth and wanted Peabody's advice. Garrett was present when Peabody and Hopkins conferred in his study after dinner.

As Garrett later reported the conversation, Peabody, explaining the basis of his philanthropies to Hopkins, said,

When aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I

had accumulated, so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity. I . . . formed the conclusion that there were men who were just as anxious to work with integrity for the . . . suffering and the struggling poor as I had been to gather fortune. . . . I called a number of my friends . . . and proposed that they should act as my trustees. . . . I then, for the first time, felt there was a higher pleasure and a greater happiness than accumulating money, and that was derived from giving it for good and humane purposes.

Hopkins was obviously so carried away by Peabody's personality and his educational interests that he made his will the very next day, and two months later bills to incorporate his benefactions were in the Maryland Legislature. Thus Peabody, apart from his own great charities, may honorably stand in the shadow of what has been achieved by the Johns Hopkins University, Medical School, and Hospital.

Peabody himself did not appreciate the extent to which he had influenced Hopkins, who had been only one among the many men he had met during this visit to the United States. Peabody was now eager to be gone and hoped for a rest on the *Scotia* during his return journey to England. He was an upright, impressive figure when Winthrop and other friends saw him off at the Cunard pier in New York. On board was a Philadelphia newspaper owner, John Wien Forney. In common with the other passengers on the *Scotia*, Forney was interested in the famous philanthropist. Forney wrote,

As I studied the venerable philanthropist yesterday as he lay dozing on one of the sofas in the forward saloon, I confessed I had never seen a nobler or more imposing figure. Never has human face spoken more humane emotions. The good man's soul seems to shine out of every feature and lineament. His fine head, rivalling the best of the old aristocracy, and blending the ideals of benevolence and integrity, his tranquil and pleasing countenance, and his silver hair, crown a lofty form of unusual dignity and grace.

#### Bibliographic Essay

Weed's vindication,<sup>1</sup> . . . which first appeared in the *New York Times*, December 23, 1869, stated that the money which went into the Peabody Education Fund had been intended some fifteen years earlier and in a lesser amount for the poor of New York City. Weed explained the altered conditions, mainly the South's devastation during and after the

<sup>1</sup>Thurlow Weed, "The Late George Peabody, A Vindication of his Course During the Civil War," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, XIX (1931), p. 15.



Civil War, which caused Peabody to change his mind, and credited Robert Charles Winthrop as the architect of the Peabody Education Fund. Events connected with the first meeting of the trustees are described in the Peabody Papers, Essex Institute; Hamilton Fish Papers and Corcoran Papers, Library of Congress. A contemporary account of the first meeting is in the *New York Herald*, February 9, 1867. Later accounts are in Curry,<sup>2</sup> 26-27; and Bruce R. Payne, *George Peabody; Founder's Day Address, February 18, 1916* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1916). The work of the fund is covered by Curry, *op cit.*; Peabody Education Fund, *Proceedings* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1875-1916), 6 vols.; and several dissertations about the fund in the library of George Peabody College for Teachers.

President Andrew Johnson's personal call on Peabody is described in the *New York Herald*, February 10, 1867; and St. George L. Sioussat, "Notes of Colonel W. G. Moore, Private Secretary to President Johnson, 1866-1869," *American Historical Review*, XIX, No. 1 (October 1913), 105. For the proposed reconstituted Cabinet, see the letters from Blair to Johnson, February 12 and 24, 1867, Andrew Johnson Papers, Library of Congress; quoted in part in Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1917), I, 469-470. Peabody's being received in the White House is described in the *New York Herald*, April 29 and May 1, 1867; and the *Baltimore Sun*, April 27, 1867.

The begging letters are mentioned in the *New York Tribune*, March 11, 1867; and the *London Times*, March 30, 1867. Senator Charles Sumner (Republican, Massachusetts) introduced the Congressional resolution which was debated and passed by both houses; *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 1st Session, March 4-December 2, 1867 (Washington: Rives and Bailey, 1867), LXXXIX, 28-30, 38-75, 83, 94, 108; *Journal of the United States Senate*, 40th Congress, 1st and Special Session (1867), 6, 19, 20, 40, 45, 47, 63, Index 228.

The Queen Victoria portrait is described in the *London Times*, May 24 and June 16, 1866; and its deposit in a specially built vault in the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody (then named South Danvers), Massachusetts, is reported in the *London Times*, March 18, 1867; and the *New York Times*, April 1, 1867.

The predeparture interview is contained in the Newark (N.J.) *Daily Journal*, April 29 and 30, 1867. The important Peabody-Hopkins conversation was described by eyewitness John Work Garrett 16 or 17 years after the event in his *Address Delivered on the 30th of January, 1883, Before the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore on the Occasion of Their Thirtieth Anniversary* (Baltimore: The News Steam Printing Office, 1883), 9-10, copies in the Johns Hopkins University Library and the Garrett Papers, Library of Congress; also quoted in the *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1883. Evangelist Dwight L. Moody's record that he heard of this interview from Garrett about 1879 is mentioned in Curry, *op. cit.*, 17-18; and Henry Mitchell MacCracken, *The Hall of Fame* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 180. Daniel Coit Gilman quotes the conversation in his *The Launching of a University and Other Papers: A Sheaf of Remembrances* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1906), 10-12. The exact meeting date is uncertain; my preferred order of dates for Peabody's visit to Garrett's home and the meeting is as follows: November 12-13, 1866; October 30, 1866; February 3, 1867; and April 25, 1867. See also my relevant references on Peabody's educational influence.

John Wien Forney's (1817-1871) description of Peabody aboard the *Scotia* and the resolutions in Chapter 22 are contained in his *Letters from Europe* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1867), 19-31; *New York Herald*, May 28, 1867; and the *London Times*, May 22, 1867.

<sup>2</sup>Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody, and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: University Press, 1898.



# George Peabody, 1795-1869: His Influence on Educational Philanthropy

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For four years the American states tested a principle of union in the crucible of war. The industrial North crushed the agrarian South. To help heal the breach, the federal government created the Freedmen's Bureau. But what could the bureau do when northern radicals treated the South as a conquered province? Major General Oliver O. Howard, the bureau's director, intended well. But his northern agents were often inefficient or corrupt. Everything conspired to make the bureau an irritant to the open sore it sought to heal. Its failure highlighted the inability of the North to effect reconciliation. What the government could not do, a private philanthropist attempted.

While radical revenge smothered reconstruction, an old man and some distinguished trustees bowed their heads in prayer, gave birth to the Peabody Education Fund, and started a revival of education in the southern states. Two years after Appomattox the philanthropist founded this fund with these words: "With my advancing years my attachment to my native land has become more devoted. My faith in its glorious future grows brighter and stronger. Looking beyond my stay on earth I see our country emerging from the clouds still around her, taking high rank among nations, becoming richer and more powerful than ever. To make her prosperity more than superficial her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth. I give you, my friends, one million dollars to promote and encourage the intellectual, moral, industrial education of the destitute children of the Southern states."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Adapted from a letter from George Peabody to the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, February 7, 1867, original in the Archives of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

On doubling the fund two years later, he concluded: "With God's blessing on the gift I do this as a permanent boon not only to the South but to the whole of our dear country."<sup>2</sup> Four and a half months later he died. He built better than he knew. What he gave was significant in its time. What he unleashed was tremendous in its influence.

To understand the origin of the Peabody Education Fund one might witness a meeting which took place between George Peabody and Johns Hopkins in Baltimore in 1866. Both were born in 1795, Peabody on February 18 in Danvers (now Peabody), Massachusetts; Hopkins on May 19 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Hopkins left his Quaker farm home in 1812 to become a grocer in Baltimore. Peabody left Massachusetts in 1811 to become dry goods storekeeper in Georgetown, District of Columbia. Hopkins founded the mercantile firm of Hopkins and Brothers in Baltimore in 1822. Peabody became a junior partner in the mercantile firm of Riggs, Peabody & Co. in Baltimore in 1815. The Hopkins firm traded in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Riggs, Peabody and Company, from its Baltimore headquarters, sent Peabody out as traveling buyer to its branches in New York and Philadelphia.

Both men turned, independently, from merchandising to investing in banks and railroads. Hopkins remained in Baltimore to make his fortune. Peabody left Baltimore for London where his mercantile and brokerage firm became the genesis of the banking house of J. P. Morgan and Company.

Peabody and Hopkins had met in 1856-1857 when Peabody, on a year's visit to the United States, founded the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. They met again in November of 1866 when Peabody again visited the United States. He had by then already established the Peabody Homes for working people in London (1862)<sup>3</sup> and after his arrival in New York in May of 1866, he had founded the Peabody Museums of Yale and Harvard universities and the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>4</sup> His stopover in Baltimore with Hopkins in November, 1866, preceded by three months his founding of the Peabody Education Fund.

Hopkins, married but childless, had asked friends how best to use his wealth for philanthropic purposes. John Work Garrett, president of the

<sup>2</sup>George Peabody, *Three Letters of Mr. George Peabody Who Established the Peabody Education Fund A.D. 1867* (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1910), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>Franklin Parker, "George Peabody, Founder of Modern Philanthropy," Dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers 1956, pp. 985-90.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 985-90.

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and a mutual friend, brought Hopkins and Peabody together in his home. In a long conversation after dinner, Peabody compared his career with that of Hopkins, pointing out that, like Hopkins, he had sought wealth as the test of success and had long been happy with what he had achieved.

Yet, when age came upon me, and when aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I had accumulated, so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity. I looked about me and formed the conclusion that there were men who were just as anxious to work with integrity and faithfulness for the comfort, consolation and advancement of the suffering poor as I had been to gather fortune. After careful consideration, I called a number of my friends in whom I had confidence to meet me, and I proposed that they should act as my trustees, and I organized my first scheme of benevolence. The trust was accepted, and I then, for the first time, felt there was a higher pleasure and a greater happiness than accumulating money, and that was derived from giving it for good and humane purposes; and so, sir, I have gone on, and from that day realized with increasing enjoyment the pleasure of arranging for the greatest practicable good for those who would need my means to aid their well-being, progress, and happiness.<sup>5</sup>

Hopkins made out his will the next day. Two months later bills to incorporate his benefactions were in the Maryland legislature. The evidence is sufficient to allow Peabody partial influence over Hopkins. Peabody may honorably stand in the shadow of what has been achieved by the Johns Hopkins University, hospital, and medical school. This Peabody-Hopkins talk provides invaluable insight into Peabody the man and the philanthropist.

As for the Peabody Education Fund itself, four men are mainly responsible for its origin and early operation. George Peabody was its founder and inspiration. His money endowed it. Robert Charles Winthrop provided the leadership that gave the fund national stature. Peabody had long admired Winthrop's distinguished career as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and successor to Daniel Webster in the United States Senate. As president of the Board of Trustees for twenty-seven years, Winthrop carried forward Peabody's vision and kept the fund in popular favor with northerners and southerners alike.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 976-84.

Winthrop also found the man to direct the fund's early operation. Barnas Sears had been professor of theology and later president of Newton Theological Seminary. He had succeeded Horace Mann as secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. He was president of Brown University in Rhode Island when Winthrop prevailed upon him to become the fund's first agent. It was Sears who guided the fund's early operation by deciding where and how to use its financial influence.

The fourth man was Thurlow Weed, a key figure in explaining the evolution of the fund in Peabody's mind. Weed was an influential New York State journalist and political manager with whom Peabody had long been acquainted. Peabody went to Weed for advice in 1851, 1861, and 1866, hoping that Weed would undertake the practical direction of his intended gifts. Weed declined and suggested Winthrop as eminently more qualified. After Peabody's death, Weed disclosed that the money which went into the fund was originally intended for the poor of New York City:

Some of Mr. Peabody's accusers discern, or think they discern, evidence of rebel sympathies in his great educational gift for the poor of the formerly slave States; but even in this they err. That money, until some time after the conclusion of the war, was intended for the City of New York. Soon after handing his check for 100,000 guineas to his London trustees, he reverted to what he had told me fifteen years earlier about his intention to do something for the industrious poor of New York, adding that as he was then a much richer man, his donation would be a much larger one; and that he intended to carry out his purpose, after his then approaching withdrawal from business. But the war and its consequences changed his views. While the poor of the South had multiplied in numbers, the City of New York had not only been growing in wealth, had established schools, the doors of which were wide open to every child in the city, but we were also fortunate in having among our citizens several capitalists vastly richer than himself. But these circumstances, while in his thoughts, had not decided his action when he arrived, nor until he had conversed with several Northern friends, all of whom approved of the effort to educate and elevate the masses in ignorance and poverty, black and white, which pervades the whole South . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Thurlow Weed, "The Late George Peabody: A Vindication of His Course During the Civil War," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, 19 (1931), pp. 14-15.



After the idea of aiding the South was finally decided upon, Weed helped name the fund's trustees and Winthrop helped develop the fund's plan. When Peabody arrived in the United States in May 1866, Weed continued: "He communicated his then immature programme for the education and elevation of the Southern poor, and consulted with us in relation to suitable men for trustees. And it may be proper to say here, that the beneficent plan finally adopted, was the suggestion of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston."<sup>7</sup>

Southern acceptance of the Peabody Education Fund was assured by Robert E. Lee's early approval. They met in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, in August 1869.<sup>8</sup> For Lee at sixty-two this was the next to the last summer of life. For Peabody at seventy-four it was the very last summer of life. In their old age both men had turned to the reviving power of education, Lee in 1865 as president of impoverished Washington College in Lexington, Virginia; Peabody in 1867 as founder of the Peabody Education Fund.

Prominent educators were also at the Springs that summer, among them Barnas Sears, first agent of the Peabody Education Fund; J. L. M. Curry, later second agent of the fund; James Lyons, Richmond lawyer and friend of the Virginia public schools; John Eaton, Tennessee superintendent of public instruction and later United States Commissioner of Education.

This meeting set a precedent in focusing public attention on the educational needs of the South and on the work of the Peabody Education Fund. Conferences on education in the South followed at the turn of the century. The first in the summer of 1898 at Capon Springs, West Virginia, while of independent origin, included John Eaton, then United States Commissioner of Education, and J. L. M. Curry, then second agent of the Peabody Education Fund, both of whom had attended the Lee-Peabody talks in 1869.

Three conferences on education in the South were held at Capon Springs, West Virginia, and a fourth at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1901. These conferences led directly to the founding of the Southern Education Board (1901-1914). The work of the Peabody Education Fund and of the Southern Education Board so attracted the attention of John D. Rockefeller that he engaged J. L. M. Curry and others as trustees

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Franklin Parker, "Robert E. Lee, George Peabody, and Sectional Reunion," *Peabody Journal of Education*, 37, No. 4 (1960), pp. 195-202.

for his General Education Board (1902-1914). Barnas Sears, J. L. M. Curry, Wickliffe Rose, and other trustees of the Peabody Education Fund also served as officers and trustees of the other early foundations. It is difficult to distinguish from 1902 to 1913 between the programs and work of the Peabody Education Fund, the Conferences for Education in the South, the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the John F. Slater Fund, and the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation. There was the closest cooperation between the men, trustees, officers, and directors of these various boards and funds.

The problem was a common one, to uplift the destitute people of the South. The Peabody Education Fund first labored in this area. To negate its existence is to remove the foundation stone upon which rested all subsequent philanthropic effort in the South. It was the first private multimillion dollar foundation in American history with a positive approach toward the prevention of social ills. It was the first such foundation whose scope was recognized as national rather than local. It was the first such foundation which provided operational flexibility as conditions changed. It was the first such foundation to select trustees from professional and financial circles. The following are some principles it established and some precedents it set.

The decision of early foundations not to give funds to state institutions was based in part on a test case conducted by the Peabody Education Fund from 1870 to 1880. The trustees desired to create a few superior state normal schools. Barnas Sears sought to establish the first of these in Nashville. But the Tennessee legislature refused to appropriate matching funds to assure its permanency. The Peabody Education Fund then decided to endow the Peabody Normal College as a private teachers college. The Nashville experiment tested every phase of a foundation's relationship to both private and state-controlled higher education. Henceforth the leading foundations promoted private institutions of learning as model demonstrations to the rest of the country.

Here is the heartbeat of American educational philanthropy—private wealth taking the initiative in creating models of excellence, the results if good, serving as examples for others, particularly state governments, to emulate. The Peabody Education Fund was the first modern exponent of this principle.

The Peabody Education Fund was the first foundation to use the stimulating effects of matching grants for permanent improvement. Its trustees made grants only if communities initiated and perpetuated public school legislation. This policy was a prime lever in stimulating public support of southern education. The principle was carefully fol-

lowed of helping only those who would be willing to help themselves.<sup>9</sup>

The Peabody Education Fund set another precedent in the way it sought public support. Its original purpose, to elevate southern society, required the stimulus of an awakened people. Through newspapers, public speeches by its agents, addresses to state legislatures, publication of its minutes and proceedings, the fund set the public relations pattern used by subsequent foundations to build good will.<sup>10</sup>

Peabody also helped to free corporate philanthropy from the dead hand of peculiar limitations imposed by donors. Having chosen his trustees carefully and having stated his broad purpose in a founding letter, he did not interfere further with the deliberations or decisions of his trustees. This precedent enabled trustees of subsequent foundations to become more independent of the control of the founder and the founder's family.<sup>11</sup>

Modern foundation executives are frequently distinguished as former university presidents. This pattern was less marked before the example of the Peabody Education Fund. Both Barnas Sears and J. L. M. Curry were presidents of collegiate institutions before working with the Peabody Education Fund, Sears as president of Brown University in Rhode Island, and Curry as president of Howard College in Alabama. This pattern was later reflected in the foundational leadership of such men as Wallace Buttrick, James H. Dillard, Wickliffe Rose, and Henry S. Pritchett.<sup>12</sup>

Since World War I corporate philanthropy has interested itself in discovering potential leaders through scholarship grants. The Peabody Education Fund gave \$580,660 for Peabody scholarships. Probably no earlier philanthropic foundation had a similar program of scholarship aid to outstanding youths. The fund set an early precedent by using scholarship aid to bolster the teaching profession and to strengthen teacher preparatory institutions.<sup>13</sup>

When the Peabody Education Fund was dissolved in 1914 it distributed

<sup>9</sup>Ernest Victor Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 39.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>11</sup>Hollis, p. 80.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>13</sup>Hollis, pp. 174-75.



its assets of \$2,324,000 three ways: \$1,500,000 endowed George Peabody College for Teachers, \$474,000 went to fourteen universities and colleges, and \$346,797 to the Slater Fund for its work in Negro colleges. Here was an early instance of corporate philanthropy endowing American higher education.

The resources of today's giant foundations have overshadowed George Peabody's gift to southern education. His influence has become somewhat forgotten, although recorded in academic works. Yet his education fund was the parent of modern foundations, their model, forerunner, and inspiration.

Historians have referred to this influence as follows. E. Merton Coulter: the greatest act of help and friendship to the South during Reconstruction.<sup>14</sup> Paul H. Buck: a fruitful experiment in harmony and understanding between the sections.<sup>15</sup> Thomas D. Clark: it worked as an education leaven.<sup>16</sup> Harvey Wish: no kindness touched the hearts of the southerners quite so much as did Peabody's education bequest.<sup>17</sup>

Educational historians have said the following. Jesse Brundage Sears: the first successful precedent-setting education foundation.<sup>18</sup> Daniel Coit Gilman: all subsequent foundations adopted the principles Peabody formulated.<sup>19</sup> Charles William Dabney: the meeting between George Peabody and Robert E. Lee in August, 1869, inspired the four Conferences on Education in the South from which emerged the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board.<sup>20</sup> Abraham Flexner:

<sup>14</sup>E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p. 327.

<sup>15</sup>Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), p. 164.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas D. Clark, *The Southern Country Editor* (New York: Bobbs, Merrill, 1948), p. 30.

<sup>17</sup>Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America* (New York: Longmans Green and Company, 1952), II, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup>Jesse Brundage Sears, *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education*, Bulletin No. 26 (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of Education, 1922), p. 91.

<sup>19</sup>Gilman credits the principles of the John F. Slater Fund, John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, the Andrew Carnegie foundations, and the Russell Sage Foundation to the influence of George Peabody. Daniel Coit Gilman "Five Great Gifts," *The Outlook*, 86, No. 13 (1907), p. 657.

<sup>20</sup>Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), I, Chapter VII; II, Chapters I-IV.



there was the closest cooperation among, and interlocking officers and trustees of, the Peabody Education Fund, the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the Samuel F. Slater Fund, the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, and the Rosenwald Fund.<sup>21</sup>

One can only speculate on why Peabody became a philanthropist. He did feel keenly about his own lack of schooling. To a nephew he wrote: "Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late. . . ." <sup>22</sup>

Perhaps as his wealth mounted, Peabody wondered why he had been favored. Age and illness may have led him to seek happiness in doing good. For whatever reason, he used with prudence what Providence had given him, and religious idealism was a motivating factor. Five days before he died he wrote to friends: "For a score of years I have prayed daily to God to spare my life to carry out the work I was endeavoring in my feeble way to accomplish, and He has done it." <sup>23</sup>

To Robert Winthrop, who expressed wonder at the education plan for the South, Peabody said: "Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property. . . . I have prayed my Heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled before I died, to show my gratitude by doing some great good to my fellowmen." <sup>24</sup>

Those last words are cut into the granite marker of his memorial in Westminster Abbey. They form a fitting epitaph.

<sup>21</sup>Abraham Flexner, *Funds and Foundations: Their Policies Past and Present* (New York: Harper, 1952), Chapters I-II.

<sup>22</sup>Letter from George Peabody to his nephew, George, son of David Peabody, May 18, 1831, Peabody Papers, the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

<sup>23</sup>Robert Charles Winthrop, *Eulogy Pronounced at the Funeral of George Peabody, at Peabody, Mass., 8 February 1870* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1870), p. 11.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

# Pantheon of Philanthropy: George Peabody

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Slightly more than a decade ago, George Peabody was just a name to me connected with a teachers college in Nashville, Tenn. I remember how surprised I was to learn that the Peabody Institute of Baltimore was founded by the same George Peabody. Then came a series of surprises: Peabody institutes and libraries in seven cities; Peabody homes in London, where 18,000 people live; Peabody Bay off Greenland named for him; three Peabody museums of science; statues of him in London and Baltimore, and many honors given him. Since that time, I have read everything I could find written about him and by him. Happily, his letters exist, 144 boxes of them scattered in the United States and England.

I would like to begin in the year he died, 1869. Ulysses S. Grant was President of the United States. The Civil War was over, but its memory was still strong. That August, in West Virginia at the famous White Sulphur Springs, two elderly men enjoyed the sun and talked about the future. One was George Peabody, the other was Robert E. Lee. One was a businessman, the other, a soldier, but they had one thing in common. When the war was over they both turned to education—Robert E. Lee as President of Washington College in Virginia; George Peabody as the founder of the Peabody Education Fund for the South. Mr. Peabody had lived in the North 17 years, in the South 25 years and for 32 years in London. Now he was 74 and very ill. Leaving White Sulphur Springs, he sailed to England, landed at Liverpool, and hurried to London to his

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## Note:

The nomination of George Peabody to the National Society of Fund Raisers' Pantheon of Philanthropy by E. H. "Al" Donaubaue, executive director of development at the University of Arkansas, was approved by the Board of NSFR. The addition of George Peabody's name to the original nine was performed at the Society's national conference in Chicago in March 1977.

room and to bed. Friends gathered as they do when death is near. On the night of November 4, 1869, he quietly died in his sleep.

The man who died that day was unusually honored. In his lifetime he was given—

The Freedom of the City of London;

Honorary membership in two ancient guilds and in exclusive clubs;

A letter of thanks and a priceless miniature from Queen Victoria;

The offer of knighthood;

A private audience with Pope Pius IX;

A statue in London paid for by common people, none of whom gave more than \$25;

Honorary degrees from Harvard and Oxford;

His hometown, South Danvers, Massachusetts, renamed in his honor;

A congressional resolution of praise and a gold medal;

Consideration for a cabinet position under President Andrew Johnson.

And after his death, a statue was erected of him in Baltimore; and he was elected to the New York University Hall of Fame, ranking 15th among the 1,000 outstanding Americans considered for this prestigious group.

### His Funeral

His funeral was most unusual. His body lay in state for 30 days in Westminster Abbey, one of the most precious spots of English soil. The memorial stone bearing his name is still there, near the grave of England's unknown soldier. His body was sent home for burial in America on the H.M.S. *Monarch*, then England's newest and greatest warship. The United States Congress, state legislatures, religious bodies, and many organizations passed resolutions of sorrow and sent delegates to his funeral. Queen Victoria sent her son, Prince Arthur. Robert E. Lee wanted to attend but was too ill. Eulogies poured from the press of two continents. Sermons were given on the lesson of his life. Famous men voiced the general sentiment. One of them, Victor Hugo, wrote the following:

"On this earth there are men of hate and men of love. Peabody was one of the latter. It is on the face of these men that we see the smile of God."

Who was this man? Why was he so honored? What difference did his life make in the way of the world? If there is a thesis at all about the life of George Peabody it can be simply stated in these three points: He was a success; he was a philanthropist; he was a master teacher. George Peabody began with nothing, he died a multi-millionaire, and he was

honest. George Peabody was a philanthropist. He took an old idea, dusted it off, made it practical in his day and common in our time. It was the idea that private wealth can be used as a public trust to correct private abuse and set ideals for government to emulate. That was the heritage he left us. And the lesson. George Peabody was a master teacher. He taught by example. Others gave (and still give) because he gave.

Let us examine the first point, his success. How did he make his money? His life began February 18, 1795, nearly 182 years ago, when George Washington was in his second term of office. George Peabody's formal training consisted of four years of schooling and four years of apprenticeship in a general store in Danvers, Mass. At 15, several factors influenced him to leave New England. His father died, leaving him to support his mother and six of his younger brothers and sisters. There was a depression in New England brought on by the embargo before the War of 1812. And a fire in Newburyport, Mass., where he worked for his brother David, destroyed business prospects. So he moved South to work for his uncle and, with a pack on his back, George Peabody sold goods from house to house and store to store in and around Georgetown, D.C. He served for a time in the War of 1812, and one of his messmates was Francis Scott Key. At 17 he struck out on his own.

At 19 he became junior partner in Riggs, Peabody and Co. By the time he was 29 he was senior partner and Peabody, Riggs and Co. expanded from Baltimore to Philadelphia and New York. At 32 he went to England for the first time to sell Southern cotton and buy merchandise with the profit. At 42 he made London, then the money capital of the world, his home. There he laid the basis of his fortune by buying heavily of American state securities after 1837 when their price was low.

In 1848, he helped market the Mexican War Loan. He helped finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He sold iron to American railroads. He was a director along with Cyrus Field of the Atlantic Telegraph and Cable Company. In 30 years, he built a private banking house (the beginning of the House of Morgan), a house competing with the firms of Baring and Rothschild in London, which had taken generations to build.

### His Fortune

That, briefly, is how he made his wealth. His fortune was variously estimated from \$14 to \$20 million. All reputable sources agree he was honest. There is no evidence to the contrary.

But it was his philanthropy that made him famous and the influence his giving had on others. His major gifts totaled some \$10 million.



There are interesting stories behind each gift. His first benefaction was unusual and brought him into public notice in Maryland and among financiers. In 1837, he was appointed one of three commissioners to sell \$8 million worth of bonds in Europe for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. That was a panic year in American finance. Many states spoke of defaulting on their bonds. The other two commissioners returned home. Mr. Peabody called together 12 leading English bankers, convinced them that Maryland would not repudiate its obligations, sold most of the bonds, saved the credit of Maryland and other states, and returned his commission of \$60,000 to the Treasurer of the State of Maryland.

In 1851, Prince Albert, consort of Queen Victoria, planned the Great Exhibition, the first world's fair, in London. The United States asked for and received a large floor space. Shiploads of American products arrived but there was no money to set up the exhibit. London newspapers began to ridicule the sorry show America was making. What Congress should have done, Mr. Peabody did as a private citizen. His loan of \$15,000 enabled American products and arts to be proudly shown for the first time at the first world's fair.

### First Institute

The next year, 1852, his hometown of Danvers celebrated its centennial. Mr. Peabody, in London, could not attend but sent an envelope. In it was the sentiment which has since become the motto of the George Peabody College for Teachers: "Education, a debt due from present to future generations." With that noble sentiment, 124 years ago, was enclosed his gift of \$20,000 for his first institute.

Mr. Peabody's gift to the poor of London created a sensation. The gift was large—more than \$2 million—the purpose was noble, and the surprise was great that an American should give it. Mr. Peabody's first plan was a large donation to Lord Shaftsbury's Ragged School Union. When approached on this subject, Lord Shaftsbury described the wretched living conditions of the poor, the overcrowding and sickness, the prostration of all energy. Model family dwellings would be a better use of Mr. Peabody's gift than the Ragged Schools. Eighteen thousand people, enough to populate a small city, still live in these homes. They have influenced municipal housing in other crowded cities. These homes are well known, and George Peabody is better known by name among the common people of London than he is in Nashville. Tenn., or Peabody, Mass., his own hometown.

The Peabody Education Fund, out of which was born George Peabody College for Teachers, was Mr. Peabody's greatest gift and the one nearest his heart. This fund grew out of the tragedy of the Civil War. Mr.

Peabody had been absent from the country for 20 years. He returned in 1856 and, like Rip Van Winkle, he was amazed at the changes, the growth, the people. The slavery controversy was at its height. Mr. Peabody regarded the extremists of both sides as equally mischievous. He returned to London amid the rumbling of civil war. He watched the painful conflict from afar. When the war was over he came back. The whole country was dear to him, but the land of his young manhood needed his efforts most.

The South was in ruins. It had no public school system worthy of the name. Mr. Peabody, then 71 years old, crippled with illness, saw his greatest work before him. He called together 16 of the most distinguished men in America, Northern and Southern-born. They met at Willard's Hotel in Washington, D.C., February 7, 1867. Mr. Peabody rose. He read his letter establishing the fund. There was a solemn quiet. Then they knelt in a circle of prayer. On bended knees they dedicated the gift for education and consecrated its use for the children of the South. That moment, two years after Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, was the first guarantee of a reunited country.

A number of books have been written about the Peabody Education Fund and the men connected with it. I can best sum up its contribution in four directions, each of which meant much to the South: It molded and elevated educational sentiment, secured better school legislation, lifted the profession of teaching, and made the free education of both races a civil obligation.

Let me trace how George Peabody College for Teachers grew out of the Peabody Education Fund. By 1875, the Fund supported teacher-training schools. Barnas Sears, the Fund's first agent, selected the University of Nashville as best suited out of which to create a normal school to serve the South. With the Fund's financial support in the form of scholarships, the normal school in Nashville became known as Peabody Normal School in 1875, although its lineage went back to Davidson Academy, established (1785) before Tennessee was a state.

### College Moved

In 1905 the trustees dissolved the Fund and concentrated \$1 million, plus an equal amount locally matched, into George Peabody College for Teachers. In 1914 it moved from South Nashville to its present Hillsboro location where the cooperative program of Vanderbilt University, George Peabody College for Teachers, and Scarritt College lends mutual strength and improved facilities.

In the field of science, Mr. Peabody's philanthropy made three contributions. First, he made possible the career of the first professor of paleontology in America at Yale University. He did this by paying for the education of his nephew, Dr. Othniel Charles Marsh, who was co-worker with Charles Darwin, Thomas Huxley, and Herbert Spencer in the great controversy over evolution. Second, Mr. Peabody's endowment of museums at Harvard and Yale Universities helped establish science as a proper subject to be taught alongside classical studies. These museums were endowed seven years after the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, when science as a school subject fought its hardest fight to overcome opposition from religious groups. Third, Mr. Peabody's donation to Harvard University created the first museum of anthropology (then divided into archaeology and ethnology) in an institution of higher learning in the United States.

One last thing may be said in evaluating Mr. Peabody as a philanthropist. To say he founded institutes with libraries and lectures is not enough. The Peabody Institutes were of the lyceum and Chautauqua stamp. They were the instruments of adult education a century ago and more. And the Peabody Institutes were something more. They were privately endowed public libraries open to all. The fact that they were in existence and used helped stimulate public interest and support for the public library movement. Look for a moment at the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. Its conservatory of music holds an eminent place among schools of music. Its reference library served as Baltimore's first and only public library for 20 years. This library rendered valuable service to scholars, writers, and the general public for almost a century. The Enoch Pratt Free Public Library of Baltimore, one of the great public libraries of America, was a result, in part, of Enoch Pratt's experience as a trustee of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

George Peabody was a master teacher. He taught by example. Daniel Coit Gilman, first president of Johns Hopkins University, a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, himself close to the facts and an excellent authority, lists the following men who were influenced in their giving by Mr. Peabody's example: John F. Slater, of the Slater Fund; Daniel Hand, who gave \$1 million to the American Missionary Association; Johns Hopkins, whom I shall mention in a moment; and Enoch Pratt, already referred to. J. L. M. Curry, second agent of the Peabody Education Fund, also close to the facts, adds the names of philanthropists Paul Tulane of Tulane University and Maurice Baron de Hirsch of the Hirsch Foundation.

It is surprising to learn that George Peabody played a part in the founding of the first graduate university in America, but he did. He was



one of several men who influenced Johns Hopkins. The two men met one evening at the invitation of John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. To Mr. Hopkins, who was then thinking about creating a philanthropic foundation, Mr. Peabody explained why he had become a philanthropist himself:

When aches and pains came upon me, I realized I was not immortal. I became anxious to use my millions for the greatest good of humanity. I found that there were men in life just as anxious to help the poor and destitute as I was to make money. I called in friends in whom I had confidence and asked them to be trustees for my first gift. They accepted. For the first time I felt a higher pleasure and greater happiness than making money—that of giving it away for good purposes.

Twenty-four hours after this meeting with Mr. Peabody, Johns Hopkins made out his will establishing the university and the medical school which bear his name.

George Peabody was a master teacher in still another direction. There is no doubt that he helped establish friendlier relations between England and the United States. In 32 years of residence in London, he was truly an unofficial ambassador of good will. For years on the Fourth of July he gave dinners to which came leading Englishmen and Americans. These dinners were instruments of understanding and friendship.

It was Mr. Peabody's practice first to toast the Queen and then the President of the United States. To celebrate American Independence Day in the capital of the British Empire 100 plus years ago was a daring thing for an American to do; to toast the Monarch first was even more daring. Only once, in 1854, did unfavorable reaction occur. Dan Sickles, secretary of the American Legation, walked out, and James Buchanan, U.S. minister, is reported to have remained seated during the toast to the Queen.

### Daring Dinners

What these international dinners meant is best expressed in the following letter from Abbott Lawrence, U.S. minister to England:

Your idea of bringing together the inhabitants of two of the greatest nations upon earth . . . was a most felicitous conception . . . Your reward must be found in the consciousness of having done that which was never before attempted.

Four times during Mr. Peabody's residence in England the two countries clashed—over the Maine boundary, the Oregon question, the *Trent*



Affair, and the *Alabama* Claims. Mr. Peabody died during the *Alabama* Claims controversy and the two countries stood on the brink of war. The funeral honors, which the British government paid to Mr. Peabody, pleased Americans and Englishmen alike and helped cool war-angry tempers during the *Alabama* settlement. Both peoples united in their common loss. In a major address soon after Mr. Peabody's death Prime Minister Gladstone was able to say in relation to him, "With *his* country we are not likely to quarrel."

George Peabody was a success, a philanthropist, a master teacher. The boy who spent less than four years in school became the man who helped make public education a stepping stone for future generations. To his nephews and nieces he offered every opportunity for education they would accept. To one nephew he wrote:

. . . deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give 20 times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late . . .

How do you explain a man like Mr. Peabody—a man who used obstacles as challenges, who performed difficult tasks on his own initiative, who exerted persistent effort, and who centered undivided attention to the task at hand? His life was composed of those things from which legends grow. Born poor, he died rich. Parsimonious in accumulating, he was generous in giving. Little schooled himself, he gave his wealth for education. Northern-born, he was a Southern benefactor.

When we look at his ancestry we find that the first Peabody of Massachusetts left England 15 years after the landing of the *Mayflower*. His ancestral home was Glen Magna, near Leicester, where John Wycliffe preached and where his influence was strong. One element of his character, a product of this Puritan ancestry, was a pushing, persistent, pioneer drive.

But there was another element which also influenced him. In 1837, the year George Peabody went to London to live, Queen Victoria ascended the throne and Charles Dickens finished *Pickwick Papers*. It was a year of reform. A liberal movement long pent up burst forth in England: The combination laws were repealed; the Reform Bill was passed; the Poor Law was amended. The time was ripe for reformers like Charles Dickens, John Wilberforce, Caroline Fry, Florence Nightingale, and others. It was in this age of reform that George Peabody, son of Massachusetts, founded in slum-ridden London model family dwellings.

## What He Was

In an age of intellectual awakening, he built libraries, stimulated science, aided public and adult education. In an age of communication he was a director of the Atlantic Telegraph and Cable Company, helped finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In an age of commercial enterprise his banking house was one of the roots of the House of Morgan. In an age of tragic destruction, in a Southland crushed in defeat, his vision created the fund which blew the breath of life back into Southern education.

We are still left with that unanswerable question—what was the secret of his life? Mr. Peabody's search was as old as life itself; it was a search for self-fulfillment, for achievement. In his youth commercial enterprise was the only way open to him. He applied himself and was successful. When his wealth began to mount he looked at the money he was making and wondered why he had been so favored. When illness came upon him he realized in his inner being that happiness came as a by-product of doing that which is good and that which is noble. He determined to use his wealth as a public trust to correct private abuse and to set ideals for government to emulate. Like the tiniest mountain rivulet which finds its way over rock and rill and at last flows out to the sea, a great religious idealism grew in him until it burst forth. Like a pebble dropped in calm water the influence of a higher power spread from him in ever-widening circles. Five days before he died he wrote to friends:

For a score of years I have prayed daily to God to spare my life to carry out the work I was endeavoring in my feeble way to accomplish, and He has done it.

To Robert Charles Winthrop, before whom he laid his plan for the education fund for the South, and who wondered at its magnitude and sublime purpose, Mr. Peabody said:

Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; . . . I have prayed my Heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled, before I died, to show my gratitude by doing some great good to my fellowmen.

Those last words are cut into the granite marker of his memorial in Westminster Abbey. They form a fitting epitaph. But the institutions he founded—libraries in seven cities, a great conservatory of music, a great teachers college, three museums of science, homes in London—these institutions, still serving, still doing good, remain his *everlasting* memorial.

# In Praise of George Peabody, 1795-1869

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## Scrooge and Miser?

The *Peabody Times* review on April 5, 1991, pages A1, A12, of Ron Chernow's *The House of Morgan* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990), described George Peabody as Scrooge and miser. "Scrooge" is the title of Chernow's Chapter 1 about Peabody as the founder of the J. P. Morgan banking firm. In 1854 George Peabody took Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-90) as partner in George Peabody and Co., an American firm in London. Retiring in 1864, George Peabody removed his name from the firm, which became J. S. Morgan and Co. J. S. Morgan's son, John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), began as the New York agent for George Peabody and Co. The J. P. Morgan story thus begins with George Peabody as the root of the House of Morgan.

Calling George Peabody a Scrooge and miser will disturb many people. I am bothered, too, having read the Peabody papers in U.S. and British archives for my 1956 doctoral dissertation, "George Peabody: Founder of Modern Philanthropy." Fifteen years later, I wrote *George Peabody, A Biography* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1971).

Calling Peabody Scrooge and miser will also concern many who benefited from the institutions Peabody's gifts founded. These include George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN (where I studied); seven Peabody libraries in Peabody, Danvers, Georgetown, and Newburyport (all MA), in Baltimore, MD, Thetford, VT, and Georgetown, DC; three Peabody Museums at Harvard, Yale, and in Salem, MA; and the Peabody Conservatory of Music of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. He also endowed math and science at Phillips Academy (Andover, MA), Kenyon College (Gambier, OH), Washington and Lee University (Lexington, VA); gave publication funds to the Maryland and Massachusetts state historical societies; and gave gifts to hospitals, churches, and other charities. He left money to

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business associates, legacies to his surviving siblings and their children, and established a \$2 million Peabody Education Fund (PEF) for the Southern states. (The PEF residue in the Southern Education Fund is still being used, mainly for Black students.)

Misers, by definition, are not generous while they live. Peabody's gifts totaled about \$8.6 million. It would have been easier to have left everything in his will. But he gave most of his wealth while he lived, thought through his institutions' purposes and operations, and worked with trustees for their success.

A Scrooge and miser does not support his mother, brothers, and sisters, or pay for his siblings' schooling and their children's schooling in private academies and colleges, as Peabody did. His educational support of one nephew, Othniel C. Marsh (1831-99), through Phillips Academy, Yale College, and studies in German universities, helped Marsh become the first major American paleontologist. The George Peabody revealed in his papers, I thought, was admirable. Readers can judge for themselves.

### Life and Business Career

Unlike Joseph Peabody of Salem who made a fortune in the clipper ship trade with China, George Peabody's family in Danvers (now Peabody), MA, was poor. His little schooling ended at age 11. He was apprenticed in a general store, where he lived with his master. When George was age 16 (1811), his father died, in debt. His mother, three younger sisters, and a younger brother had to live with relatives. George assisted his older brother David in a store in Newburyport until a fire there ruined all business. He went with an uncle from Newburyport to start a general store in Georgetown, DC.

In 1814 at age 19 he became a partner of the much older Elisha Riggs, Sr. (1779-1853). Riggs, Peabody and Co., importer and wholesale distributor of fabrics and other merchandise, moved from Georgetown, DC, to Baltimore and opened branches in New York and Philadelphia. In 1817, when Peabody was 22, he paid off the home mortgage. His mother had her own home again. In 1827, before he embarked on the first of 5 business trips to Europe, his will left \$81,000 to family members and \$4,000 to two charities. When Elisha Riggs, Sr., retired in 1829, his son Elisha Riggs, Jr., and a nephew, Samuel Riggs, became partners in Peabody, Riggs and Co. In an 1832 will, Peabody set aside \$22,000 for educational use in Baltimore.

In 1837, on his fifth trip to London, Peabody was one of three commissioners to sell Maryland's \$8 million bond issue abroad to finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A



depression followed the financial panic of 1837. The two other commissioners returned home, bonds unsold. Peabody persisted. He remained in London for the rest of his life, except for three short visits home. Maryland and other states stopped paying interest on their bonds (1840-45). Peabody was blamed by European buyers for the states' non-payment of interest and by American sellers for the low price he received for the bonds. Peabody believed, correctly, that the states would resume and make retroactive interest payments on their bonds. Because Maryland was financially distressed, he declined a \$60,000 commission due him. He later received public praise for his service from Maryland's governor in 1847 and the legislature in 1849.

From being an international merchant Peabody became an international banker, dealing with American state securities used for roads, canals, and railroads. He lived simply in rented rooms and made his firm, George Peabody and Co., near the Bank of England, a place to help visiting Americans and to improve Anglo-American relations.

#### London's Great Exhibition, 1851, and Fourth of July Dinners

Queen Victoria's husband, Prince Albert, conceived of London's Great Exhibition of 1851, the first modern world's fair. Congress did not appropriate funds to decorate and display American exhibits. Fearing disgrace, American Ambassador Abbott Lawrence turned to George Peabody, who lent exhibitors \$15,000 (which Congress later repaid). The American exhibit was a success. Seen and admired by the six million visitors were Alfred C. Hobbs's unpickable lock, Samuel Colt's revolvers, Hiram Power's Greek Slave statue, Cyrus McCormick's reaper, and Richard Hoe's printing press.

With so many Americans in London, Peabody proposed a Fourth of July dinner and ball to strengthen Anglo-American friendship. Discreet soundings led Ambassador Lawrence to advise Peabody that British society would not attend. The American Revolution and the War of 1812 still rankled. Visiting Americans were thought to be vulgar and boastful.

Peabody proceeded, inviting the Duke of Wellington and others and arranging the best possible banquet and ball facilities. When the Duke accepted, other British notables came. Some 800 attended the gala. Living simply himself, Peabody thus began and for years financed annual London Fourth of July Anglo-American friendship banquets.

#### First Peabody Institute, Peabody, MA

Danvers, George Peabody's birthplace, separated from Salem in 1752. Peabody was invited to the Danvers Centennial Celebration in 1852 but

could not attend. Instead, he sent a statement, "Education—A Debt Due From Present To Future Generations," in a letter giving funds for a Library and Lyceum. Named after Aristotle's school in ancient Athens, lyceums, lecture halls and lecture funds spread rapidly over the U.S. as a grass roots adult education movement.

Danvers separated into two townships in 1856, the new North Danvers and the old South Danvers, whose citizens changed their town's name to Peabody, MA, in 1868. George Peabody gave to what is now the Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, MA, a total of \$217,000. To the Peabody Institute Library in Danvers, MA (formerly North Danvers), he gave a total of \$100,000. For public libraries he also gave \$30,000 to Georgetown, MA (1866); \$10,000 to Thetford, VT (1866; as a boy he visited his maternal grandparents there); \$15,000 to Georgetown, DC (1867); and \$15,000 to Newburyport, MA (1867).

### Why He Gave

A favorite nephew, son of his older brother David (1790-1841), once wrote asking his uncle if he could go to Yale College. George Peabody's reply, May 18, 1831, hints at motives for his later gifts:

Deprived as I was, of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labour under in the society [in] which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I possess it, but it is now too late for me to learn and I can only do to those that come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me.

### Peabody Institute of Baltimore (PIB)

Peabody discussed his intended education gift to Baltimore with prominent visiting Marylanders, one of whom (novelist John Pendleton Kennedy) suggested a reference library, lecture hall and fund, and music and art galleries modeled on the British Museum. Visiting the U.S. in 1856-57, Peabody delivered his February 12, 1857, founding letter to his trustees. Back in London, Peabody had to worry over ill will between trustees of the new Peabody Institute of Baltimore (PIB) and the older Maryland Historical Society (MHS) over jurisdiction, building site and size, and later over trustees' differences over slavery and the Union. In the U.S., Peabody dedicated the PIB on October 25, 1866, after easing the MHS's withdrawal with a \$20,000 publication fund. On his last visit,

September 22, 1869 (he died in London six weeks later), he added funds, making a total of \$1.4 million.

Baltimore Quaker merchant Johns Hopkins asked Peabody during the 1866-67 visit why and how he started the PIB. Peabody explained his motives, told how he chose dedicated trustees, and left decisions to them. Hopkins's will soon after provided for the Johns Hopkins University, Hospital, and Medical School. Enoch Pratt, PIB trustee, later founded the well known Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.

### London Housing

During 1857-62, Peabody discussed with British friends a suitable gift for the people of London. Social reformer Lord Shaftesbury suggested low cost model housing (i.e., apartments) for working poor people as most needed. The Civil War delayed announcement of the gift. Britain's upper classes favored the Confederacy; the working class favored the Union. Britain was angered by the *Trent* affair (a Union ship commander stopped the neutral British ship *Trent* and removed Confederate emissaries en route to promote the Confederate cause in Britain and France). Unionists were angered because the Confederates used British-built ships to fire on northern ports.

Peabody's founding letter of March 26, 1862, announcing the Peabody Homes of London, brought favorable publicity. He was given the "Freedom of the City" by the Lord Mayor of London; made an honorary member of the ancient Clothmakers' Company; and Queen Victoria sent him a letter of appreciation and a miniature portrait of herself.

Peabody's total gift to London housing was \$2.5 million. Some 19,000 people still live in Peabody homes, once a model but now surpassed by London public housing. The Queen Victoria-George Peabody exchange of letters, the Queen's miniature portrait, and other mementoes are in the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, MA.

### Peabody Education Fund (PEF)

Peabody sought philanthropic advice from Thurlow Weed (1792-1882), Albany, NY, *Evening Journal* editor and politician. They first talked in 1852; again in 1861 when Peabody helped Weed as Pres. Lincoln's emissary to counteract Confederate attempts to win British support; and again in 1866. When critics later said the PEF was proof of Peabody's rebel sympathies, Weed told why they were wrong. Peabody worked in the South for 25 years, had Southern business associates and friends, and hoped for compromise until the last. When war came, Weed said,



Peabody stood with the Union. The money for the PEF, Weed reported, was intended fifteen years earlier to benefit New York City poor. But New York City prospered, its schools improved, while the Civil War devastated the South. Other Northern friends confirmed Peabody's intent to aid education in the South. When asked to oversee the PEF, Weed declined and suggested Charles Winthrop as more suitable.

Robert Charles Winthrop (1809-94), descended from Massachusetts Governor John Winthrop, was a distinguished Speaker of both the Massachusetts House of Representatives and the U.S. House of Representatives and succeeded Daniel Webster in the U.S. Senate. After Winthrop advised Peabody on his 1866 gifts of museums to Harvard, Yale, and in Salem, Peabody took out a draft of his PEF founding letter and said, "And now I come to the last [gift], . . . the one nearest my heart, and the one for which I shall do the most now and hereafter."

Winthrop selected and was himself one of the 16 PEF trustees. These included other Northern statesmen, several former Southern governors, General U. S. Grant, and Admiral D. G. Farragut. Peabody first met the trustees in an emotional scene at Willard's Hotel, Washington, DC, February 8, 1867, less than two years after Appomattox.

A softening of tension and Southern acceptance of the PEF occurred unplanned two years later, August 1869, at fashionable White Sulphur Springs (WV). Robert E. Lee, vacationing there, was president of Washington College, Lexington, VA (later Washington and Lee College). Also there, by coincidence, were eight former Confederate generals; John Eaton (1829-1906), Tennessee school superintendent and later U.S. Commissioner of Education; George Peabody; and the first two PEF administrators, Barnas Sears (1802-80) and J.L.M. Curry (1825-1903). Peabody and Lee, both old and near death, sat in the sun and talked. Historian E. Merton Coulter wrote of the chance meeting and the spontaneously planned ball that followed, "the greatest gesture of friendship the South ever made toward the North at the Springs was the Peabody Ball in 1869 to honor George Peabody who had recently set up the Peabody Foundation to aid Southern education."

The Peabody-Lee meeting focused national attention on the PEF and on Southern education needs. It set a precedent for later Conferences on Education in the South, the first at Capon Springs, WV, summer 1898; others later at the same site; and a last one at Winston-Salem, NC, 1901. These led to the founding of the Southern Education Board, 1901-14, and to John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, 1902-14. Cooperation among these trustees led to further educational influence in the South of the John F. Slater Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and Rosenwald Foundation. George Peabody's PEF started this movement.



## Death and Funeral

Gravely ill, Peabody returned to London in early October 1869. He went to the home of his close friend Sir Curtis Lampson (1806-85), Vermont-born banker and naturalized British subject, with whom Peabody helped finance the Atlantic Cable Co.

Peabody's death, November 4, 1869, was widely reported. Not knowing that his will (September 9, 1869) stipulated burial in the U.S., the Dean of Westminster Abbey offered burial in the Abbey. Lampson and American Ambassador John Lothrop Motley (1814-77) decided that temporary burial at Westminster Abbey would please the grateful British public.

Aware that Peabody's remains must be returned to the U.S., Prime Minister William E. Gladstone (1809-98) used the occasion to ease American anger over the *Alabama* Claims (the Confederacy's British-built *Alabama* had wrecked Northern U.S. ports; the U.S. demanded British compensation). He offered to return Peabody's remains to the U.S. on H.M.S. *Monarch*, Britain's newest and largest warship, and in a speech said, "With the country of Mr. Peabody, we are not likely to quarrel." Ambassador Motley informed Washington. Congress wrangled but approved a U.S. naval reception for Peabody's remains.

Peabody's coffin was drawn in solemn procession to Westminster Abbey, where it lay in state November 12-December 11. The remains went by special train to Portsmouth, were put aboard the *Monarch*, which reached Madeira, crossed the Atlantic to Bermuda, and headed for Portland, ME (Portland, not Boston, was the receiving port because of its deeper harbor). Admiral Farragut's naval escort accompanied the *Monarch* to Portland. The coffin lay in state in city hall and finally went by train to Peabody, MA. Queen Victoria's son, Prince Arthur, then touring Canada, attended the funeral, with the governors of Massachusetts and Maine and other dignitaries. The Tennessee legislature passed resolutions praising Peabody, Baltimore and Boston bells tolled, and American flags flew at half mast.

Robert Charles Winthrop eulogized:

What a career this has been. . . . The trusts he established, the institutes he founded, the buildings he raised stand before all eyes. . . . He planned these for many years. When I expressed my amazement at the magnitude of his purpose, he said to me, "This is no new idea. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; and I have prayed . . . that I might be enabled . . . to show my gratitude . . . by doing some great good for my fellow-men."

### Conclusion

When they first met in 1856, George Peabody, then age 61, no doubt did appear to 19-year-old John Pierpont Morgan as a peculiar old bachelor. Peabody's lifestyle was simple, in fact spartan, because he wanted to live that way. With visiting Americans, in promoting Anglo-American relations, in Fourth of July dinners, and in creating philanthropic institutions—Peabody was generous and unique. Too bad author Ron Chernow did not see Peabody that way. Readers of this article, and those connected with Peabody's various philanthropies, can judge for themselves.

# George Peabody (1795-1869), Founder of Modern Educational Philanthropy: His Contributions to Higher Education

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## Introduction

### *Personal Note*

Betty Parker and I attended George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, TN, the summers of 1951 and '52. We studied there for the doctoral and master's degrees respectively, from September 1952 until graduation in August 1956. Although I had started on another dissertation topic, the then Dean of Instruction Felix C. Robb suggested in 1953 that I consider doing a definitive study of George Peabody's educational philanthropies. This dissertation topic had first been suggested to Dean Robb by Harvard historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., when Robb began his doctoral study at Harvard Graduate School of Education. Robb chose instead to write on educational administration and suggested the Peabody study to me. (Robb was George Peabody College for Teachers president, 1961-66, and subsequently Director and Executive Director, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1966-82).

We knew that George Peabody College for Teachers was named for George Peabody, as were over a dozen libraries, museums, and institutes in the United States. We were surprised to learn that he had also endowed large housing units in London for low income people (some 19,000 individuals live there now).

After reading all locatable secondary sources, Betty Parker and I, in the summers of 1954 and '55, read George Peabody letters in Massachusetts and Maryland manuscript collections and in the Library of Congress. During September-December 1954, we did research in Lon-

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don at the banking firm of Morgan, Grenfell Ltd., descendant of George Peabody & Co.; found many George Peabody entries in the British Library's Colindale newspaper collection; and read correspondence about George Peabody in Queen Victoria's papers at Windsor Castle, England.

### *George Peabody: An Overview*

We found George Peabody to be a minor hero in American and international financial history, a keen promoter of Anglo-American friendship, and an innovator in educational philanthropy. Much was written about him during his last years, but after his death he was largely forgotten. We learned that he was a poor-born Massachusetts youth who became a successful merchant in Baltimore and an international banker in London, where he lived his last 32 years. His firm, George Peabody & Co., was first a brokerage firm serving American mercantile interests. After 1837 it became an international private bank selling American state bonds in Europe to finance U.S. internal improvements: the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and others.

In 1854 Peabody took as partner Junius S. Morgan (1813-90) of Boston. Morgan's son, John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), began his banking career as the New York representative of George Peabody & Co. Peabody's firm was thus the root of the banking house of J. P. Morgan.

Peabody's unique educational philanthropy was our main research concern. His gifts, especially the Peabody Education Fund (PEF), set the pattern for later large foundations. Our appreciation for him grew. We saw him as a key founder of modern educational philanthropy. His gifts included seven Peabody libraries (in Peabody, Danvers, Georgetown, and Newburyport [all MA]; in Baltimore, MD.; Thetford, VT; and Georgetown, DC). He founded three Peabody museums at Harvard and Yale universities and in Salem, MA. His Peabody Institute in Baltimore was originally a library, art gallery, lecture hall and fund, and music conservatory. (The library joined the Enoch Pratt Free Library in 1966 and became part of The Johns Hopkins University Library July 1, 1982; the Peabody Conservatory of Music became part of The Johns Hopkins University on July 1, 1977). He endowed mathematics, science, and civil engineering professorships at Phillips Academy, Andover, MA; at Kenyon College, Gambier, OH; and at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, VA. His gifts to the Maryland Historical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society made possible the publication of their early *Proceedings*. He gave to hospitals, churches, and other charities



while he lived. Before his death he willed money to business associates and to his surviving siblings and their children.

His largest and most influential U.S. gift, the Peabody Education Fund, advanced public education in the defeated and devastated Southern states, 1867-1914. PEF funds, which had endowed the Peabody Normal School, Nashville, from 1875 (it was renamed George Peabody College for Teachers in 1909), were variously distributed at the closing of the PEF in 1914, mostly to George Peabody College for Teachers (which merged with Vanderbilt University July 1, 1979, as its professional school of education and human resources).

The PEF influenced all subsequent foundation aid to advance education in the deprived Southern states: the John F. Slater Fund (1882-1937), the four Conferences for Education in the South (1898-1901), the Southern Education Board (1901-14), the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation (1908-37), and John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board (1902-62). The trustees of these funds worked together to uplift Southern education. Because of the influence of the PEF, George Peabody merits a large place as a founder of modern American educational philanthropy.

## George Peabody's Life and Business Career

### *Early Years*

Distant relative Joseph Peabody of Salem made a fortune in the clipper ship trade with China. George Peabody's branch of the family in nearby Danvers (now Peabody), 19 miles north of Boston, MA, was poor. Following his little schooling between ages 7-11, he was apprenticed in a general store where he lived with his master. When George was aged 16 (1811), his father died in debt. His mother, three younger sisters, and a younger brother had to live with relatives. George assisted his older brother David in a store in Newburyport until a fire there ruined all business. He went with an uncle from Newburyport to start a general store in Georgetown, DC. He tended the store and also sold goods house to house with a backpack on foot and horseback. He served briefly in the local militia in the War of 1812 to defend Washington, DC.

### *Peabody, Riggs & Co.*

In 1814 at age 19 he became a partner of 36-year-old Elisha Riggs, Sr. (1779-1853). Riggs, Peabody and Co., importers and wholesale distributors of fabrics and other merchandise, moved from Georgetown, DC, to Baltimore and opened branches in New York and Philadelphia.

In 1817, when Peabody was 22, he paid off the mortgage and moved his mother back to her own home. A decade later, in 1827, before he embarked on the first of five business trips to Europe, his will left \$81,000 to family members and \$4,000 to two charities. When Elisha Riggs, Sr., retired in 1829, his son Elisha Riggs, Jr., and a nephew, Samuel Riggs, became partners in Peabody, Riggs and Co. In his 1832 will, Peabody left \$22,000 to Baltimore for educational purposes. Riggs family members later established the well known Riggs National Bank in Washington, DC.

### *Selling American State Bonds Abroad*

In 1837, on his fifth trip to London, Peabody was one of three commissioners appointed to sell Maryland's \$8 million bond issue abroad to finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A depression followed the financial panic of 1837. The two other commissioners returned home, bonds unsold. Peabody persisted. He remained in London for the rest of his life, except for three short visits home. When Maryland and other states stopped paying interest on their bonds (1840-45), European buyers were understandably incensed. Peabody was blamed by bondholders for the states' nonpayment of interest and by American bond issuers for the low price at which he was forced to sell them. Peabody believed, correctly, that the states would resume and make retroactive interest payments on their bonds. Because Maryland was financially distressed, he declined a \$60,000 commission due him. He later received public praise for his service to Maryland from the governor in 1847 and the legislature in 1849. Being a patriot with faith in the American states, Peabody bought many bonds himself when their price was low. When the states resumed paying interest on their bonds, as he knew they would, their value rose and he reaped large profits.

In the 1840s, Peabody's commercial interest changed from that of an international merchant who imported, stored and sold dry goods and other merchandise, to that of an international broker-banker in London. He lived simply in rented rooms and made his firm, George Peabody and Co., near the Bank of England, a pleasant place for visiting Americans, performed services and courtesies for them, served American banking interests, and promoted Anglo-American friendship. In a speech Peabody once said:

Heaven has been pleased to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish a house in the great metropolis of England. I

have endeavored to make it an American house, to give it an American atmosphere, to make it a center for American news, and an agreeable place for my friends visiting London.

#### *London's Great Exhibition, 1851*

Queen Victoria's husband, Prince Albert, conceived of the first modern world's fair, London's Great Exhibition of 1851, held in the specially built Crystal Palace. Congress had not appropriated funds to decorate the large space allotted to display the American exhibits. Fearing disgrace, American Ambassador Abbott Lawrence turned to George Peabody, who lent the exhibitors \$15,000 (which Congress later repaid). With this loan the well displayed American products were seen and admired by six million visitors. These products included Alfred C. Hobbs's unpickable lock, Samuel Colt's revolvers, Hiram Power's Greek Slave statue, Cyrus McCormick's reaper, and Richard Hoe's printing press.

#### *Fourth of July Dinners*

With so many Americans in London, Peabody proposed a Fourth of July dinner and ball to strengthen Anglo-American friendship. Discreet enquiries led Ambassador Lawrence to advise Peabody that British society would not attend. The American Revolution and the War of 1812 still rankled. Visiting Americans were considered vulgar and boastful.

Peabody went ahead with the idea, invited the Duke of Wellington and others, and arranged the best possible banquet and ball facilities. When the Duke accepted, other British notables came. Some 800 attended the gala. Peabody thus began and for years financed annual London Fourth of July Anglo-American friendship banquets.

#### *First Peabody Institute, Peabody, MA*

Danvers, George Peabody's birthplace, had separated from Salem in 1752. Peabody was invited to the Danvers Centennial Celebration in 1852. Being in London, he could not attend. Instead, he sent a special sentiment, "Education—A Debt Due From Present To Future Generations." To give that sentiment substance, he attached a check for \$20,000 for a library and lyceum. Lyceums, named after Aristotle's school in ancient Athens, consisted of lecture halls and lecture funds and were then a popular U.S. adult education movement.

Danvers separated into two townships in 1856—the new North Dan-



vers and the old South Danvers (Peabody's birthplace), whose citizens in 1868 changed their town's name to Peabody, MA. George Peabody gave to what is now the Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, MA a total of \$217,000. To the Peabody Institute Library in Danvers, MA (formerly North Danvers), he gave a total of \$100,000. For public libraries he also gave \$30,000 to Georgetown, MA (1866); \$10,000 to Thetford, VT (1866; as a boy he had visited his maternal grandparents there); \$15,000 to Georgetown, DC (1867); and \$15,000 to Newburyport, MA (1867).

### *Why He Gave*

A favorite nephew, son of his older brother David (1790-1841), once wrote asking his uncle George for financial help in order to attend Yale College. George Peabody's reply, May 18, 1831, indicates a motive for his later gifts:

Deprived as I was, of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labour under in the society [in] which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I possess it, but it is now too late for me to learn and I can only do to those that come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me.

### *Peabody Institute of Baltimore (PIB)*

Peabody discussed his intended education gift to Baltimore with prominent visiting Marylanders. One of them, novelist John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), suggested a reference library, lecture hall and fund, and music and art galleries modeled on the British Museum, all to be supervised by the Maryland Historical Society (MHS) trustees. Visiting the U.S. in 1856-57, Peabody delivered his February 12, 1857, founding letter to the trustees. In London, Peabody worried about clashes between trustees of the new Peabody Institute of Baltimore (PIB) and trustees of the older MHS over jurisdiction, about building site and size, and about trustees' differences on slavery and on remaining in the Union. Visiting in the U.S., Peabody dedicated the PIB on October 25, 1866, after diplomatically easing the MHS's withdrawal with a \$20,000 publication fund. On September 22, 1869, during his last visit and six weeks before he died in London on November 4, 1869, he added funds, making a total of \$1.4 million to the PIB.



### *Influence on Enoch Pratt and Andrew Carnegie*

Enoch Pratt's (1808-96) biographer indicates that Pratt's experience as a PIB trustee and treasurer undoubtedly influenced his later founding of the prestigious Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore. Also, it is most likely that Peabody served as a model for Andrew Carnegie in endowing the Carnegie libraries. On Peabody's death in 1869, Carnegie sent a cable about returning Peabody's remains to the U.S. His cable read: "First and best service possible for *Monarch*, bringing home the body of Peabody."

### *Influence on Johns Hopkins*

Baltimore Quaker merchant Johns Hopkins (1795-1873) asked to see Peabody during the latter's 1866-67 U.S. visit. Hopkins wanted to learn why and how Peabody had started his Institute in Baltimore. Hopkins, a bachelor, also asked other friends how he could best use his wealth for philanthropic purposes. A mutual friend, John Work Garrett (1820-84), Baltimore and Ohio Railroad president, brought Hopkins and Peabody together in his home, probably on November 12 or 13, 1866. Garrett's account indicates Peabody's philanthropic motives. Peabody pointed out that like Hopkins he had sought wealth as a test of success and had long been happy with what he had achieved. Peabody continued:

When age came upon me, and when aches and pains made me realize that I was not immortal, I felt, after taking care of my relatives, great anxiety to place the millions I had accumulated, so as to accomplish the greatest good for humanity. I looked about me and formed the conclusion that there were men who were just as anxious to work with integrity and faithfulness for the comfort, consolation and advancement of the suffering poor as I had been to gather fortune. After careful consideration, I called a number of my friends in whom I had confidence to meet me, and I proposed that they should act as my trustees, and I organized my first scheme of benevolence. The trust was accepted, and I then, for the first time, felt there was a higher pleasure and a greater happiness than accumulating money, and that was derived from giving it for good and humane purposes; and so, sir, I have gone on, and from that day realized with increasing enjoyment the pleasure of arranging for the greatest practicable good for those who would need my means to aid their well-being, progress, and happiness.

The next day Hopkins made his will. In January 1867, bills were

introduced to the Maryland Assembly to incorporate The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The John Hopkins University.

Another possible influence on Johns Hopkins was an alleged conversation between Hopkins and a Dr. Joseph Parrish, M.D., of Philadelphia, probably in 1873, the year Hopkins died. Yet another influence is that of a Dr. Patrick Macauley, M.D., whom Hopkins knew. In an 1824 pamphlet, Macauley had urged a clinical approach to medical education; that is, supervised bedside experience with patients in a hospital as part of medical education. In March 1873, Johns Hopkins urged this internship approach to The Johns Hopkins Hospital trustees.

Even with these other two contacts, the evidence is sufficient to allow Peabody considerable influence over Hopkins. Peabody may honorably stand in the shadow of what has been achieved by The Johns Hopkins University, hospital, and medical school.

### *London Housing*

During 1857-62, Peabody frequently discussed with British and American friends a gift that would best meet the needs of poor Londoners. With them he first considered and discarded the idea of a network of drinking fountains. He then considered and discarded the idea of funds to aid the Ragged Schools (charity schools for poor children), headed by social reformer Lord Shaftesbury. Shaftesbury suggested instead the need for low cost model housing (i.e., flats or apartments) for working poor people. Trustees for the Peabody Homes of London were named and plans were laid. But the outbreak of the U.S. Civil War and Anglo-American differences delayed announcement of the gift. Britain's upper class generally favored the Confederacy, while the working class favored the Union. Britain was angered by the *Trent* affair (a Union ship commander had stopped the neutral British ship *Trent* and removed from it Confederate emissaries en route to promote the Confederate cause in Britain and France). The British public were incensed. American Northerners were angered because the Confederates had used British-built ships to fire on northern ports.

Peabody's founding letter of March 26, 1862, announcing his gift of the Peabody Homes for London working poor families, fortunately won public approval. Londoners especially and Britons generally were astonished at the size and nature of Peabody's gift to a city and country not his own. In gratitude he was given the "Freedom of the City" by the Lord Mayor of London, honorary memberships in the ancient Clothworkers' Company and the Fishmongers Livery Company, and from Queen Victoria a letter of appreciation and a miniature portrait of herself.

Peabody's total gift to London housing was \$2.5 million. Some 19,000 people still live in Peabody homes, once a model of subsidized private housing for the poor, but now surpassed by London public housing. The exchange of letters between Queen Victoria and Peabody, the Queen's miniature portrait, and other mementoes are prized possessions of the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, MA.

### *Three Museums of Science*

George Peabody early assumed responsibility for his family. He employed his two older brothers for a time and paid for the schooling of his younger sisters in academies. Later he paid for their children's education. He helped pay for one nephew's education at Harvard College (George Peabody Russell, 1834-?, a lawyer) and another nephew's education at Yale College (Othniel Charles Marsh, 1831-99, a paleontologist).

O. C. Marsh, son of Peabody's younger sister, Mary Gaines Peabody Marsh (1807-34), became a distinguished paleontology professor at Yale, the first such professor in the U.S. and the second in the world. Marsh also influenced his uncle's founding of museums of science at Harvard and Yale and in Salem, MA (the last incorporating an existing maritime collection).

### *Othniel C. Marsh, First U.S. Paleontologist at Yale*

After attending Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, Marsh earned a Yale science degree and an M.A. degree from Yale's Sheffield Scientific School. Both Marsh, who wanted to be a Yale professor, and his Yale mentor, chemistry professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr. (1816-85), urged George Peabody to endow science at Yale. Marsh, on his way to study at Heidelberg and Berlin universities, spoke to his uncle in London in October 1862 about endowing science at Yale. He found that his uncle intended to contribute to Harvard and would also aid Yale. Before seeing his nephew, Peabody had in 1861 considered first enlarging Harvard's observatory. He then considered founding a school of design (art) for Harvard. These ideas were discarded. Largely through Marsh's interest, Peabody decided to promote science at both Harvard and Yale. During his 1866-67 visit to the U.S., he gave \$150,000 for a museum of archaeology and ethnology at Harvard; and \$150,000 for a museum of natural history at Yale.

Marsh created the modern science of vertebrate paleontology in the U.S. He did important work reconstructing the evolution of the horse, proving the presence of an indigenous strain before the Spaniards intro-



duced the modern horse. Marsh, who named the dinosaur (*deinos*, "terrible," and *sauros*, "lizard"), also uncovered evidence to support Darwin's theory of evolution. Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, 1859, the year Marsh entered Yale's graduate Sheffield Scientific School. Darwin later wrote to Marsh, "Your work . . . has afforded the best support to the theory of Evolution, which has appeared within the last 20 years." Marsh's successful scientific career, eminently his own, was made possible by George Peabody's educational support. Yale's work in natural science was significantly furthered by the donation of the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale.

#### *Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology at Harvard*

Prominent anthropologist Charles Franklin Thwing (1853-1937) stated that the systematic study of archaeology in U.S. higher education dated from the 1866 founding of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard. Another prominent scientist wrote that the work of the Peabody Museum of Harvard was the first large scale modern scientific probing into the dim past using the resources of U.S. higher education. The Neanderthal skull, discovered ten years before, had renewed speculation about prehistoric man. Within 30 days of the founding of the Peabody Museum of Harvard, New England historical and other societies began donating to it ethnological items long since collected but unexamined by scientifically trained higher education scholars.

#### *Peabody Museum of Salem, MA*

The Peabody Museum of Salem, MA, combined two previous science collections. The East India Marine Society, organized in 1799, had many ethnological items collected by Yankee ship masters on voyages to China, Sumatra, India, and the Pacific islands. By 1867 this society lacked funds to house, supervise, and display its treasure trove collection.

A second scientific collection was the Natural History collection of the Essex Institute. The Essex Institute was formed in 1848 by a merger of the Essex Historical Society (founded 1821) and the Essex Institute Natural History Society, founded in 1833. In 1867 Peabody was told that the East India Marine Hall desperately needed funds, and that the natural history collection of the Essex Institute had outgrown its space in what was essentially a society to preserve historical records. Peabody's gift of \$140,000 in 1867 to promote science in Essex County, MA, combined the two scientific collections as the Peabody Academy of Science. Its name



was changed to the Peabody Museum of Salem in 1915. The Essex Institute, which has most of the George Peabody papers, remains a major New England historical depository.

*Peabody Education Fund (PEF) and Thurlow Weed*

Thurlow Weed (1797-1882) played a key role in helping Peabody plan the PEF. Peabody had long known Weed, influential editor of the Albany, NY, *Evening Journal* and a skilled political manager. Peabody sought Weed's advice in 1852 when Weed was in London. Peabody conferred with Weed again in 1861 when Weed was in London as President Abraham Lincoln's emissary to counteract Confederate attempts to win British support to the Southern cause. Peabody sought Weed's counsel again in 1866.

Peabody hoped that Weed would administer his intended gifts. Weed suggested Robert Charles Winthrop (1809-94) as much better qualified. After Peabody's death, Weed disclosed that the money which went into the PEF was originally intended for the poor of New York City. Weed's explanation shows Peabody's pain over the Civil War, his support of the North to preserve the Union, and the way his philanthropic plans evolved. Weed wrote:

Some of Mr. Peabody's accusers discern, or think they discern, evidence of rebel sympathies in his great educational gift for the poor of the formerly slave States; but even in this they err. That money, until some time after the conclusion of the war, was intended for the City of New York. Soon after handing his check for 100,000 guineas to his London trustees, he reverted to what he had told me fifteen years earlier about his intention to do something for the industrious poor of New York, adding that as he was then a much richer man, his donation would be a much larger one; and that he intended to carry out his purpose, after his then approaching withdrawal from business. But the war and its consequences changed his views. While the poor of the South had multiplied in numbers, the City of New York had not only been growing in wealth, had established schools, the doors of which were wide open to every child in the city, but we were also fortunate in having among our citizens several capitalists vastly richer than himself. But these circumstances, while in his thoughts, had not decided his action when he arrived, nor until he had conversed with several Northern friends, all of whom approved of the effort to educate and elevate the masses in ignorance and poverty, black and white, which pervades the whole South. . . .

Having worked in the South for 25 years, having Southern business

associates and friends, Peabody hoped for compromise. When war came, Weed said, Peabody stood with the Union. This view was confirmed by Robert Charles Winthrop. After Winthrop advised Peabody on his 1866-67 gifts of museums to Harvard, Yale, and in Salem, MA, Peabody took out a draft of his PEF founding letter and said, "And now I come to the last [gift], . . . the one nearest my heart, and the one for which I shall do the most now and hereafter."

### *PEF and Robert Charles Winthrop*

Although others directed the PEF's daily operation, Robert Charles Winthrop provided the leadership that gave it national stature. Peabody had long admired Winthrop's distinguished career as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Daniel Webster's successor in the U.S. Senate. As president of the PEF Board of Trustees for 27 years, Winthrop carried forward Peabody's vision and kept the fund in popular favor with Northerners and Southerners alike.

Winthrop also found the man to direct the fund's early operation, Barnas Sears (1802-80). Sears had been professor of theology and later president of Newton Theological Seminary. He had succeeded Horace Mann as secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. He was president of Brown University in Rhode Island when Winthrop prevailed upon him to become the fund's first agent. It was Sears who guided the fund's early operations by deciding where and how to use its financial influence.

### *PEF Trustees' First Meeting*

Winthrop helped select and was himself one of the 16 PEF trustees. These included other Northern statesmen, several former Southern governors, General U. S. Grant, and Admiral D.G. Farragut. In a Founders Day address fifty years later (1916), President Bruce R. Payne (1874-1937) of George Peabody College for Teachers touchingly portrayed the first meeting of the PEF trustees at Willard's Hotel, Washington, DC, February 7, 1867. Payne suggested this scene:

They kneel there in a circle of prayer, the puritan of New England, pioneer of the West, the financier of the metropolis, and the defeated veteran of the Confederacy. With bended knee and touching elbow, they dedicate this great gift to the crushed people of this shadowed

land. They consecrate themselves to the task of its wise expenditure. In that act and in that moment, not quite two years after Appomattox, is the first guarantee of a reunited country and of perpetual union.

*PEF, Robert E. Lee, and George Peabody*

Southern acceptance of the PEF and a softening of North-South tensions occurred unplanned two years later, August 1869, at fashionable White Sulphur Springs, WV. Robert E. Lee, vacationing there, was president of Washington College, Lexington, VA (later Washington and Lee College). Also there, by chance, were eight former Confederate generals; John Eaton (1829-1906), Tennessee school superintendent and later U.S. Commissioner of Education; George Peabody; and the first two PEF administrators, Barnas Sears and J. L. M. Curry (1825-1903). Peabody and Lee, both old, ill, and near death, sat in the sun and talked about the educational needs of the South. For Peabody at 74 it was the last summer of life. For Lee at 62 it was his next to last summer of life.

Of the chance meeting and the spontaneously planned ball that followed, historian E. Merton Coulter wrote: "The greatest gesture of friendship the South ever made toward the North at the Springs was the Peabody Ball in 1869 to honor George Peabody who had recently set up the Peabody Foundation to aid Southern education."

*Death*

Gravely ill, Peabody returned to London in early October 1869. He went to the home of his close friend Sir Curtis Lampson (1806-85), Vermont-born banker and naturalized British subject, with whom Peabody helped finance the Atlantic Cable Co.

Peabody's death, November 4, 1869, was widely reported. Not knowing that his last will of September 9, 1869, stipulated burial in the U.S., the Dean of Westminster Abbey offered burial in the Abbey. Lampson and American Ambassador John Lothrop Motley (1814-77) decided that temporary burial at Westminster Abbey would please the grateful British public.

*Peabody's Remains: From England to America*

Aware that Peabody's remains must be returned to the U.S., Prime Minister William E. Gladstone (1809-98) used the occasion to ease American anger over the *Alabama* Claims (the Confederacy's British-built *Ala-*

bama had wrecked Northern U.S. ports; the U.S. demanded British compensation). He offered to return Peabody's remains to the U.S. on H.M.S. *Monarch*, Britain's newest and largest war ship. In a speech he said, "With the country of Mr. Peabody, we are not likely to quarrel." Ambassador Motley informed Washington. Congress wrangled but approved a U.S. naval reception for Peabody's remains.

Peabody's coffin was drawn in solemn procession to Westminster Abbey, where it lay in state November 12 to December 11. The remains went by special train to Portsmouth, were put aboard the *Monarch*, which reached Madeira, crossed the Atlantic to Bermuda, and headed for Portland, ME (Portland, not Boston, was the receiving port because of its deeper harbor). Admiral Farragut's naval escort accompanied the *Monarch* to Portland. The coffin lay in state in Portland's city hall and finally went by train to Peabody, MA. Queen Victoria's third son, Prince Arthur, then touring Canada, attended the funeral at South Congregational Church, Peabody, MA. Also attending were the governors of Massachusetts and Maine and other dignitaries. The Tennessee legislature passed resolutions praising Peabody. In Baltimore and in Boston bells tolled. American flags flew at half mast.

### *Final Eulogy*

In the final eulogy, Robert Charles Winthrop said:

What a career this has been. . . . The trusts he established, the institutes he founded, the buildings he raised stand before all eyes. . . . He planned these for many years. When I expressed my amazement at the magnitude of his purpose, he said to me, "This is no new idea. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; and I have prayed . . . that I might be enabled . . . to show my gratitude . . . by doing some great good for my fellow-men."

From France author Victor Hugo said: "America has reason to be proud of this great citizen of the world. . . . It is on the face of [such] men that we can see the face of God."

His remains were at last laid to rest in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Peabody, where he had six months before ordered a granite sarcophagus. The long funeral was over.

### Honors

During his lifetime Peabody received the following honors.



*Freedom of the City of London, 1862*

On July 10, 1862, George Peabody was the first American to receive the Freedom of the City of London (General Dwight D. Eisenhower received the same honor in 1945). Peabody was earlier (July 2, 1862) made an honorary member of the Clothworkers' Company, an ancient (1528) guild of the City of London. Four years later, on April 19, 1866, he was made an honorary member of the even older guild, the Fishmongers' Livery Company.

*Queen Victoria's Miniature Portrait and Letters, 1866*

Queen Victoria thanked George Peabody for his gift of housing in London for the working poor. In her letter of March 28, 1866, she asked if he would accept as a gift an enameled miniature portrait of herself. Peabody's grateful acceptance was written on April 3, 1866. In March 1867 the Queen's miniature portrait was presented to George Peabody by British ambassador Sir Frederick Bruce in Washington, DC. It was inscribed, "Presented by the Queen, to G. PEABODY, Esq., the benefactor of the poor of London." The miniature and letters exchanged have since been displayed in the Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, MA.

On October 30, 1869, learning of Peabody's serious illness, Queen Victoria invited him, through her Privy Councillor Arthur Helps, to recuperate at Windsor Castle. But he died a few days later in Lampson's home. The relevant correspondence is in the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

*Honorary Degrees: Oxford and Harvard, 1867*

On June 26, 1867, appropriately capped and gowned, Peabody was given an honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree at the Christopher Wren-built Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford University. Undergraduates cheered and stamped their feet. Mathematics don Charles L. Dodgson (better known later as Lewis Carroll, author of *Alice in Wonderland*), on duty at the Sheldonian that day, wrote in his diary that he was introduced to Peabody that evening.

On July 17, 1867, Harvard University granted Peabody in absentia an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.

*Gold Medal from U.S. Congress, 1867-68*

In 1867 the U.S. Congress voted George Peabody a gold medal and commissioned the New York silversmith firm of Starr and Marcus to

make it. The gold medal was inscribed, "The People of the United States to George Peabody, in Acknowledgment of his Beneficial Promotion of Universal Education." It was seen by the President's Cabinet in Washington, D.C., May 26, 1868, and was then placed on exhibit in the U.S. Capitol. At Peabody's request the medal was sent to London via the U.S. Legation where Peabody saw it Christmas Day, 1868. It has since been displayed in the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, MA.

### *Birthplace Renamed Peabody, 1868*

On April 13, 1868, the name of South Danvers, MA, was changed to Peabody, MA—but not without some opposition in the legislature in Boston. There some argued against the honor, seeing the Peabody Education Fund for the South as an anti-Union act and believing Peabody to have been a Confederate sympathizer.

### *Statues, London, 1869, and Baltimore*

The life-size seated statue of George Peabody in Threadneedle Street near the Royal Exchange, London, was unveiled July 23, 1869. The idea for the statue began three years earlier, March 27, 1866, when London's Court of Common Council members proposed to honor Peabody in appreciation for the Peabody Homes of London. Donations were solicited. The Royal Exchange site was chosen in August 1867. U.S. sculptor William Wetmore Story (1819-95) was asked in September 1867 to make the statue. The statue was poured and cast in bronze in Munich, Germany, from a model made by Story. The Prince of Wales unveiled the statue July 23, 1869. Peabody, then in the U.S. on his last visit, was sent a photograph of the statue and a description of the unveiling. (London has statues of four Americans: George Peabody, 1869; Abraham Lincoln, 1920; George Washington, 1921; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1948.) A replica of the London statue is in Mount Vernon Square in front of the Peabody Library, Baltimore.

After his death, Peabody received the following honors:

### *Hall of Fame, New York University, University Heights, 1900*

In 1900 George Peabody was one of 29 most famous Americans elected to the Hall of Fame rotunda on New York University's University Heights campus overlooking the Hudson River. George Peabody and Peter Cooper were elected in the class of Businessmen-Philanthropist. On May 12, 1926, a George Peabody bust was unveiled at his place in the

Hall of Fame. Earlier, in 1901, a bronze tablet was unveiled in the George Peabody space, inscribed (from his 1867 PEF founding letter):

Looking forward beyond my stay on earth I see our country becoming richer and more powerful. But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth.

*U.S. Capitol Building Bronze Door Transom Panel, 1904-10*

George Peabody is one of six Americans depicted in sculptor Louis Amateis' (1858-1913) "Apotheosis of America" transom panel on two bronze doors of the U.S. Capitol Building. The other Americans are Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Johns Hopkins, and Horace Mann. Sculptor Louis Amateis, commissioned in 1904, finished his model in 1908. The bronze doors were cast in New York in 1909-10, were installed in the west entrance of the Capitol Building, and were later placed on exhibit at the north entrance of the National Museum Building, Washington, DC.

Peabody's Influence

*Non-Educational Gifts: \$4,253,105*

The Peabody Donation Fund for working people's model housing (\$2,500,000) was unique in its time. Charles Dickens wrote, "We shall never free children until they can live in better, cleaner, more hygienic homes." Although Lord Shaftesbury and others pioneered in low-cost housing, one of these pioneers, Sir Sidney Hedley Waterlow, wrote, "Beyond all doubt they [the Peabody homes] materially stimulated the Government of the day in promoting better housing."

Peabody's legacies to family and executors totaled \$1,581,000 (variously estimated up to \$4 million). To churches, hospitals, and other charities, he gave \$90,305. For patriotic causes, he gave \$71,800.

For Arctic exploration, Peabody's \$10,000 gift enabled the Second U.S. Grinnell Expedition, 1852-54, led by Elisha Kent Kane (1820-57), to search for famed British Arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin (1786-1847), lost while looking for the Northwest Passage. Kane named a bay for Peabody near the coast of Greenland. (Of incidental interest is that when a U.S. whaler extricated H.M.S. *Resolute*, a British ship abandoned in the Arctic ice in the search for Sir John Franklin, the U.S. government purchased, repaired, and returned the *Resolute* to Britain as a gift. When the *Resolute* was broken up, Queen Victoria had a massive desk made of its timbers



and gave this desk as a return gift to the U.S. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy found the desk in a White House storeroom in 1961 and had it refurbished for President J. F. Kennedy's use. A widely published photo shows President Kennedy's son, John, crawling under that same desk.)

*Educational Gifts: Libraries and Publication Funds, \$1,828,100*

Peabody's gifts to eight libraries and two historical societies' publication funds totaled \$1,828,100. These included \$500 to the Baltimore Athenaeum and Library, 1845; \$217,600 to the Peabody Institute, Peabody, MA, 1852-69; \$100,000 to the Peabody Institute, Danvers, MA, 1856-69; \$1,400,000 to the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, 1857-69; \$30,000 to the Peabody Institute, Georgetown, MA, 1866; \$10,000 to the Peabody Library, Thetford, VT, 1866; \$15,000 to the Peabody Library, Georgetown, DC, 1867; \$15,000 to the Peabody Library, Newburyport, MA, 1867; and \$20,000 each as publication funds to the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1866, and to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1867.

Privately endowed libraries open to public use preceded and prepared the way for tax-supported public libraries. The John Jacob Astor Library in New York (\$400,000, 1839) and Joshua Bates's donation to the Boston Public Library (\$50,000, 1854) came before the Peabody libraries, the major ones of which also had lecture halls, lecture funds, and art gallery and music conservatory. Yet, the more numerous Peabody libraries, the influence on the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, and the likely influence on the Andrew Carnegie libraries is evidence of George Peabody major impact on the early public library movement.

*Science, Mathematics, and Civil Engineering: \$551,000*

Peabody's gifts to science and mathematics totaled \$551,000. These gifts included \$1,000 to the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, 1851; \$150,000 to the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 1866; \$150,000 to the Peabody Museum, Yale University, 1866; \$25,000 for a professorship of mathematics and natural science, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, 1866; \$25,000 for a professorship of mathematics and civil engineering, Kenyon College, Gambier, OH, 1866; \$140,000 to the Peabody Museum, Salem, MA, 1867; and \$60,000 for a professorship of mathematics to Washington and Lee University, Lexington, VA, 1869. George Peabody's contributions to science made possible his nephew O. C. Marsh's remarkable career as the first U.S. paleontologist. Peabody's gift also advanced anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, mathematics, civil en-



gineering, and the natural sciences at a time when the liberal arts dominated and when science was suspect because of antagonism to Darwin's theory of evolution.

*PEF and Other Education Gifts: \$2,004,600*

Peabody's gifts to the PEF and two schools totaled \$2,004,600. These included \$2,600 to the Peabody High School, Peabody, MA, 1854-67, and \$2,000 to the Holton High School, Danvers, MA, 1867, both for medals for best scholars.

George Peabody stipulated that the \$2,000,000 PE Fund might be terminated after 30 years. It continued until 1914 (47 years). After the Southern states had established viable public school systems, the trustees dissolved the PEF and distributed its remaining \$2,324,000 as follows: \$1,500,000 to George Peabody College for Teachers; \$40,000 each to the universities of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Louisiana State University; \$6,000 each to Johns Hopkins University and the universities of South Carolina, Missouri, and Texas; \$90,000 went to Winthrop Normal College and \$350,000 went to the John F. Slater Fund for Black education.

The July 1869 Peabody-Lee White Sulphur Springs, WV, meeting focused national attention on the PEF and on Southern education needs. It led to four later Conferences on Education in the South, the first at Capon Springs, WV, summer 1898; others later at the same site; and the fourth at Winston-Salem, NC, 1901. These led to the founding of the Southern Education Board, 1901-14, John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, 1902-62, the John F. Slater Fund, the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and the Rosenwald Foundation, all of whose trustees worked together to advance education in the Southern states. George Peabody's PEF influenced all subsequent large-scale educational foundations. His was the first multimillion dollar foundation requiring matching funds and having other features since adopted by modern foundations. George Peabody was the founder of modern educational philanthropy.

Bibliographic Note

My mentor, Clifton L. Hall (1898-1987), saw to completion my dissertation on which this account is based: "George Peabody, Founder of Modern Philanthropy" (Ed.D., George Peabody College for Teachers [of Vanderbilt University], 1956), 3 volumes abstracted in *Abstracts of Dissertations for the Year, 1956* (Nashville, TN: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1956), pp. 181-188; and also abstracted in *University Microfilm International, "Dissertation Abstracts,"* XVII, No. 8 (August 1957), pp. 1701-1702.

Peabody's life and philanthropies can more quickly be accessed through my indexed

*George Peabody, A Biography* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971, revised 1994). Reprinted with permission in CORE (*Collected Original Resources in Education*): *An International Journal of Educational Research in Microfiche* (Oxford, England: Carfax Publishing Co., 1985). IX, No. 3 (November, 1985), Fiche 7 D10.

The research background is described in my articles: "On the Trail of George Peabody," *Berea Alumnus*, XXVI, No. 8 (May, 1956), p. 4; and [same title], *Peabody Reflector*, XLIV, No. 4 (Fall, 1971), pp. 100-103.

General accounts of Peabody's life, business career, and the influence of his educational philanthropies are in my following writings:

*George Peabody (1795-1869), Founder of Modern Philanthropy* (Nashville, TN: George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1956); based on Founder's Day speech, February 18, 1955, at Social-Religious Building, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, TN. "Nashville's Yankee Friend," *Nashville Tennessean Magazine* (May 15, 1955), pp. 2, 6-7. "Founder Paid Debt to Education," *Peabody Post*, VIII, No. 8 (February 10, 1955), p. 1. "George Peabody, 1795-1869, Founder of Modern Philanthropy," *Peabody Reflector*, XXXVIII, No. I (January-February, 1965), pp. 9-16. "George Peabody, 1795-1869: His Influence on Educational Philanthropy," *Peabody Journal of Education*, XLIX, No. 2 (January, 1972), pp. 138-145. "Pantheon of Philanthropy: George Peabody," *National Society of Fund Raisers Journal*, I, No. 1 (December, 1976), pp. 16-20. "To Live Fulfilled: George Peabody, 1795-1869, Founder of George Peabody College for Teachers," *Peabody Reflector*, XLIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1970), pp. 50-53.

Peabody's business career in Maryland; his difficulties selling the Maryland bonds; the creation, progress, and influence of the PIB, especially on Enoch Pratt and Andrew Carnegie, are described in my articles: "George Peabody and Maryland," *Peabody Journal of Education*, XXXVII, No. 4 (November, 1959), pp. 150-157 and 13; and "Maryland's Yankee Friend—George Peabody, Esq.," *Maryland Teacher*, XX, No. 5 (January, 1963), pp. 6-7, 24; reprinted in *Peabody Notes* (Spring, 1963), pp. 4-7, 10.

The Peabody-Hopkins meeting (1866) and other influences on Hopkins are in my article: "Influences on the Founder of the Johns Hopkins University and the Johns Hopkins Medical School," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXXIV, No. 2 (March-April, 1960), pp. 148-153.

Peabody's financial aid to the Second U.S. Grinnell expedition in search of the lost Sir John Franklin is in my article: "George Peabody and the Search for Sir John Franklin, 1852-1854," *American Neptune*, XX, No. 2 (April, 1960), pp. 104-111.

The background of the Peabody Museum of Salem is told in my article: "George Peabody and the Peabody Museum of Salem," *Curator*, X, No. 2 (June, 1967), pp. 137-153.

Weed and Winthrop's remarks about the PEF and its far-reaching influence on later foundations are described in my articles: "George Peabody's Influence on Southern Educational Philanthropy," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XX, No. 2 (March, 1961), pp. 65-74; and "The Creation of the Peabody Education Fund," *School & Society*, XCIX, No. 2337 (December, 1971), pp. 497-500.

The Robert E. Lee-George Peabody meeting (1869), Southern acceptance of the PEF, and PEF's subsequent influence is documented in my article: "Robert E. Lee, George Peabody, and Sectional Reunion," *Peabody Journal of Education*, XXXVII, No. 4 (January, 1960), pp. 195-202.

Acrimonious (but false) charges that Peabody aided and abetted the Confederacy are contained in my article with Walter Merrill: "William Lloyd Garrison and George Peabody," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCV, No. 1 (January, 1959), pp. 1-20.

Peabody's unusual and lengthy funeral is described in my article: "The Funeral of

*George Peabody (1795-1869), Founder of Modern Education Philanthropy: . . .*

George Peabody," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCIX, No. 2 (April, 1963), pp. 67-87; reprinted in *Peabody Journal of Education*, XLIV, No. 1 (July, 1966), pp. 21-36.

Peabody's inclusion in sculptor Louis Amateis' transom panel on two U.S. Capitol Building bronze doors is described in my article: "George Peabody and the Spirit of America," *Peabody Reflector*, XXIX, No. 2 (February, 1956), pp. 26-27.

A list of Peabody's gifts is in my article: "An Approach to Peabody's Gifts and Legacies," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCVI, No. 4 (October, 1960), pp. 291-296.

Not mentioned in this account is a broken engagement between Peabody and Providence (RI)-born Esther Hoppin (1819-1905) described in my article, "The Girl George Peabody Almost Married," *Peabody Reflector*, XXVII, No. 8 (October, 1955), pp. 215, 224-225; reprinted in *Peabody Notes*, XVII, No. 3 (Spring, 1964), pp. 10-14.

A useful journalistic account of Peabody's life, career, and philanthropic influence is in Geoffrey T. Hellman, "The First Great Cheerful Giver," *Peabody Refector*, XL, No. 1 (January-February, 1967), pp. 4-16.

# An Approach to Peabody's Gifts and Legacies

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(table following)

This article originally appeared in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume XCVI, Number 4, October, 1960. Reprinted with permission.



I. LIBRARIES, LYCEUMS, ATHENAEUM, ART, MUSIC

NAME AND LOCATION	DATE	AMOUNT	PURPOSE	TOTAL
Baltimore Athenaeum and Library Peabody Institute, Peabody, Mass.	June 3, 1845	\$500	Building and Library	\$500
	June 16, 1852	20,000	Library, Lyceum, Fund	
	Feb., 1853	10,000	Additional	
	1856 to 1857	37,600	Additional	
	Sept. 22, 1866	100,000	Additional	
Peabody Institute, Danvers, Mass.	Sept. 13, 1869	50,000	Additional	217,600
	Dec. 22, 1856	10,000	Branch Library	
	1857	5,000	Additional	
	Sept. 22, 1866	40,000	Full institute: Library, Lyceum, Lecture Fund	
Peabody Institute of Peabody and Danvers, Mass.	July 14, 1869	45,000	Additional	100,000
	1853 to 1869	Not known	Purchase and shipment of books, collections, etc.	
Peabody Institute of Baltimore, Md.	Feb. 12, 1857	\$300,000	Library, Lyceum, Lecture Fund, Music Conservatory, Art Gallery	
Peabody Institute, Georgetown, Mass. Peabody Library, Thetford, Vt. Peabody Library Assn. of Georgetown, D.C. Peabody Library, Newburyport, Mass.	June, 1857	50,000	Additional	\$1,400,000
	Oct., 1858	150,000	Additional	
	Oct. 19, 1866	500,000	Additional	
	Sept. 22, 1869	400,000	Additional	
	1866	30,000	Library, Lyceum, Lecture Fund	
	1866	10,000	Public Library	
	April 20, 1867	15,000	Fund for Public Library	
	Feb. 20, 1867	15,000	Book Fund	15,000

II. SCIENCE

Maryland Institute, Baltimore, Md.	Oct. 31, 1851	1,000	Chemistry Laboratory and School	1,000
Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 8, 1866	150,000	Museum and Professorship of Anthropology	150,000
Peabody Museum, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 22, 1866	150,000	Museum and Professorship of Natural Science	\$150,000
Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.	Oct. 30, 1866	25,000	Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Science	25,000

NAME AND LOCATION	DATE	AMOUNT	PURPOSE	TOTAL
Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio	Nov. 6, 1866	25,000	Professorship of Mathematics and Civil Engineering	25,000
Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass. Formerly Peabody Academy of Science	Feb. 22, 1867	140,000	Museum of Maritime History and Ethnology; Original purpose to promote science in Essex County, Mass.	140,000
Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.	1869	60,000	Professorship of Mathematics	60,000
III. MODEL HOUSING				
Peabody Donation Fund, London, England	Mar. 12, 1862	750,000	Model Homes for the Poor of London	2,500,000
	Apr. 19, 1866	500,000	Additional	
	Dec. 5, 1868	500,000	Additional	
	Sept. 9, 1869*	750,000	Additional	
IV. EDUCATION				
Peabody Education Fund	Feb. 7, 1867	1,000,000	Education in the Southern and Southwestern States	~ \$1,000,000
	June 29, 1869	1,000,000	Additional	
	1854 to 1867	200	Annual Gift of Medals for Best Scholars	
Peabody and Holton High Schools, Peabody and Danvers, Mass.	Aug. 5, 1867	2,000	Permanent Fund for Medals for Best Scholars	2,600 2,000
V. EXPLORATION				
Second United States Grinnell Expedition	1852-1854	10,000	Arctic Exploration Resulting from Search by Elisha Kent Kane for Sir John Franklin	10,000
VI. PATRIOTIC CAUSES				
Harmony Grove Cemetery, Peabody, Mass.	1845	50	Monument to Revolutionary War Hero, Gen. Gideon Foster	50
Bunker Hill Memorial near Boston, Mass.	June 3, 1845	500	Bunker Hill Memorial Monument	500

\*Legacy given after 1873.

\*Legacy given after 1873.

Lexington Monument, Peabody, Mass.	1835	300	Memorial Monument	300
State of Maryland	1837-1848	60,000	Declined Commission for Sale of Eight Million Dollar Bond Issue	60,000
Washington Monument, Washington, D.C.	July 4, 1854	1,000	National Monument for George Washington	1,000
United States Sanitary Commission	1864	10,000	Relief of Orphans, Widows, and Disabled Veterans of the Civil War	10,000

#### VII. HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.	1853-1854	Not known	Abstracts of Colonial Records of Maryland from English Depositories	
Historical Society of Philadelphia	Jan. 10-18, 1857	20	Publication Fund	20
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.	Nov. 5, 1866	20,000	Publication Fund	20,000
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.	Jan. 1, 1867	20,000	Publication Fund	20,000

#### VIII. HOSPITALS

City of London Hospital for Diseases of the Chest	1850-1855	165	Known Annual Donations; Probably more not known	165
San Spirito Hospital, Rome, Italy	Apr. 5 or 6, 1867	19,300	Reported Gift to a Vatican Charitable Hospital	19,300

#### IX. CHURCHES

South Congregational Church, South Danvers (now Peabody), Mass.	1843 or 1844	250	Rebuilding Church Destroyed by Fire, Sept. 23, 1843	250
Church, Barnstead, N. H.	Autumn, 1866	450	Church repair given in the name of relative, Mrs. Jeremiah Jewett	450
Memorial Church, Georgetown, Mass.	1866	70,000	Church Built in Memory of Peabody's Mother	70,000

PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION  
*The Legacy of George Peabody: Special Bicentenary Issue*

NAME AND LOCATION	DATE	AMOUNT X. LEGACIES	PURPOSE	TOTAL
England				
Henry West	1870	11,000	Legacy to Clerk	11,000
Thomas Perman	1870	5,000	Legacy to Clerk	5,000
Curtis M. Lampson	1870	25,000	Executor of Peabody's Estate in England	25,000
Charles Reed	1870	25,000	Executor of Peabody's Estate in England	25,000
United States				
George Peabody Russell	1870	5,000	Executor of Peabody's Estate in the U.S.A.	5,000
Robert Singleton Peabody	1870	5,000	Executor of Peabody's Estate in the U.S.A.	5,000
Charles W. Chandler	1870	5,000	Executor of Peabody's Estate in the U.S.A.	5,000
Family Trust Fund: One brother, one sister, fourteen nieces and nephews	1869	1,500,000	Variously estimated from \$1,500,000 to \$4,000,000	1,500,000
XI. OTHER GIFTS				
Asylum for Idiots, London, England	June 30, 1864	100	Charity	100
School, London, England	Oct. 31, 1864	10	Charitable School	10
London, England	Feb. 1, 1866	15	English Charity	15
London, England	1858-1860	115	Refuge for the Destitute	115
			TOTAL <sup>1</sup>	\$8,636,975



# Afterword

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George Peabody's place in the history of modern philanthropy was most perceptively stated by a *Christian Science Monitor* writer on the 75th anniversary of the first Peabody Institute and the Peabody Education Fund's 60th anniversary: "George Peabody was in fact the originator of that system of endowed foundations for public purposes which has reached its highest development in the United States."

Massachusetts statesman Robert C. Winthrop, before whom Peabody first laid his philanthropic plans, marveled at their magnitude and purpose. George Peabody replied:

Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; . . . *I have prayed my Heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled before I died, to show my gratitude by doing some great good to my fellowmen.*

The above sentiment on his memorial in Westminster Abbey forms a fitting epitaph.

His seven libraries, conservatory of music, teachers college, three museums of science, and homes in London still stand, still serve.

"Education—a debt due from present to future generations" remains his noble sentiment.

George Peabody's legacy is in his institutions and even more in his philanthropic example. He is a largely neglected minor hero.

## About the Author

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Franklin Parker began his teaching career at Ferrum College, VA, 1950-52, after receiving the B.A. degree from Berea College, KY, 1949, and M.S. in L.S. at the University of Illinois, Urbana, 1950. He and Betty Parker (married 1950; she is also a Berea College graduate) attended George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, the summers of 1951 and 1952, and continuously to August 1956, when he received the Ed.D. degree and she the M.A. degree.

While in Nashville, Parker worked part-time as Peabody circulation librarian and Belmont College librarian. He subsequently taught Education Foundations at SUNY, New Paltz, 1956-57; University of Texas, Austin, 1957-64; University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1964-68; and West Virginia University, Morgantown, 1968-86, where he retired with the title of Benedum Professor of Education Emeritus.

His post-retirement teaching has been at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, 1986-89; and at Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC, 1989-94.

The Parkers have done educational research in south central Africa, eastern Europe, Russia, and China. They have written and edited over 20 books, mostly on education in various countries. Franklin Parker's *George Peabody, A Biography*, 1971, which Vanderbilt University Press (Vanderbilt University, Station B, Box 131, Nashville, TN 37235) is reissuing in 1995, the 200th anniversary of George Peabody's birth (February 18, 1795-1995), has a new Introduction; an added chapter on George Peabody's legacy, an updated Essay on Sources, added Bibliography, and a new Index.

The Parkers' most recent books are *Education in the People's Republic of China*, 1986, and *Education in England and Wales*, 1991, both published by Garland Press. They remain active researchers and education writers at their home at Uplands, Pleasant Hill, TN.

# Teacher Effectiveness: A Look at What Works

Issue Editor:  
Allan C. Ornstein



Peabody Journal of Education  
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# PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

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# Editor's Introduction

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*Allan C. Ornstein*

The concept of effective teaching involves the transformation of theory into practice. This distinction, between theory and practice, highlights the difference between scientific principles and knowledge of the field, that is, what theoreticians and teacher educators agree on, and the methods and skills necessary for practitioners to perform their work. The fact is that good theory often gets lost as practitioners try to apply what they have read or learned in college classrooms as solutions for everyday problems. Indeed, good theory does not ensure good practice, and good practitioners often break many theoretical principles.

Theory involves principles and propositions that can be generalized into many situations. Practice involves selecting strategies and methods that apply to specific situations. The problem is that every teaching situation is different—involving a host of different teacher, student, and classroom variables. It is at this point, when we attempt to transform theory to a particular situation, that we enter into a hallway of mirrors: where there is no one strategy or method that works in all situations, and where so much of what we think is relevant or right is really relative to the particular teacher and students.

To teach effectively is to understand. We need teachers who can reason and reflect, who can modify theories to fit their own personalities and philosophies, and who can learn from what they read or discuss with other teachers. The editor of this feature, hopefully, has provided readers with a number of articles to review, analyze, and reconstruct according to their own theoretical or practical needs.

# Beyond Effective Teaching

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Allan C. Ornstein

For more than the last 50 years, the method of conducting research on teaching involved an attempt to systematize it into discrete categories such as teacher styles, behaviors, characteristics, competencies, methods, and so forth, and to measure it with teacher observations, rating scales, questionnaires, checklists, and/or personality inventories. About 20 years ago the method was slightly modified: the categories were converted into *processes*, and correlated with student performance or outcomes on standardized tests, and referred to as *products* (Ornstein, 1990, 1991). Thus evolved the notion of "process-product" research.

Although teaching was described as a complex act, influenced by subtle human conditions and swift teacher-student interactions, it was assumed that the skilled researcher could capture and analyze the teaching act, and deal with numerous variables and variations through selected sampling, large numbers of subjects, tests of statistical significance, and the power of data replication. What emerged was a professional literature that had meaning to those who had been enculturated into the community of researchers with their own discourse and methods of translating and evaluating the information. Practitioners were basically shut out of the discussion, since they lacked the specialized research skills and esoteric knowledge needed to participate in the discussion.

The results of the studies, and the discussions that followed, often focused on isolated teacher behaviors, methods, and so forth, sometimes written in the form of recommendations or rules for teachers to follow, with little regard to what the behaviors or methods meant in relation to the realities of the classroom or to what had transpired in the classroom prior to the observation(s) of the teacher's behaviors (processes) or to the

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measured results (products). Research on teaching was often atomized into tiny behaviors, methods, and/or processes, while ignoring the whole picture, that is, larger patterns or relationships of teaching and learning. Therefore, a teacher could be judged “good” or “effective,” depending on the instrument or checklist by “coming to class on time,” “writing clear objectives on the blackboard,” “monitoring seatwork,” or “reviewing homework”—while not teaching students how to think or problem solve, and/or not being fair minded or even emotionally balanced.

A teacher adept in behaviorist tasks or comfortable teaching facts and skills tended to be favored by the evaluation instruments, since the instruments tended to focus on small segments of observable or measurable behaviors, and the tests that measured student outcomes were knowledge-based items. A teacher who stressed abstract or divergent thinking, humanistic or moral practices, was discriminated against (and still is) as these were hard-to-measure processes which, as a result, were ignored by most evaluation instruments.

### A New Paradigm About Teaching

Beginning in the 1980s, and unfolding dramatically in the 1990s, the research on teaching has been moving away from the “quantitative” and empirical format, with prescriptive methods and designs and “objective” findings. No longer are we dealing with prediction and control, large samples, group-based statistical analysis, hypothesis testing, and generalizable data. We now have a new paradigm, what proponents and critics alike call “qualitative” or ethnographic research. This new research design is based on field-based methods—conversations, interviews, and case studies of one, two, or a few subjects—usually written in narrative or story form. According to Peshkin (1993), one of the proponents, the new research deals with *descriptions* of people and situations, *explanations* of knowledge and behavior, *interpretations* of theories and assumptions, and *evaluation* of practices and policies.

The new paradigm is highly descriptive and expressive in language, what ethnographers call “thick descriptions.” Instead of dealing with statistically based categories, clinically based descriptions, and verifiable data, we have narratives and portrayals which are highly personal and morally persuasive. The tendency is to associate individual stories of teachers with social or educational reform, which are written with a purpose—to challenge readers to rethink their notions of teaching (and schooling). To a large extent, the new research on teaching is highly political and embedded with messages about power, justice and inequality.

In the past, there has been strong reluctance on the part of the research community to engage in this type of narrative inquiry, since this was considered unscholarly and even dysfunctional for career advancement at the university level. Telling stories about people, in our case about teachers and students, has not been the kind of research activity considered appropriate for social scientists, rather it was considered more appropriate for journalists and the lay public (Barone, 1992; Sizer, 1988). Since the rise of the American university, accompanied by social science paradigms (as illustrated in the early days by the works of Charles Darwin, G. Stanley Hall, and William James), academia has coated its publications with professional jargon and technical meaning to separate itself from the lay public and nonacademic audience.

Storytelling, descriptive prose, and/or narrative inquiry was labeled as popular writing for a lay or mass audience—and dismissed as nonscientific and lacking in methodological rigor. Even textbook writing has been dismissed as second-rate, since it is written in the common idiom for large numbers of students to understand and because it reports or analyzes knowledge but does not advance it.

Now, storytelling is considered an acceptable form of research, perhaps even cutting edge by advocates of the new paradigm. Whereas the traditional language for presenting findings was based on a prescriptive, non-emotional format, translated into a technical and specialized knowledge, and written for the benefit of a few other researchers, the language of the new paradigm is rich in the vernacular and common idiom. It is highly vicarious, in some cases packed with empathy and emotions, and is to be shared with a larger audience—including students (studying to be teachers) and practitioners (those already teaching), as well as researchers.

The new research is written at a level which empowers anyone who can read the *New York Daily News* or *Chicago Tribune*. It is not meant to scare away people who lack esoteric knowledge and theoretical insights, rather it is meant to describe in dramatic and convincing ways what teachers do and to permit the reader to experience the events in lives of the people (usually teachers) being described.

The new research, based on storytelling and narrative inquiry, has grown into a cottage industry, with its own premises and principles about teaching, and its own brand of "metatalk" or jargon and methodology. Today, it dominates space in the prestigious educational journals and sessions at research meetings. To a large extent, it has replaced traditional research on teaching, what most of us in the field refer to as "process-product" research, under the guise that the old methods of inquiry were too linear, restricting, and mechanistic (Cziko, 1992; Pinar, 1992); male dominated (Carter, 1993; Grumet, 1988); remote from and irrelevant for teachers



(Elbaz, 1991; Kagan, 1992); and used by administrators and policymakers (largely male) to control teachers (largely female) by denying the latter the right to speak for and about themselves (Doyle, 1992; Fish, 1990).

The new paradigm, in theory, provides for collaboration between researchers and practitioners. It is considered by humanistic educators to enrich the discourse of what teaching is all about because it examines the personal and social aspects of teaching. It is viewed by feminist educators as a means of undercutting the dominant position of male researchers by deemphasizing mathematical and symbolic skills (a male form of knowing) and elevating verbal skills and literary prose (in which females have usually excelled). It is viewed by the political left, sometimes referred to as "neo-Marxists," "critical pedagogists," "reconstructionists," and "constructivists" as a means of reducing the influence of traditional researchers who they often label "technocratic," overly rational or behaviorist, and politically biased or conservative. It is viewed by practitioners in general as a means for exposing the rhetoric of theoretical posturing, or at least reversing some of the previous silence teachers have had to endure because they were unable to understand the research and theoretical aspects of teaching.

Whether storytelling is more than rhetoric or folklore, whether it is more than surface descriptions of teaching activities, or whether it leads to any worthwhile generalizations or significance beyond the writer's portrayal is unclear. Nonetheless, it provides an opportunity for a new group of educators to introduce their own beliefs and strategies for purposes of constructing what they call "emancipatory knowledge," "critical inquiry," and "narrative modes of knowing" (simply put, new understanding and explanations) of the teaching-learning process, redesigning the power relations and discourse among teachers and students, and reforming teacher education.

Teaching is now seen as a "narrative in action," that is, an expression of personal "biography and history" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), whereby research and practice of teaching are integrated through stories. The new emphasis on teaching goes beyond what the teacher is doing and explores teacher thinking from the perspective of teachers and how teachers come to know their pedagogy. The teacher is depicted as one who copes with a complex classroom environment and simplifies it, mainly through experience, by attending to a small number of important tasks. The teacher is also viewed on a highly personal basis, sometimes as an expert and even in heroic ways. Experienced and expert teachers are considered to have knowledge of underlying principles, of knowing what they know, and their knowledge is considered crucial in defining how teachers come to know what they know and for constructing meaning for

novice teachers. Teachers are viewed as having craft knowledge, and in cooperation with researchers who portray their stories, teachers are able to convey this knowledge about teaching to others in a helpful way.

The new research on teaching relies on language and dialogue, and not mathematical or statistical analysis, to provide the conceptual categories and to organize the data. It uses the approaches that journalists, reconceptualists, and critical pedagogists have advocated—metaphors, stories, biographies and autobiographies, conversations (with experts), exemplars, reflection, interviews, case studies, and voices (or narratives). It is research which has surfaced within the last 10 years or so and looks at teaching “from the inside,” the personal and practical knowledge of teachers, the culture of teaching, and the language and thoughts of teachers.

### *Metaphors*

Teachers’ knowledge, and the way they speak about teaching, does not exist only in prepositional form, but also includes figurative language or metaphors. The thinking of teachers consists of personal experiences, images, and jargon, and therefore, figurative language is central to the expression and understanding of the teachers’ knowledge of pedagogy.

Metaphors of space and time figure in the teachers’ descriptions of their work (such as “pacing a lesson,” “covering the content,” “moving on to the next part of the lesson”) (Clark, 1991; Munby, 1986). The studies on teacher style represent concepts and beliefs about teachers which can be considered as metaphors: the teacher as a “boss,” “coach,” “comedian,” or “maverick.” The notion of a “master” teacher, “lead” teacher, “star” teacher, “expert” teacher, and so forth, are also metaphors, or descriptors, used by current researchers to describe outstanding or effective teachers.

Metaphors serve to organize a person’s thinking by helping to describe, categorize, and conceptualize his or her knowledge and experiences. According to Kliebard (1982), language is the basis of metaphors and it is used to process thought by which people make the complex and puzzling become more familiar and more readily understood.

In discussing metaphors, we are speaking of verbal concepts and abstractions. Most people use metaphors in everyday speech, without calling them or thinking about them as metaphors; they are merely called expressions, idioms, sayings, even slang. The various models and systems in this journal which describe teaching and learning are verbal in nature, and to a large extent incorporate various metaphors. Teachers, also, rely on metaphors in their classrooms for transmitting learning experiences to students, and for describing their own teaching. Researchers constantly use metaphors, even though they often think they rely on and

use mathematical models. The notions of “teacher effectiveness,” “process-product research,” “special content knowledge,” “pedagogical knowledge” or “pedagogy,” “deep knowledge” or “thick knowledge,” and “critical thinking,” are metaphors which help us conceptualize and uniquely describe our *professional landscape* (another metaphor).

In the final analysis, it might be argued that all thought processes include metaphors, that is they act as templates or concepts that reflect how we conceive the world. When you or someone else describes your personally held system of beliefs and values, the words will have different meaning to different people and idiosyncratic and figurative speech will be used to generate some of the descriptions. For those words or ideas that are not well specified, it will be the task of the researcher or narrator to assist the reader or other teachers to move from implicit language and private belief systems to explicit descriptions and agreed-upon cognitive frames of reference.

### *Stories*

Increasingly, researchers are telling stories about teachers—their work and how they teach—and teachers are telling stories about their own teaching experiences. Most stories are narrative and descriptive in nature; they are rich and voluminous in language, and those about teachers make a point about teaching that would otherwise be difficult to convey with traditional research methods. The stories told reflect the belief that there is much to learn from “authentic” teachers who tell their stories about experiences we usually keep to ourselves or convey to others (Elbaz, 1991).

Stories told by teachers to researchers are considered more reliable and accurate, and tend to be codified and ordered into some form or pattern. These stories, however, tend to be modified or altered in character, stripped of some of the original meaning and vitality. Stories of teachers by teachers are suspect in terms of reliability and accuracy, for these stories tend to be autobiographic, self-serving, and grounded in ego.

Whether the stories are authored by researchers or teachers, they give an account of a place and action within the context of the person’s individual history and that of a setting which is played out. Stories have an important social or psychological aspect as they evolve. Stories of teachers allow us to see connections between the practice of teaching and the human side of teaching; the stories of individual teachers allow us to see their knowledge and skills enacted in the real world of classrooms and appreciate their emotional and moral encounters with the lives of the people they teach.

Stories of teachers by teachers such as Bel Kaufman, Herbert Kohl, Jonathan Kozol, and Sylvia Ashton-Warner have become bestsellers, because of



their rich descriptions, personal narratives, and the way they describe the very "stuff of teaching." These stories are aesthetic and emotional landscapes of teaching and learning that would be missed by clinically based process-product research studies of teacher effectiveness. Whether you wish to believe that the accounts of their own teaching and the work of other teachers are true descriptors, is another issue for researchers.

Stories of teachers by researchers are less descriptive, less emotional, and lesser known. Nevertheless, they are still personal and rich encounters of teachers, and they provide us with teachers' knowledge and experiences not quite on their own terms, but in an in-depth way of getting to know what teaching is all about. These stories provide unusual opportunities to get to know teachers as persons—and to respect them or fall in love with them—in a textual sense, of course. Most important, these stories represent an important shift in the way researchers are willing to convey teachers' pedagogy and understanding of teaching. Here, L. Shulman's (1991) point is worth noting: Observers and authors construct different realities so that different storytellers could write very different versions of the same teacher. Not only is the author a variable, but also differences in time, subject matter, students, and schools could lead sometimes to a striking contrast in portrayal and interpretation of the same teacher.

### *Biographies and Autobiographies*

Stories written by researchers about teachers tend to be biographical and stories written by teachers about themselves tend to be autobiographical. Both biography and autobiography encompass a "whole story" and represent the full depth and breadth of a person's experiences, as opposed to commentary or fragments. Unity and wholeness is found as a person brings past experience to make present action meaningful, and to better understand these experiences in terms of what a person has undergone (Barone, 1992; Butt & Raymond, 1987).

The essence of an autobiography is that it provides an opportunity for teachers to convey what they know and have been doing for years, what is inside their heads and unshaped by others. Whereas the biography is ultimately filtered and interpreted by a second party, the autobiography permits the author, in this case the teacher, to purport the information in his or her own way and on his or her own terms.

As human beings, we all have stories to tell; each person has a distinctive biography or autobiography in which is shaped a host of experiences and practices, and a particular standpoint or way of looking at the world. For teachers, this suggests a particular set of teaching experiences and practices, as well as a particular style of teaching and pedagogy.



Biographies and autobiographies of teachers may be described as the life story of one teacher who is the central character to a particular classroom or school—and of the classroom dynamics and school drama which unfolds. These types of stories are concerned with longitudinal aspects of personal and professional experiences which can bring much detailed and insightful information to the reader. They help us reconstruct teachers' and students' experiences that would not be available to us by reading typical professional literature on teaching (Grant, 1991; Solas, 1992).

Both biographies and autobiographies develop in a linear sequence, usually in temporal or chronological order: They are retrospective and deal with the life of the person. The accounts in biographies and autobiographies suggest that the author is in a position of "authority" with respect to the particular segment of the life being described; thus the thoughts and experiences of the author take on a sense of reality and objectivity not always assumed in other stories (Elbaz, 1991; Wood, 1992). But, when teachers write an autobiography about their own accounts in story form, as opposed to someone else writing the biography, they run the risk of being considered partial or writing self-serving descriptions of their teaching prowess.

Thus Grumet (1987) suggests that researchers publish multiple accounts of teachers' knowledge and pedagogy, instead of a single narrative. The problem is, however, that this approach has a double edge: It suggests taking stories out of the hands of teachers. Joint publications between teachers and researcher, appropriate in some situations, is still another method for resolving this problem.

Perhaps the best example of this approach was executed by Smith and Geoffrey (1968). Smith was a professor and psychologist, who studied the classroom of Geoffrey, a pseudonym for the teacher whose classroom was the center of the research. Although conducted more than 20 years ago, the idea of giving credit to the teacher/subject, even recognizing him as a coauthor, still remains highly unusual today, even among so-called liberal, contemporary, or ethnographic researchers. Geoffrey never received full recognition, however, because his name was masked under the guise of anonymity. Although this remains the norm today, the question is: Should teachers be reduced to anonymity or pseudonymity, even worse, excluded from authorship?

### *The Expert Teacher*

The term "expert," and the image of the expert teacher, is now being applied to the current debate over teacher effectiveness. The concept involves

new research procedures—such as simulations, videotapes, and case studies—and a flattering new language to describe the work of teachers and new prestige and authority for teachers (Welker, 1992). The research usually consists of small samples, and in-depth studies (the notion of complete lessons and analysis of what transpired), whereby expert (sometimes experienced) teachers are distinguished from novice (sometimes beginning) teachers. Experts are usually identified through administrator nominations, student achievement scores, or teacher awards (e.g., Teacher of the Year). Novices are usually selected from groups of student teachers or first-year teachers.

Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) compare novices to experts across fields of study. The novice is inflexible and follows principles and procedures the way he or she has learned. The expert recognizes patterns and relationships and has a holistic understanding of the processes involved; he or she has the big picture in mind and responds effortlessly and fluidly in various situations. This view of the expert, as it relates to teachers, is depicted by Cushing, Sabers, and Berliner (1992) who point out that “expert teachers make classroom management and instruction look easy”; yet we know that teaching is a complex act, requiring the teacher “to do many many things at the same time.” Teaching consists of hundreds of interactions per hour, and the teachers’ ability to control these interactions and maintain order and instructional flow “is testimony to their level of expertise” (p. 109).

Data derived from recent studies suggest that expert and novice teachers teach, as well as perceive and analyze information about teaching, in different ways. Whereas experts are able to explain and interpret classroom events on a macro level, novices provide detailed descriptions of what they did or saw, and refrain from making interpretations. Experts recall or see multiple interactions, and explain interactions in terms of prior information and events, whereas novices recall specific facts about students or what happened in the classroom. Novices provide literal and concrete descriptions of what occurred; they tend to report in step-by-step terms—like a radio announcer.

What experts (or experienced teachers) say or do about teaching is now considered important for building a science of teaching. The data derived from experts is rich in conversational and qualitative information, but limited in statistical analysis and quantifiable information. Studies of expert (experienced) teachers and novice (beginning) teachers show they differ in many specific areas of teaching and instruction:

1. *Experts tend to analyze student cues in terms of instruction, whereas novices analyze them in terms of classroom management.* Experts assess

student responses in terms of monitoring student learning, providing feedback or assistance, and ways in which instruction can be improved. Novices fear loss of control in the classroom, to the extent that when they have an opportunity to reassess their teaching on videotape, they focus on cues they missed that deal with students' inattentiveness or misbehavior. Although negative student cues appear to be of equal importance to experts and novices, positive cues figure more frequently in the discussion of expert teachers (Clark & Peterson, 1986; Kagan & Tippins, 1991a, 1991b).

2. *Experts make the classroom their own, often changing the instructional focus and methods of the previous teacher.* Novices tend to follow the previous teachers' footsteps, or are inclined to listen to experienced colleagues tell them how to teach. Experts talk about starting over and breaking old routines; they tell us about how to get students going and how to determine where the students are in terms of understanding content. Novices tend to begin where the previous teacher left off; they have trouble assessing where the students are, what their capabilities are, and how and where they are going (Cushing et al., 1992; Livingston & Borko, 1989).
3. *Experts engage in a good deal of intuitive and improvisational teaching.* They begin with a simple plan or outline and fill in the details as the teaching-learning process unfolds, and as they respond to students. Novices spend much more time planning, stay glued to the content, and are less inclined to deviate or respond to students' needs or interests while the lesson is in progress (Sabers, Cushing, & Berliner, 1991; Westerman, 1991).
4. *Experts continuously mediate between the objects of the lesson and the students' perceived understanding of the lesson.* Experts make more adjustments or alterations, what is termed "responsible elaborations," as they clarify and scaffold students' understanding of the content. Both experts and novices consider the students' preexisting knowledge about a topic, and that this provides a natural starting place for teaching. But experts are more inclined and capable of correcting students' misconceptions so that they do not distort new learning (Borko & Livingston, 1989; Leinhardt, 1992).
5. *Experts seem to have a clear understanding of the types of students they are teaching and how to teach them.* In a sense, they seem to "know" their students before they meet with them. Novices do not have a well developed idea of the students they are teaching. Whereas novices have trouble beginning the new term, experts routinely find out just what it is the students already know and proceed accordingly (Calderhead, 1992; Carter, 1990).



6. *Expert teachers are less egocentric and more confident about their teaching.* Novices pay more attention to themselves, worrying about their effectiveness as teachers and about potential discipline problems. Experts are willing to reflect on what they were doing, admit what they did wrong, and comment about changes they would make. Novices rarely alter their initial evaluations of what happened. Although they recognize mistakes and contradictions in their teaching, they are defensive about their mistakes and seem to have many self concerns and doubts about where and how to improve (Kagan & Tippins, 1991a; Wildman et al., 1990, 1992).

The attempt to better understand teaching by comparing experts and novices is dominated by educational psychologists. It is based on knowledge stemming from theory, reflection, and experience. Proponents would probably call this "technical knowledge," similar to the information that experts in other fields possess and which separates them from the public. Critics would probably label this new information by expert teachers as nothing more than "folklore"—quaint, sentimental, and interesting—not scientific and with little chance for replicable and predictable results.

### *Exemplars*

An exemplar is not merely an expert; he or she also exhibits a moral dimension which is vital for teaching students. When we look at our popular culture, there is widespread consensus that exemplar teachers have moral and ethical fiber. For example, in movies such as *To Sir With Love*, *Stand and Deliver*, and *The Karate Kid*, the virtues and methods portrayed are not so much those of pedagogical or technical expertise, as those of humanistic and moral references and beliefs.

Failure to consider this moral component in our teacher-effectiveness research and teacher preparation programs suggests an inadequacy in our thinking and beliefs. We need only to remember that our great teachers of the past—Moses, Jesus, and Confucius—and our great teachers of the twentieth century—Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.—combined the pursuit of truth, kindness, and caring attitudes with their teaching.

These are the same virtues that many educators would argue today represent the real fiber of teaching. Because these traits are not easy to observe or measure, we tend to overlook them in our research paradigms. Humanistic and existentialist educators (Beane, 1990; Strike & Soltis, 1992; Zehm & Kottler, 1993), however, know that those who claim



to be exemplars, or even “good” or “effective” teachers, must show not only pedagogical expertise but also moral expertise.

Exemplars are those whom other teachers may model in their teaching. Rather than zeroing in on their knowledge or pedagogy, we need to pay closer attention to their attitudes and feelings: what they do in the ways of supporting and caring for their students, in the way they reach out and teach their students, how they build trust and mutual respect, and how they engage and encourage their students to grow and become their best possible selves. In this connection, teaching is no longer confined to a set of goals, or only to some content and skills, rather it incorporates values and virtues that are somewhat oblique and hard to explain.

You may or may not agree: An expert teacher is a technocrat in terms of knowledge and pedagogy and exhibits excellent performance in the classroom; an exemplar teacher has a humanistic/moral framework that guides his or her teaching. Exemplar teachers seriously consider the meaning of their students’ lives, as well as their social and psychological development. These teachers understand the need for caring and supporting behaviors.

A truly exemplary model of teaching would attempt to establish what Noddings (1984, 1992) calls a “caring” community, which she asserts coincides with a woman’s natural and innate impulse to care for the young and coincides with the feelings of maternalism—which in turn gives rise to her self-esteem and acceptance in society. She contends that women usually build upon this basic feeling, whereas men often turn away from caring and view relationships more in intellectual and abstract terms. Nodding goes one step further and maintains that a feminine morality of caring is also linked to good taste, good manners, and refraining from harmful acts because they do not want to hurt their neighbors and because they want their respect.

Although it is politically incorrect to criticize or challenge feminist educators, Noddings’ view of life is simplistic and it is difficult to believe that such ways of knowing and acting cannot be found in the male’s world. Not only does it suggest that only females can be moral mentors, but also once we view the world in terms of gender we establish a mind set that closes our world in a set of blinders and biases—similar to the way people may perceive racial differences in simple dichotomies. How one respects and cares for others is not a sexual perspective, but probably more closely linked to a stage of development in a person’s life which reflects self-assurance, self-actualization, and emotional maturity.

Of course, personal beliefs and values determine what people regard as exemplary, or even expertise. Practices or behaviors regarded as exemplary (or expertise) from one perspective or person may not be regarded

as exemplary from another. This is keenly illustrated in the author's analysis of exemplary teachers; a different researcher would probably construct a different version of exemplary. Thus, researchers need to be clear on how they define exemplary, even expertise, and who they consider to exhibit these behaviors. Good teaching is not easily defined, even with all its scientific procedures and quantifiable data, so why should fuzzy metaphors such as exemplary teachers and expert or novice teachers be easier? These terms are packed with descriptive language and images that lead to striking portraits and interpretations.

### *Reflection*

The term reflection refers to written or spoken comments that teachers make when recalling their thoughts while teaching or analyzing the performance of others. Reflective practices vary from reviewing or observing simple teacher behavior and pedagogy to complex aspects of teaching and learning.

One of the more sophisticated tools for analyzing teachers' reflective thoughts was developed by Ross (1989) who contends that reflection becomes increasingly complex depending on the individual's maturity and perception of safety in expressing his or her views. The levels of complexity represent three levels: (a) describing a teacher's practice with little detailed analysis and little insight into the reasons behind teacher or student behaviors, (b) providing a cogent critique of a practice from one perspective but failing to consider multiple factors, and (c) analyzing teaching and learning from multiple perspectives and recognizing that teachers' actions have a pervasive impact beyond the moment of instruction.

In the later stages, you come to realize that behaviors (and feelings) are contextually based and rather than dealing in absolutes or so-called objectivity you begin to deal in relative truths and points of view. In the third stage, you are open to more change and willing to admit that you don't always know the answer. However, the third stage suggests considerable experience and maturity; here, the inference is that beginning teachers operate at the lower levels of reflection, and therefore, are more close minded and unwilling to accept other viewpoints about their teaching. This is only an educated guess, yet it does conform to research data which suggests that less than 25% of perservice teachers function above level 2 and only for particular topics (Ross, 1989).

Because of their inability to reflect upon and analyze their own classroom mistakes, many potentially talented teachers feel like failures and lose confidence in their abilities. Through "trial and error" some survive; however, more than 50% of beginning teachers leave the

profession entirely within 5 years (Colbert & Wolff, 1992; Odell & Ferrano, 1992).

It is through reflection that teachers focus on their concerns, come to better understand their own teacher behavior, and help themselves or colleagues improve as teachers. Through reflective practices, or forums, people learn to listen carefully to each other and teachers are able to provide insight into their own work. By teachers reflecting on their practices or what they do in the classroom, and the basis for it, they provide insights for researchers. The latter is in the position to take the teachers' implicit knowledge and particular point of view and translate it into explicit knowledge and integrate it with other viewpoints.

Through reflection by teachers, followed by probing and further examining of specific teaching situations, a language of practice can emerge which allows us to better understand how teachers cope and deal with the complexity of their work. Here, the key is to make sense of what teachers have to say, to clarify and elaborate on particular scripts or situations, and to delineate what meaning these reflections have for them and other professionals (Lasley, 1992; Yinger & Hendricks-Lee, 1992).

One might argue that too much emphasis is put on technical knowledge and skills in teacher preparation programs, which leaves beginning teachers poorly prepared to think about, make adjustments, and execute practice effectively. The novice teacher may be equipped with a host of theoretical and practical insights into teaching, but this knowledge is generic and does not apply to specific situations. The teacher must learn to reflect while teaching, what Shon (1983, 1991) called "reflection in action," to understand and think about events and phenomena as they unfold in the classroom. Teacher knowledge, what some of us call "pedagogy," no matter how sound or scientific, is specialized and context based. Therefore, the hunches, judgments, and behaviors of teachers must be continuously modified, as events evolve, through reflection.

How we reflect, in the final analysis, is based on how we perceive the world and how we construct knowledge and give meaning to events. This, in turn, is based on our professional knowledge base, prior experiences, and personal and social values. But the script or equation can go on and on: In order to reflect, we need to care about our students; we have to be *motivated* to teach, *flexible* to see the world in the eyes of others, *socially responsible* in our actions, and *conscious* of what we are doing. The list is endless, but when it comes down to it—it is humanistic traits that count—not mathematical models or clinical descriptions. Reflection is a matter of listening to other people, recounting experiences and events, dialoguing with others, and respecting other perspectives that differ from ours.



### *Interviews*

Interviews have been used for many years to help participants recall or examine their thoughts and feelings about a host of topics. In eliciting a teacher's personal or practical knowledge through interviews, patterns of teacher thinking can emerge.

To explore in depth the meaning by which teachers acquire, develop, or use their expertise about teaching and learning, open-ended discussions can reveal more elaborate information and richer information than close-ended questions. The assumption is that interviews permit teachers to draw on a variety of sources of knowledge, to deal with their teaching decisions, to clarify what they know, and to translate their "practical" knowledge into "professional" knowledge.

Prior to the researcher's intervention, the teacher's personally held systems of principles and values of teaching are typically not well specified or clear. The central task of the interviewer is to help the teacher move from implicitly held and private belief systems to explicit descriptions and to organize a frame of reference that can be used by other teachers.

Although interviews have contributed much to understanding teacher thinking and knowledge, they are not without problems. First, they are predicated on the assumption that a teacher can articulate their otherwise tacit knowledge; second, interviews assume that what people say accurately represents their thought processes or what they actually do in practice; next, they presuppose that all participants in the interview process share the same vocabulary and perceptions; fourth, they fail to account for the difference between teachers who are often focused on immediate concerns and practical issues, and researchers who are more concerned with general concepts and theoretical issues (Solas, 1992).

### *Case Studies*

Case studies originated at the Harvard Law School at the turn of the century, and were subsequently adopted by the Harvard Business School. The object was to present real life situations, accompanied by relevant facts, and to generalize particular decisions into broad understanding during class discussions (Merseth, 1991). Drawing its inspiration from these two schools, the Harvard Graduate School of Education adopted the case method approach to train teachers and administrators in the 1970s.

Although criticized by some for its lack of academic rigor, and simplistic and sketchy situations, the case method has expanded to teacher preparation institutions with a "practical" or qualitative research orientation.



Whereas in the past case studies were written by textbook authors or professors who developed their own cases for class, today they are being told by teachers, in the role of “teacher author” and developed in collaboration with researchers.

Many critics maintain that teachers cannot act as authors by themselves, because they lack the theoretical background to write complex narratives to be used by other teachers. But they can express themselves in writing through several drafts with the help of professors or researchers who are actively involved in publishing teacher education materials. According to J. Shulman (1991, 1992), with teacher-researcher collaboration, the case study can become a compelling narrative and vivid tool for the individual teacher-author to reflect upon and to inform other teachers.

The worth of the case method is that it focuses on teaching problems and dilemmas that teachers face in the classroom. It is a narrative written by a teacher about a particular incident or event, including background details, feelings among people (teachers and/or students), and personal relationships. Careful analysis of cases among participants makes them aware of various meanings and interpretations of situations. Through discussion and reflection, they come to know their own personal biases and values, and learn to face themselves and how they can improve their own pedagogy through broad understanding of the principles and problems of teaching.

The case method provides the opportunity for teachers to “reframe” their thinking—a process described by Schon (1991) in which the practitioner comes to a new understanding in terms of practice or professional development. It also provides the opportunity for teachers to participate as a member of a research team, to express their own thoughts and experiences, and to reject the traditional approach to teacher education that associates professional knowledge (specialized content and pedagogy) with only theoreticians, textbooks, and lectures. Based on the assumption that storytelling is part of the human experience, and there is much to be learned from stories, case studies today give the individual telling the story, as well as those listening to and discussing it, new insights and a chance to change their own practice.

### *Voice*

The notion of voice sums up what I have been trying to convey about the aforementioned quantitative and linguistic tools for describing what teachers do, how they do it, and what they think when they are teaching. Voice corresponds with such terms as the “teacher’s perspective,” “teacher’s frame of reference,” or “getting into the teacher’s head.” It also

infers teacher empowerment and the idea of teachers collaborating with researchers as equals in teacher effectiveness research and teacher preparation programs. The idea should be considered against the backdrop of previous teacher silence and impotence in deciding on issues and practices that affect their lives as teachers. As Elbaz (1991) asserts, the fact that researchers are now willing to give credibility to teachers' knowledge, teachers' practices, and teachers' experiences helps readdress an imbalance which in the past gave little recognition to teachers. The idea, now, is that teachers have a right and role to speak for teachers and about teaching.

Although there are some serious attempts to include teachers' voices, the key question is to what extent do these new methods permit the "authentic" expression of teachers to influence the field of teacher behavior research and teacher preparation programs. In the past, it has been difficult for teachers to establish a voice, especially a voice that commanded respect and authority in the professional literature. The reason is simple: The researchers and theoreticians have dominated the field of inquiry and decided on what should be published. The invisible university, comprised of professional associations, informal networks, and professorial-editorial friendships, has also shut out teachers from print and power.

With the exception of autobiographies and stories written by teachers, teachers' voices are still filtered through the researchers' writings and publications. Thus, even today, most teachers' voices are coopted and cannibalized by others, and thus their voices are silenced or diffused. Although the language of research and the notion of voice treat teacher thinking and teacher experiences on the teachers' terms, and permit them to view themselves and their colleagues in the way they wish, we still have not recognized the importance of their role or input in determining the science of teaching.

For decades, as far as I can remember when I first began teaching some 30 years ago, teachers' experiences and wisdom, sometimes conveyed in the form of advice or recommendations, were written off as nothing more than "cookbook recipes" or a list of "dos and don'ts"—irrelevant to the world of research and theory of teaching. Now, under umbrella terms such as "teacher thinking," "teacher processes," "teacher knowledge," "teacher practices," and "practical knowledge," it has become acceptable, even fashionable, to take what teachers have to say and adapt it and turn it into "professional knowledge," "pedagogical knowledge," or "teacher cognition."

It is nice to know that some researchers are now collaborating with practitioners, and taking what teachers say seriously, but we are still not giving credit where credit is due where researchers and practitioners are

coauthors and where practitioners have real names and are accepted on equal terms with researchers as part of a research team or teacher training program. Here I am talking about a sense of community—of working together and sharing credit.

If one picks up the latest books on teaching, there is an emphasis on teachers' voices, and such terms as "teachers' lives," "teachers' visions," and "teachers' realities" are used in the titles of these books—all in the name of creating a knowledge base from the perspective of teachers. The emphasis is on what and how teachers teach, the effect teaching has on teachers, and how teachers' experiences and thoughts influence the teachers' sense of self. The teacher is now seen as a person, not a statistic or factoid as with prior research. The teacher has a real voice, an important message to convey. He or she is not just one of 100 or more subjects—manipulated or controlled to produce a significant finding for some researcher who gets most, if not all, the credit. Instead of generalizing from large numbers of teachers, we have detailed analysis of a few teachers: narratives of teachers, by teachers, and for teachers.

Throughout the new paradigm on teaching the centrality and wisdom of the teacher is reaffirmed, which is welcomed and proper. But it would be more appropriate when practitioners get full credit as collaborator or coauthor—not referred to as "Nancy" or "Linda," as in one well-known recent case, or as "Stacey," "Sharon," and "Susan" in still another case, and so on. These are real people who should not be reduced to false names or obscurity. They need to be heard as real people with real and full names. The culture of teachers and professors as well as schools and universities should be close enough to bridge these differences.

### Summary

No research paradigm has an exclusive patent on how to generate knowledge. There are no "be all" or "end all" procedures or basis for saying "this is the appropriate way." Traditional research, with its emphasis on quantitative designs and methods, has dominated the scientific and theoretical framework in education and especially research on teaching. Many interesting and provocative publications are evolving from the qualitative approach, including a broader framework about teacher research which includes storytelling and narrative inquiry.

Although the new paradigm can be criticized for its softness and political agenda, it represents new ideas and ways of presenting knowledge about teaching. It senses our prior difficulty in communicating with teachers, as well as their subsidiary role in research. Now the practitioner's role is enlarged to "teacher-author" and "expert" who interacts



and collaborates with researchers. Rather than being mystified or disenfranchised by research jargon and methodology, teachers are now able to express their views in their own language and on their own terms and share their own knowledge and wisdom with others.

Alternative approaches for reporting, interpreting, and reinterpreting knowledge about teaching are used, such as dialogue and conversations, biographies and autobiographies, tapes, interviews, and case studies. The knowledge and thinking of teachers with a range of expertise are organized in narrative structures which teachers can fully understand, appreciate, and integrate into their professional experiences.

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# The Dimensions of Excellence in Programs Preparing Teachers for Urban Poverty Schools

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*Martin Haberman*

## Introduction

Schools that serve children and youth in poverty are getting worse, not better. This reflects societal conditions such as poverty, violence, racism, and various forms of child abuse. Schools seriously exacerbate the problem when they continue to offer limited curricula using authoritarian means of instruction. School personnel in ever-expanding urban school bureaucracies are major contributors to this escalation. So, too, are many principal and teacher failures and burnouts. In spite of these horrendous conditions, it is clear that a substantial minority of teachers are engaged in exemplary forms of practice and are demonstrating extremely positive influence even in these worsening schools. By analyzing how such teachers are still able to generate student achievements, it is possible to identify a knowledge base for selecting and preparing other urban educators to also be effective with children and youth in poverty. The guidelines which follow inform teacher education programs that aspire to social significance; those that would prepare teachers for the real world of urban poverty. In almost every case these guidelines represent markedly different assumptions and practices from those which characterize traditional programs of teacher education. Excellence in educating teachers for poverty schools is achieved by having star teachers mentor carefully selected beginners using their craft knowledge as the primary knowledge base. This on-site training must occur as beginning teachers assume the full role and responsibilities of teachers in the poorest schools under the very worst conditions of practice.

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What we want for children and youth in poverty is for them to succeed in alien ways. The school is trying to transform them into the kinds of people doing the kinds of things they have never seen or experienced first hand.

For children and youth in poverty, this is a high stakes game. It is, in fact, a matter of life and death. Success in school is their only means for realizing a better, decent life. Yet, they face formidable, unrelenting forces which mitigate against their feeling or even expressing a desire to succeed in school. Teachers who can help them learn in spite of these obstacles know and act as if they are involved in a life and death struggle.

Preparing teachers for the best of all nonexistent worlds and then giving them universal licenses which mislead them into believing they have been prepared to teach in poverty schools is dangerous. And it is the children and youth in poverty who are endangered. Anyone trying to function as a teacher in a poverty school who is unaware of, insensitive to, or unprepared for the high stakes involved for the children becomes part of the problem and another obstacle they must overcome.

The day-to-day practice of effective teachers in poverty schools is characterized by an extreme intensity. Great pressure is felt by practitioners who are aware of and feel accountable for the very lives of their clients. It should go without saying, but does not, that those who prepare teachers for these roles must also be sensitive to the life and death struggle faced by children and youth in poverty. Such teacher educators must be deeply knowledgeable about how to prepare beginning teachers to function in controlled, confident, professional, effective ways when the very lives of their clients are the wager. And when the activity takes place in neighborhoods and schools where powerful forces are arrayed against effective schooling, then preparing the teachers involves transforming the teachers in much the same way as the children; that is, teaching them to perform roles they may at first regard as alien since they have never seen teacher models performing in life and death situations in their own schooling and life experiences. Indeed, it is unlikely they would have decided to become teachers if they knew the primary condition under which they would work would be an intense, unremitting pressure in impersonal bureaucracies over which they have little control and where their clients must succeed or die—spiritually, intellectually, or physically.

There are five standards which should be used for guiding the development of programs preparing teachers for children and youth in poverty.

1. *Selection*—What are the attributes sought in those selected to be teachers and how does the selection process assess these qualities?
2. *Faculty*—What is the nature of the expertise of those who serve as teacher educators?

3. *Content*—What are the knowledge, behaviors, beliefs, attitudes and values the teachers-to-be are expected to learn?
4. *Method*—By what means are these contents best learned?
5. *Evaluation*—What are the effects of the program on the new teachers it prepares and the pupils it serves?

### What are the Attributes Sought in Those Selected to Become Teachers?

In typical programs of teacher education there are multiple criteria of admission: several are bureaucratic hoops, a few are real. At this writing, 35 states require a basic skills test usually covering reading, language usage, and math skills. All universities consider GPA and some add the completion of particular courses (e.g., Speech), personal interviews, faculty references, and personal statements, most typically, "Why I Want to Be a Teacher." Except for the states' skills tests and GPA, almost all other criteria are essentially fluff. The critical question that cuts through the selection morass in university-based teacher education is a simple one: "On what basis might your institution keep someone with a high GPA out of teaching?" This simple question is usually met with shock, embarrassment, or worse, an example of how a bright student changed his/her own mind about becoming a teacher after s/he was admitted and screened him/herself out. Since the answer in almost every case is that there are no systematic, regular means for screening students with high GPAs out of teacher education programs, traditional university-based programs must admit that their operational criterion (apart from the skills tests mandated by the state) is GPA. Everything else is an add-on which is readily accomplished or brushed aside by a high GPA.

There is nothing wrong and much to be desired by having people who have done well in college courses becoming teachers. The problem is that once people reach the level of doing well enough to graduate from the university, the distinctions between "good" and "high" GPAs become spurious. In my own institution, which has enrollment caps, students with GPAs of 3.1 are excluded in favor of students with GPAs of 3.2 and above. In other semesters, depending on the number of applicants, the cut-off GPA might be even higher than 3.1. And if the issue of spuriousness were not sufficient, there is another "minor" matter. GPA does not correlate with teaching performance. Indeed, some evidence indicates there is an inverse relationship between SAT scores and students' level of development as adults (Thies-Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1987).

The irrefutable point is that university-based teacher education is held hostage to GPA in spite of the fact that once people do well enough to graduate the distinctions made between minor gradations in GPA or attempts

to extrapolate from GPA to practice are witchcraft. The reason university-based teacher education persists in this hokum and refers to it as selection is that university-based teacher education occurs in contexts which are divorced from the real world and contradictory in their demands (Corrigan & Haberman, 1990). Another factor which precludes genuine selection is the reality that budgets in schools and colleges of Education are based on the number of student credit hours generated and it would be self-destructive for them to get serious about selection. A genuine standard of excellence would involve assessing a candidate's ability to interrelate with children *before* s/he is admitted to teacher education. Schools of education reject this standard because it is expensive, labor intensive, and might keep out students who generate student credit hours. But the reason they give for rejecting the standard is something else. University based programs perpetuate the myth that the programs they offer are sufficiently potent to change their students in important ways, that is, sexists may enter but emerge being able to teach science and math to girls; racists may enter but will change their perceptions and expectations for students of color; child abusers who believe corporal punishment shapes character will change their practices and values. But we know better. The claim that a sequence of courses in a university-based teacher education will change students' deep-seated perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and values, in addition to their knowledge and behaviors, is contrary to what we know about the feeble impact of teacher education on its graduates or their subsequent practice (Zeichner & Gore, 1990).

Let us consider some alternatives. There is a knowledge base upon which to select future teachers and there are procedures for implementing it. There are also selection procedures which, at the same time they *raise* admission standards *increase* the potential pool of applicants (Haberman, 1987). This new level of understanding, however, requires a basic shift in past assumptions made about who should be in teacher education programs. Future teachers need not automatically be defined as "students" since they need not be in a matriculated college/university program. Once the pool of future teachers is reconceptualized as *college graduates*, a variety of constituencies which have been neglected by traditional teacher education, but who are more qualified than traditional undergraduate youth, becomes available.

*Able adults, many of whom will make superb teachers, are willing and able to define themselves in the role of teachers-in-training, but are unwilling and uncomfortable with stepping back into the role of university student.* With few exceptions, traditional teacher education is geared to undergraduate youth who are full-time. It responds to adults, even though they may be college graduates, as "retreads" and "specials." These denigrating titles are



merely symptomatic of the underlying issue. The issue is that the faculty's assumptions about what a "student" is, how a "student" behaves, and how the institution treats "students" has completely subordinated and transformed the mission of preparing teacher practitioners into offering university programs to metriculated students as the paramount concern. Simply stated, there's nothing prerequisite in the role of being a university student to becoming an effective teacher since there's nothing relevant in the college student's role to subsequent teaching practice. Indeed, a strong case can be made that almost every aspect of university students' behavior and the expectations of university faculty regarding students are antithetic to the role of practicing teachers: dependence versus independence, following directions versus creating and managing one's own work, and completing a lock-step set of fixed requirements as preparation for dealing with children's individual growth and differences.

The simple truth is something quite different. Adult college graduates who have both the proclivities and life experiences to become teachers can be selected into teacher education. They should be screened not for the attributes that will make them successful university students, but for the qualities that will make them excellent teachers of children and youth. These elementary points are fundamental to understanding why and how the current state of selection into traditional teacher education programs resists the potential for selecting the promising adults that school-based and site-based teacher education programs admit.

Without reviewing the arguments in depth here, it is typical for Americans to reach the developmental level of adulthood after the age of 25 (in many cases after 30) and since most undergraduates in university-based teacher education programs are under 25, the students found in universities are essentially an inappropriate constituency to prepare for teaching. Teaching requires the level of maturity needed to be concerned about the development and nurturance of *others*; typically, late adolescent youth and young adults are appropriately concerned with the separation of *themselves* from parents and the development of their own identities (Haberman, 1990). Similar arguments can be made and supported by theory and research which demonstrates that the conceptual level of college youth is not yet fully developed and still too rigid to fulfill the role of teacher. The evidence is compelling because this conclusion is readily arrived at regardless of the development theory one uses (Pintrich, 1990).

There is also the consideration of who should do the selecting. For example, are university faculty the best group to select teachers? Considering that only 5% have ever taught in low-income or multicultural classrooms, and that less than 1% have done so for longer than



3 years, the question of whether university faculty could identify a prospectively successful teacher if they saw one is a legitimate concern. Reasonableness would suggest that practicing classroom teachers who are familiar with the daily demands of the teacher and the work of the teacher would be infinitely more suitable. If prospective teachers are required to demonstrate they can relate to children/youth and then go through interviews they might actually fail, who would be the interviewers? Good sense would lead us to rely on experienced, successful classroom practitioners for such judgments.

In sum, there are at least four dimensions of excellence related to selection for which programs of teacher preparation can be held accountable:

1. Individuals who have reached the developmental level of adulthood are the best constituency to prepare for teaching.
2. The demonstrated ability to establish rapport with low income children/youth of diverse ethnic backgrounds is a necessary part of the selection process.
3. Teacher candidates should be assessed using valid and reliable interviews which predict their success.
4. Practicing classroom teachers recognized as effective by peers, students, administrators, and the state should be involved in making these selection decisions.

### What is the Nature of the Expertise of Those Who Serve as Teacher Educators?

The ability to write articles for publication or to garner research grants has nothing to do with teachers' ability to teach children/youth *or to prepare others to do so*. Publication and research skills are required by assistant professors who seek to become tenured in schools and colleges of Education. There can be no disagreement that publication and research are the criteria used by the "best" universities to reward and promote junior faculty. University-based teacher educators are first selected on the basis of having completed doctoral programs which generally have little or nothing to do with the real work of teachers. Anyone who reviews doctoral dissertations will be hard pressed to find studies that are in any way related to improving teaching and learning in real schools. And if such dissertation topics are found they will deal with extremely detailed analyses of very narrow aspects of the teachers' work, or with treatments that cannot be implemented in the real world. My own review of dissertation topics, which is quite current, is that less than one out of a hundred would affect the work of classroom teachers and then, in only some

unimportant or adverse way. The reason for this is that senior professors who approve dissertation topics are largely unfamiliar with current teacher practices or the conditions under which teachers work. When they approve dissertations as contributions to the literature they do so on the basis of what's new to them. *But what's new to the ignorant is not necessarily useful research.*

We have a situation, then, which is a kind of dirty little secret. We wouldn't want the public or the taxpayers or the parents to learn too much about the expertise of our teacher educators since they naively believe that teacher educators in universities—by virtue of having doctorates—are knowledgeable experts of teaching and therefore the most appropriate people to prepare future teachers. Actually, the reverse is true. Teacher educators in universities have less teaching experience than in former years and increasing numbers, particularly in the burgeoning educational psychology subspecialties, have no teaching experience at all. It is not uncommon for even specialists in reading and other subjects taught in school to have less than 3 years of actual teaching experience. Many have spent their young lives as only graduate students and never taught. In sum, the typical pattern is for an ambitious individual who is good at “graduate school” to endure a very few years of classroom teaching—which may have been good or poor teaching—go through a doctoral program comprised of courses and requirements which are irrelevant to the practice of teachers in classrooms, complete a dissertation irrelevant to practice, and then become an Assistant Professor of Education training future teachers. Then, in this university role to be promoted for staying as far out of real schools as possible by a system which rewards professional activities in the following order: a) research, b) writing, c) university teaching, and d) supervision in schools. Of those who would dispute my analysis, I would ask the following simple questions:

1. Which admission criteria to which doctoral programs require evidence that the candidate was ever an *effective* teacher, even for one year?
2. Which doctoral programs adopt admission or exit requirements because they are relevant to the practice of teachers in the real world?
3. Which doctoral programs use relevance to the real world of practicing teachers as a criterion for judging doctoral students' comprehensive examinations or dissertation topics?
4. Which doctoral programs use “improving the practice of classroom teachers” as a criterion for approving dissertations?
5. Which universities hire new assistant professors as teacher educators on the basis that they themselves were effective teachers and assure them of promotion if they can, in turn, prepare effective teachers?

The answers to these questions are a thundering silence, hung heads, or lectures by School of Education Deans on the facts of university life. Why should anyone care about the facts of university life? The issue should be getting good teachers for children and youth in poverty, not helping education professors survive in academe.

The time has come to make teacher education a process with redeeming social significance. Building and maintaining large colleges of education for the conduct of activities deemed important to administrators and faculty with little or no relevance to preparing teachers for the real world cannot be justified as responsible social policy.

Reasonable people begin with the needs of our children/youth for more and better teachers. The logic is quite straightforward. Successful teachers know best what teachers do. Successful teachers who have coached beginners are the best people to educate others. Successful teachers who are still practicing in classrooms are the most appropriate teacher educators since they are able to themselves demonstrate best practices. These are not difficult concepts to understand and they are readily agreed to by all constituencies, except for those who personally benefit and profit from maintaining the fiction that teachers are prepared in universities by full-time college faculty with advanced training in research.

The criticisms I have made thus far are mild when one adds the dimension that we not only seek to prepare practicing teachers but practicing teachers for urban, low-income, and multicultural constituencies of diverse children/youth. Now, we can intensify my criticism to the third power. University faculty in schools of education are almost completely experience free of having successfully taught such children/youth. The very pupils and schools most in need of teachers simply cannot get them from the professoriate in education *unless* you accept the following positions:

1. It is not necessary to have taught low-income or diverse pupils in order to prepare others to do so.
2. The doctoral programs of those who graduate and become Assistant Professors of Education emphasize practical knowledge for preparing teachers for diverse classrooms.
3. The universities which employ these assistant professors reward them for working in low income and diverse schools and classrooms.

Unless you accept these outrageous contentions you can't argue that universities can prepare teachers for the real world and if you do make these contentions, you're impervious to reality in American universities and the demands of schools in poverty areas.



The five principles of excellence which should define the expertise of faculty in programs of teacher education are as follows:

1. Since the essential expertise required of future teachers is relevant, usable, know-how in teaching children/youth, the majority of the teacher education faculty, in any program, should be experienced, currently practicing classroom teachers who have been identified as effective.

2. Teacher educators are practitioners whose scholarship derives primarily from an experiential knowledge base of what works in classrooms in the real world; they are expert at evaluating ideas from whatever source (state mandates, expert opinion, administrative policy, research, or theory) in terms of its effects on children/youth in classrooms.

3. Teacher educators are expert teachers of low-income, minority and culturally diverse constituencies of children/youth in need of the best teachers.

4. Teacher educators are capable of coaching candidates' actual teaching behavior and of modeling best practices for them in actual classrooms.

5. Teacher educators are knowledgeable, currently practicing teachers who can prepare candidates for the non-teaching, school-wide, and community responsibilities of teachers in the real world.

### What Knowledge is of Most Worth for Future Teachers?

There are five sources of knowledge available to teachers. They vary widely in their usefulness and hence the degree to which practicing teachers implement them. First is theory—usually learning theories of how people learn and developmental theories of how they grow. There are also theories which undergird why we have schools at all and what they are intended to accomplish. In no cases do public schools adopt a single theory and organize a school around it. If they did, teacher education would be relatively simple since future teachers would be able to implement that one theory. Montessori came closest to a unified theory but then state mandates about required subjects, including physical education, demonstrated the unreasonableness of expecting that public education in our diverse society could be based on any single theory of development, learning, or instruction.

The second source of school behavior is research. With the exception of findings from tests and measurement (i.e., how to administer, standardize, and interpret tests) and behavior modification (which has become standard practice in teaching individuals with handicapping conditions), research findings have not been widely or generally implemented in



public schools. Indeed, a good case might be made that public schools operate as institutions based on traditions and laws which are generally contradicted by research. What research tells us about grouping and tracking is generally opposite to practice. Similarly, this occurs with the values of preschool education, retention, corporal punishment, class size, and cooperative learning. In general, school practices are refuted by research findings not supported by them. In most cases, however, this neglect of "evidence" as a basis of school practice is well advised since much that is included in the research literature is never replicated, is extremely narrow in its questions, uses standardized tests as *the* measure of learning, and, worst of all, is based on superficial treatments which may involve children for as little as a few hours in an effort to validate a new treatment. For better and worse, school practices do not reflect educational research and if they did, it would be unlikely that the school that tried to function on such "science" would ever be explicable by its administrators, or livable by its teachers and children, let alone supported by the public.

The third source of knowledge available to teachers is common sense and folklore. This realm still holds great sway over daily practices in most schools. Everything from the school calendar to what constitutes excused absences demonstrates a school culture in which almost all who have attended schools are expert. These traditions are so powerful that they overcome present forms of teacher education. That is, if we were to freeze teacher actions at a hundred points in any given school day, the reason the teacher would offer for why s/he engaged in a particular action would not be his/her teacher training. It would be an unthinking replication of his/her own school experiences, or what the teacher knows to be appropriate action in the particular school. Common sense and tradition can be valuable in that we can act in mutually supportive ways without having to constantly ask ourselves "why." It can also be extremely dangerous because we never question our assumptions. For example, why does Texas lead the nation with 275,000 reported incidents of corporal punishment each year? How have these practices improved the quality of schooling in Texas? Common sense is dangerous because it supports negative and positive practices with equal vigor.

The fourth source of teacher knowledge is expert opinion. There are the varied experts with different systems of classroom discipline. In other cases we have expert advocates for systems of instruction: mastery learning, cooperative learning, or the whole-language approach. The most notable example was Madelon Hunter's direct instruction model which a few states formally adopted as *the* way for teachers to teach. As in all systems of pedagogy, if the teachers who implement the method believe

in it and adopt it wholeheartedly and enthusiastically, the method “works.” At the same time, teachers who do not believe in the method or who implement it technically but not enthusiastically will have students who do not demonstrate the stated benefits of the instruction. There is no system of instruction that is teacher proof or, conversely, so weak that believing, committed teachers cannot use it successfully in some schools. This is not to say that some methods are not better than others, but to point to the need for methods which are compatible with teachers’ experience if there is to be genuine implementation.

Finally, the fifth source of teacher knowledge is experiential: the cumulated experience of the individual teacher *and* the experiences of others. This is craft knowledge. It is the most powerful source of what teachers do and it should be. The constraints on public schools, and they are formidable, including state mandates, local administrative policies, finances, buildings, class size, curricular demands, parental expectations, community culture, and school bureaucracy, all of which create working conditions which frequently prevent rather than facilitate good teaching and learning. What effective teachers utilize every hour of every day is a persistent form of problem solving based on a core of ethical commitments. They believe their children/youth can learn and they believe schooling is the major hope for influencing their life chances. This makes their day-to-day work as teachers a moral craft founded on ethical commitments. What source of knowledge should be relied upon to cope with and resolve the issues raised by practitioners? Should theory, research, common sense, expert opinion, or successful experience as a teacher (and the cumulated experiences of other teacher practitioners) provide the most useful guidelines for working through these problems? Remember, the proposed solutions will be judged on the basis of working in *specific* situations and contexts: “my” school, “my” class, “my” students. The following are merely a few of the daily questions practicing teachers ask themselves.

- How can I deal with a large class of students that varies widely in ability, effort, achievement, and interest?
- How can I plan and gather instructional materials when I have insufficient time and resources?
- How can I engage, interest, and motivate children and youth from low economic families and from diverse cultural and language backgrounds to learn a common curriculum?
- How can I make learning in my class relevant to my youngsters’ life experiences?

- How can I get youngsters in my class who have been brutalized by repeated school failure to keep trying?
- How can I maintain a positive, supportive class climate while managing several disruptive youngsters with serious problems?
- How can I cover the required curriculum and help all the youngsters who are so far behind?
- How can I work with community professionals in health and social services to help the youngsters in my class?
- How can I involve my low-income parents of diverse backgrounds to cooperate in ways which support the work in my class? How can I learn from these parents?
- How can I teach more to youngsters who change schools several times a year?
- How can I help the several abused youngsters in my class to concentrate on their work?
- How can I help those in my class who need health care and better nutrition ?
- How can I teach without science and art materials, or sufficient books, let alone no computers or software?

In sum, the knowledge that is of most worth for those preparing to teach can best be identified by reference to the following guidelines:

1. The knowledge base which undergirds most teacher practice is largely experiential. What works is derived primarily from the cumulative experience of effective practitioners.

2. The best practice of teachers is heavily influenced by the contexts in which the teaching occurs and the constraints which control best practice vary in different situations.

3. Research, theory, expert opinion, and common sense can inform teacher practice but not provide the major basis for such practice because of the critical importance of constraints which vary across situations.

4. There is no basis for assuming that completing doctoral study in traditional Education specialties, or teaching in university Schools of Education will provide adequate preparation or reward for functioning as a teacher educator. University-based teacher educators who can and do prepare effective urban teachers have typically done so in spite of university constraints and lack of reward and recognition.



5. Those with the most potential as teacher educators are those with the most useful knowledge for new teachers: effective classroom teachers currently implementing such best practice with low-income and culturally diverse students.

### What is the Best Way of Offering This Knowledge to Teachers?

There is substantial evidence from students in traditional teacher education programs, recent graduates, and experienced teachers regarding the lack of substance and the irrelevance of their coursework. These same constituencies single out student teaching as being of immense value and advocating more of it. Being against student teaching is somewhat like defaming motherhood, but rather than the sine qua non of teacher education it is actually a flawed model (i.e., like learning to cook in your mother-in-law's kitchen) which perpetuates mediocrity and guarantees fewer and poorer teachers for low-income and diverse youngsters. Assuming the basic elements of student teaching practice are commonly known, I would limit my criticisms here to merely the following flaws:

1. Student teacher numbers are driven by the number of students that a university admits to matriculation and then needs to place in schools, not by the number of master teachers available. As enrollments in universities go up student teachers must inevitably be placed with less adequate cooperating teachers. Students in universities are not about to delay their graduations in order to wait a year or so and work with a better cooperating teacher. The smaller number of experienced, effective teachers relative to the number of student teachers in universities makes the placement of students with poor teachers a common, indeed, typical practice.

2. Student teachers do not learn to accurately assess their own abilities. If they teach in the room of an able cooperating teacher who has established a positive learning environment, they will perceive of themselves as more able than they really are. The reverse is also true. Their self analysis must inevitably be inaccurate and hence their ability to develop as teachers is seriously impaired.

3. The number of those screened out by student teaching is fewer than should be the case. The average grade in student teaching is A. In the university culture the "rights" of students to become teachers is infinitely more important than the "rights" of children and youth in poverty to have effective teachers.

4. The faculty assigned to supervise have frequently been out of teaching for long periods or may not have taught at all; almost all are



irrelevant in their ability to respond to the demands of children in low-income and culturally diverse schools. In many universities, doctoral students and other part-timers not involved in teaching children/youth serve as university supervisors.

5. Connections between the theory and research offered in university coursework and the practices experienced by student teachers in real schools are rarely made because they are not complementary. Typically, student teachers report feeling caught between university faculty advocacies and the actual practice in schools.

6. Many cooperating teachers are selected by their principals as individuals who might themselves be helped or updated by having a student teacher with "new ideas."

7. Student teachers are visited half a dozen times or less by college supervisors. As a result, students tend to reinforce their stereotypes because they are not closely guided and debriefed about the poor practices, racism, sexism, or child abuse they are observing and how they might interpret what they are seeing. Student teachers who are themselves sexist or racist, or who hold negative stereotypes about any constituency, selectively perceive what they are predisposed to see and emerge from student teaching as more hardened than when they began. They say, in effect, "I always knew these kids were dirty, or violent, or uninterested in learning and now I've seen it for myself first-hand!" Without daily expensive, individualized guided observation, direct experiences need not be liberating or educative. They can confirm quite inaccurate perceptions and harden them into negative generalizations.

8. Student teaching focuses on subject matter: usually reading and math skills in the lower grades and the traditional school subject matters taught in middle grades and secondary schools. The major job of learning to teach, however, is in learning to deal with the pupils themselves, to manage and organize them and to make learning meaningful in their lives. Student teaching inevitably focuses on "the lesson" and not on the conditions of teaching in the particular school or the conditions of pupils' lives, both of which control the classroom situation to a greater degree than the abstract concept of "the lesson." *The issue is not teaching reading but teaching Mary to read in this class in this school in this community given the teacher's conditions of work and the nature of Mary's life.*

9. Student teaching emphasizes learning to do well as judged by external observers rather than trying to solve problems for which one is personally responsible. Problem solving inevitably involves some failure and some risk. Such behavior is incompatible with trying to make an A or secure a glowing reference. Practice teaching makes good practice

teachers. Only functioning in the role of a real teacher can prepare one to assume real responsibility.

10. Student teachers are shielded from the bureaucratic demands of working in schools, record keeping, duties, staff meetings, parent meetings, and community involvements. Since the law prevents students from assuming these responsibilities or even observing many of the most critical ones (e.g., a staff meeting placing a child in a special class), students are precluded from knowing, let alone practicing, some of the teachers most difficult responsibilities.

These shortcomings and numerous others preclude student teaching from being an authentic participation in the full role of the teacher. In the absence of such a full picture student teachers can neither learn to teach or to assess their own strengths and weaknesses by virtue of having "had" the experience.

If neither university courses nor student teaching prepares people to teach, what does? Essentially, I have already discussed three of the necessary elements: carefully selecting adults, using effective classroom practitioners as faculty, and offering content derived from successful teachers' experiences. After these it is necessary to add the fourth element of on-site coaching.

Coaching differs from supervision in several fundamental ways. Traditional supervision involves setting people to teach some lessons, observing them, then conferencing with them immediately afterward on the strengths and weaknesses of what was observed. Coaching involves showing how and delaying discussion until after the experienced teacher-coach demonstrates. What is then analyzed are the strengths and weaknesses of the experienced teacher's performance and the neophyte's plans for the next trial. In 76 out of 78 studies of traditional supervision, there was little or no change in the trainee's behavior (Joyce, 1987). Coaching, on the other hand, contributes to the transfer of training in several ways:

1. Coached teachers are more willing to practice new strategies.
2. Coached teachers use new strategies more appropriately and share them with other teachers.
3. Coached teachers retain and improve their new techniques over time.
4. Coached teachers teach new ideas to others.
5. Coached teachers have clear ideas of why they do what they do (Joyce & Showers, 1988).

It is essential that this coaching occur as the neophyte is in the fully responsible role of teacher, not student teacher. Coaching and showing

how can then cover the gamut of teacher responsibilities. In contrast to the 10 weaknesses of student teaching cited earlier, the neophyte in the role of practitioner-with-coach is fully responsible and therefore made fully aware of his/her strengths and weaknesses. Practice can now be implemented in the full range of tasks performed by real teachers in the real world. "How can I enhance the learning of these youngsters in this classroom in *this* school in *this* community under *these specific restraints*?" becomes the continuing, persistent question which undergirds all of the neophyte's work. It is the full-day, concentrated attention by the beginner and his/her coach to these issues that is the means by which the teacher education program is actually delivered.

The principles of excellence which should guide the offering of substantive content in teacher education programs are as follows:

1. Teacher education occurs on-site in a functioning school. Under ideal conditions, teachers are hired to teach in the very schools in which they are prepared. This enables them to maximize a preparation which is inevitably controlled by the conditions of work and restraints in a particular school.

2. Teachers-to-be learn to teach by functioning in the role of teacher and being held responsible for the full-range of tasks and duties required of other practicing teachers.

3. Teaching is taught best by a process of coaching when the coach is a practicing teacher released from his/her own classroom to coach a few beginners on a full-time basis.

4. Teacher education programs are enhanced and supplemented by workshops offered to meet beginning teachers particular needs; such workshops are offered by other teachers, community resource people, and carefully selected university faculty.

5. Traditional university courses may be of some use to teachers *after* they have had a few years of teaching practice and have developed the experiential knowledge-base for evaluating what is being offered them.

### What Are the Effects of the Program on the New Teachers It Prepares and the Pupils They Serve?

Teaching and preparing to teach operate on a continuum of difficulty. If a teacher can be effective in a difficult situation s/he can readily teach if "thrown" into an advantaged one, but the converse is not true. By "difficulty" I refer to schools in which teachers experience intense, unremitting pressure because of the bureaucratic demands, the nature of the constraints, the conditions of work, the degree of unmet social, health,



and educational needs faced by their pupils and parents, and most of all, the reality that for the children schooling is a matter of life and death. For this reason, all teachers should be prepared in the most demanding situations if teacher licenses continue to be valid in all types of schools. There is a substantial and growing basis for believing that teachers prepared in small town and suburban schools cannot function in schools serving diverse groups in urban poverty. University-based teacher education programs and state licensing bureaus need to catch up with what the graduates they certify demonstrate they already know but which the licensing system refuses to acknowledge. It is not chance that 70% of the teacher education graduates in Wisconsin do not take jobs. It is not chance that the number of applicants in some suburbs and small towns go as high as 500 per opening. In Minnesota, the figure of non-employed graduates is 68% and in many other states the numbers are comparable. It is not chance that concurrent with this oversupply, the 120 largest urban school districts in America serving approximately 10 million students scramble to cover classrooms and with brief periods of oversupply, have been short of teachers since 1800. The basic contention of this essay is that this simultaneous shortage of teachers where they are needed *and* oversupply where they are not is not an historical accident, or the whimsical preferences of beginners, or chance, or in any way unexplainable. It reflects a systematic, pervasive, historic, and continuing unresponsiveness by universities and schools of Education, Education faculty, and the traditional constituencies of those who seek to become teachers to the educational needs of poor children, minorities, those with handicapping conditions, and those in urban areas. It is not an accident that for a period of over 100 years we used normal schools to prepare teachers for small town and white America and left the major urban areas to develop their own normal schools and teacher training. For this reason, many city school districts (between 1840 and WW II) paid for and operated their own district controlled normal schools while the state paid for the "regular" institutions, which later evolved into state colleges and universities while the urban district normal schools languished and eventually closed for lack of funds. The current practices in alternative certification in many states are not new developments in the sense that urban schools have historically been outside the mainstream of university-based teacher education. It is incredible to me, and ought to be a source of concern to fair-minded people everywhere, that university-based teacher education—which has an almost perfect history of intentionally turning its back, first on the New York City children from the London slums, then on the millions of European ethnics who settled in urban areas nationwide, and more recently on the



children of color, the poor, and bilingual—now assumes the role of being outraged that its university based programs are being circumvented. It is university-based teacher education which has run away from the responsibility of preparing teachers for the poor and for children of color, and not urban school districts who have rejected universities. The university-based teacher educators of America can win this argument quite readily. All they have to do is start preparing effective teachers who will stay for longer than a year or two in urban schools. It's quite a straightforward solution.

My expectation is that the reverse will occur. Traditional teacher education will become increasingly irrelevant and disconnected from the poverty schools in which teachers are needed most while the growth of school-based, district controlled teacher education will continue to burgeon. Indeed, my expectation is that the development of school-based teacher education will become so common that shrinking state budgets and public scrutiny will make many states consider teacher certification voluntary for college graduates in districts which choose to hire them, and leave to those school districts the total responsibility for preparing their own teachers.

Evaluation in traditional university-based programs is based primarily on the feedback of graduates. What we learn from such evaluations are generalizations, such as: There should have been longer periods of student teaching, less and more relevant coursework, and a separate course in discipline. An objective evaluation reveals quite clearly that universities have developed systems and policies for offering *courses*, grouping such *courses* into departments, matching the *courses* with state requirements, and then *using* courses to make up faculty teaching loads. There is typically little if any thought given to conceptualizing a program and then defining clear program objectives and evaluations. But in the university, courses are not typically conceived of as means but ends. As a result, gathering the perceptions of graduates (most of whom never teach in urban schools or who quit or fail if they do), is an essentially meaningless way to evaluate programs. This is especially true if the programs are merely sequences of courses.

Genuine evaluation of a teacher education program, in addition to the four elements discussed previously, should consider the effectiveness of the beginning teachers' work with children and youth—including the children's learning. Obviously, this criterion cannot be employed if those certified never practice or cannot be followed-up.

The following guidelines should be used in evaluating any teacher education program which claims to prepare teachers for children/youth in poverty:

1. Those admitted to a program of teacher education are selected on criteria which predict subsequent effectiveness with children/youth of low-income and cultural diversity.

2. The educators of teachers are recognized as effective and current teacher practitioners in schools serving poverty children/youth.

3. The content of the program offered is essentially derived from craft experience, supported by relevant research, theory, and expert opinion.

4. The essential process of teacher education involves on-site coaching by an effective classroom teacher.

5. The quality of programs as determined by the above guidelines is supplemented by analyses of the behavior of the beginning teachers and the learning of pupils in their classes. Children's learning should include, but not be limited to, standardized test scores.

The guidelines discussed in this essay are difficult if not impossible to find in traditional university-based teacher education programs. They can, however, be found in some alternative programs and in cooperative programs offered by universities and school districts serving poverty children and youth.

With their eyes firmly fixed on a past that never was, the schools and colleges of education are reeling backwards into a future that is beyond their wildest imagination. The choice they have is to continue an unaccountable tradition or to completely reconstruct themselves; one is easy but ruinous, the other is hard but productive. The wrong road at first seems familiar; it is smooth and lies close by but in the end it is very hard, hard to keep going and hard to trace back. In front of excellence the road is rough and very steep at first, but when you get to the heights it is exhilarating and a joy to keep going.

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# Improving the Quality of Classroom Instruction for Students at Risk of Failure in Urban Schools

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One of the major challenges in education today is improving the quality of classroom instruction for students at risk of failure in urban schools. Most of these students come from disadvantaged circumstances that heighten the probability that they will not be successful in schools, but what may be considered their greatest risk factor is that their teachers and schools contribute to their failure and academic underachievement. Several educators, for example, have recently argued that school systems, school programs, organizational and structural features of school, and the school environment contribute to the conditions that influence students' academic failure (Boyd, 1991; Cuban, 1989; Erickson, 1987; Kagan, 1990; Waxman, 1992). From this perspective, many features of schools and classrooms are viewed as detrimental or alienating and consequently drive students out of school rather than keep them in (Kagan, 1990; Waxman, 1992). The school environment is the broader context or climate of the school that either facilitates or constrains classroom instruction and student learning (Shields, 1991). At-risk school environments are those schools or classrooms that (a) alienate students and teachers, (b) provide low standards and a low quality of education, (c) have

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differential expectations for students, (d) have high non-completion rates for students, (e) are unresponsive to students, (f) have high truancy and disciplinary problems, or (g) do not adequately prepare students for the future (Waxman, 1992). Students who attend these at-risk school environments deserve our special attention because if we can alter their learning environment, we may be able to improve both their education and their overall chances for success in society.

The present article focuses on a critical aspect of at-risk school environments—the poor quality of classroom instruction for students at risk of failure. First, we describe some of the risks associated with students at risk of failure. Next, we describe the current instructional practices found in urban schools and how they constitute a “pedagogy of poverty.” The third section highlights three instructional approaches that have been found to improve the education of students at risk of failure. The three instructional approaches are: (a) cognitively-guided instruction, (b) critical/responsive teaching, and (c) technology-enriched instruction. The final section discusses the policy and practical implications of changing instruction in urban schools.

### Students At Risk of Failure in Urban Schools

In recent years, the number of students who could be considered at risk of school failure or “educationally disadvantaged” has increased and their degree of “disadvantage” has also increased. In the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (Hafner, Ingels, Schneider, & Stevenson, 1990), for example, about 41% of African-American eighth-grade students and 37% of Hispanic eighth graders were characterized as having two or more risk factors (e.g., from single parent homes, having a sibling who dropped out of school, or home alone after school 3 or more hours a day). Furthermore, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1989) estimated that about 25% of 10 to 17 year olds may be extremely vulnerable to multiple high-risk behaviors (e.g., school failure and substance abuse) and another 25% may be at moderate risk.

Another major concern is that the percentages of students performing below grade level significantly increases between the third and eighth grade. Furthermore, the discrepancy between white and minority students also dramatically increases during this time span, with over 40% of African-American and Hispanic students being at least one grade level behind their expected and normal achievement levels by the eighth grade (U. S. National Center for Education Statistics, 1991). These findings and other indicators like the high dropout rates for Hispanics, African-Americans, and students in urban schools (Carson, Huelskamp,

& Woodall, 1993; Garcia, 1994) and the failure of students to do well on higher-level applications, complex reasoning, and problem solving (Mullis, Owen, & Phillips, 1990) illustrate the critical status of students who are currently at risk of failure in our nation's schools.

Addressing the problems of urban schools is one of our most important national educational issues because the highest percentage of these students at risk of failure are found in these schools, and the worst social and economic conditions are also found in urban neighborhoods (Cuban, 1989; Hodgkinson, 1991). Nowhere are the social implications of increasing numbers of disadvantaged families in urban cities more prevalent than in the large, urban school districts where the deleterious conditions of underachievement, student and teacher alienation, and high drop-out rates exist. Furthermore, many of the physical structures and facilities in urban schools are abysmal and in desperate need of rehabilitation (Glass, 1991; Piccigallo, 1989).

Large, urban school districts also face special challenges caused by factors like poverty, crime, and unemployment that make the solution to their educational problems very complex (Walberg, Bakalis, Bast, & Baer, 1988). The family circumstances of youth living in urban cities are alarming. Approximately 20% of the children and youth in the United States live below the poverty level and the largest concentration of poor children are in urban schools (Garcia, 1994; Kovach, 1991). Furthermore, the number of children and youth living in poverty is expected to more than double by the year 2026, and students from poor families are three times more likely to become dropouts than students from economically advantaged homes (Garcia, 1994). These findings and other indicators like the high levels of crime, unemployment, drug dependency, broken families, illegitimacy rates, density of liquor stores, and concentrated poverty clearly describe the critical status of students who are currently living in our nation's urban neighborhoods. Consequently, those students attending urban or ghetto schools represent the most imperiled group of our increasing numbers of students at risk of failure (Boyd, 1991).

### Classroom Instruction in Urban Schools

Several different social, school, and classroom factors have been investigated in order to improve the education of students at risk of failure from urban schools. Some educators, for example, have argued that some of the macro-level or distal variables previously described, like the concentrated levels of poverty in neighborhoods, have caused the deterioration of urban schools. Research, however, has generally found that these factors are *not* significantly and directly related to students' academic

achievement (Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1993). While these social problems are quite serious and require us to formulate social policies to address them, they may not provide us with the solutions to the serious problems associated with the academic underachievements of students in urban schools. On the other hand, there is a growing body of research that has found that more proximal or "alterable" educational variables are directly and highly related to improved outcomes for students who are at risk of failure (Wang et al., 1993). One such "alterable" variable that has been found to be associated with the underachievement of students in urban schools is the quality of classroom instruction. Classroom instruction has been found to be an important variable that can lead to improved student outcomes (Brophy & Good, 1986; Walberg, 1986, Waxman & Walberg, 1991). In fact, there is a growing belief that the best way to improve urban schools is to provide them with better teachers and classroom instruction (Haberman, 1992).

There have been several studies that have documented the problems associated with classroom instruction for minority students and students at risk of failure. Several studies, for example, have found that some teachers provide differential treatment for some types of students (Babad, 1990, 1993). In particular, studies have found that teachers praise and encourage minority students less often than their white classmates and that teachers sometimes have lower expectations for minority students than for their white classmates (Lucas & Schecter, 1992; Smey-Richman, 1989; So, 1987). In addition, several studies have found that schools serving disadvantaged or lower achieving students often devote less time and emphasis to higher order thinking skills than do schools serving more advantaged students (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 1989; Coley & Hoffman, 1990; Padrón & Waxman, 1993). Lower achieving students and minority students have often been denied the opportunity to learn higher level thinking skills because it has been believed that they must demonstrate the ability to learn the basics or lower levels of knowledge before they can be taught higher level skills (Foster, 1989; Means & Knapp, 1991). Furthermore, there is generally an emphasis on remediation for low achievers, which has resulted in teachers' lower expectations and a less-challenging curriculum for these students as well as an overemphasis on repetition of content through drill-and-practice (Knapp & Shields, 1990; Lehr & Harris, 1988). The result of these practices may lead to students adopting behaviors of "learned helplessness" and having a passive orientation to schooling (Coley & Hoffman, 1990). These pedagogically induced learning problems or instructional inadequacies may also account for students' poor academic achievement and low motivation (Fletcher & Cardona-Morales, 1990).



In urban schools, the most common instructional approach is the direct instructional model where teachers typically teach to the whole class at the same time and control all of the classroom discussion and decision making (Brookhart & Rusnak, 1993; Haberman, 1991; Padron & Waxman, 1993). This teacher-directed instructional model emphasizes lecture, drill-and-practice, remediation, and student seatwork consisting mainly of worksheets (Stephen, Varble, & Taitt, 1993). Haberman (1991) argues that this over-reliance on direct instruction in urban schools constitutes a "pedagogy of poverty." He maintains that this teacher-directed, instructional style leads to student compliance and passive resentment as well as teacher burn out. Furthermore, he criticizes this orientation because teachers are generally held accountable for "making" students learn, while students usually assume a passive role with low engagement in tasks or activities that are generally not authentic.

Recently, there have been a few studies that have investigated the extent to which this orientation actually exists in urban classrooms. In a large-scale study examining the classroom instruction of over 400 elementary and middle-school teachers from a large urban school district located in the south central region of the United States, Waxman, Huang, Saldana, and Padron (1994) found that the most prevalent instructional setting across all major subject areas (i.e., reading, English, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies) was whole-class instruction. Whole-class instruction was observed about 80% of the time, followed by students working individually about 15% of the time, and instruction in small-group settings (~5%). Although students were observed being on task most of the time (93%), they were also observed merely watching or listening to the teacher about half of time. Students were found interacting with other students less than 1% of the time. While teachers were observed directing and assigning classroom tasks and activities nearly all the time (99%), they spent very little time: (a) encouraging extended student responses (8%), (b) cueing or prompting students for responses (7%), (c) demonstrating (2%), or (d) modeling (2%).

In another study examining middle-school instruction in mathematics and science inner-city classrooms, Padron and Waxman (1993) found that science teachers spent about 93% of the time in whole-class instruction, while mathematics teachers spent about 55% of the time in whole-group instruction. Students in mathematics classes worked independently about 45% of the time, and there was no independent work observed in science classes. There was no small group work observed in the mathematics classes and students only worked in small groups in science about 7% of the time. In neither of the classes, however, were questions about complex issues raised by the teacher. Furthermore, teachers seldom (4%)



posed open-ended questions for students in science classes, and they never posed these in mathematics classes.

In examining classroom instruction that facilitates higher level thinking skills, mathematics teachers were found to use graphically symbolized instruction about 30% of the time and model thinking processes about 18% of the time. In the science classes, however, teachers never were observed doing either. Science teachers were infrequently observed asking students to explain thinking processes (7%), asking students to clarify and justify their responses (7%), and providing students' opportunities to practice critical thinking (7%). Only a very small percentage of the time was learning in mathematics (8%) and science (12%) related to the students' past experiences. Mathematics and science teachers also seldom had students explore alternative points of views. In science classes, teachers encouraged the transfer of cognitive skills to everyday life only 12% of the time and used "if/then" language only 4%, while they never posed "what if" or "suppose that" questions. In addition, science teachers were never observed using examples to facilitate logical thought. Modeling of reasoning strategies was one of the least observed behaviors in both the science and mathematics classes. Overall, the results from this study indicate that the instructional approaches used in these urban middle-school classes provide little opportunity for students to learn about the nature of mathematics and scientific activity. The findings from this observational study also indicate that students are not being instructed when or where to use strategies (i.e., conditional knowledge) and they are not being taught how to evaluate their successful use. Since conditional knowledge of strategy use has been suggested as an important component for strategy transfer and spontaneous student use, the omission or lack of emphasis of this aspect is critical.

The results of these two studies indicate that the classroom instruction in these urban schools tends to be whole-class instruction with students working in teacher-assigned activities, generally in a passive manner (i.e., watching or listening). Students are on task most of the time, but about two-thirds of the time there is no verbal interaction with either their teacher or other students. There are very few small group activities and very few interactions with other students. Teachers were observed keeping students on task most of the time, focusing on the task, communicating the tasks procedures, praising students' performance, checking students' work, and responding to students' signals. They also spent more time explaining things to students than questioning students or cueing and prompting them. Teachers were not frequently observed encouraging extended student responses or encouraging students to help themselves or help each other.

These findings also support some of the previous conceptual articles and personal accounts that have similarly argued that the basic skills orientation has been emphasized in urban schools serving disadvantaged or lower achieving students and that these schools devote less time and emphasis to higher order thinking skills (Coley & Hoffman, 1990; Padron & Knight, 1989; Padron & Waxman, 1993). In other words, the results of these studies suggest that a basic skills, mastery orientation, or "pedagogy of poverty" is emphasized in these urban classrooms.

To address this critical problem of teaching in urban schools, educators need to focus on new instructional approaches for improving the education of students at risk. Although there have been many programs and school-based interventions that have been found to be effective for some types of students at risk of failure, these programs and interventions will not necessarily have long-term effects because they do not alter the typical instructional approach that has been prevalent in schools for decades. In response to the concerns of the current instructional practices used in urban schools, several educators have strongly advocated that alternative teaching approaches be used (Brookhart & Rusnak, 1993; Padron & Waxman, 1993; Waxman, Padron, & Knight, 1991). The next section reviews three instructional approaches that have been successfully used with students at risk of failure in urban schools.

### New Instructional Approaches for Urban Schools

Many educators and policymakers are calling for changing models of teaching and learning that emphasize more active student learning (Sheingold, 1990) and changing the role of teachers from a deliverer of knowledge to one of a facilitator of learning (Wiburg, 1991a). The following three approaches stress this changing model of classroom instruction and they all have been found to be previously successful for students at risk of failure in urban schools. These research-based instructional approaches are: (a) cognitively guided instruction, (b) critical/responsive teaching, and (c) technology use. The following sections will briefly describe each of these approaches explaining why they may be especially successful for students at risk of failure.

#### *Cognitively Guided Instruction*

Influenced by theory and research from the field of cognitive psychology, many educators have adopted an information-processing view of learning and teaching (Shuell, 1993). From this perspective, learning is viewed as an active process and teaching as a means of facilitating active

student mental processing (Gagne, 1985). This cognitive approach also suggests that students need to apply cognitive strategies in order to learn (Winne, 1985). Therefore, cognitively guided instruction emphasizes the development of students' cognitive learning strategies and the direct teaching and modeling of cognitive learning strategies as well as techniques and approaches that foster students' metacognition and cognitive monitoring of their own learning (Irvin, 1992; Linn & Songert, 1991; Pressley & Ghatala, 1990; Waxman et al., 1991). From an instructional perspective, this approach requires teachers to focus on students' psychological processing as well as what is taught and how it is presented (Shuell, 1993). In other words, teachers need to focus on affective, motivational, metacognitive, developmental, and social factors that influence students since they all occur simultaneously and are all critical to students' learning (Presidential Task Force on Psychology in Education, 1993).

This instructional approach can be very beneficial for the large number of students who are not doing well in school because once students learn how to effectively use cognitive strategies, some of the individual barriers to academic success faced by this group may be removed. In reading, for example, low-achieving students have been found to use different reading strategies and fewer strategies than high-achieving students (Padron, Knight, & Waxman, 1986). Unless more is learned about the strategies used by academically disadvantaged students in comprehending text and how to effectively instruct them in reading, these students may experience serious academic problems in schools (Stein, Leinhardt, & Bickel, 1989).

One of the most frequently cited approaches to cognitively-guided instruction is reciprocal teaching (Brown & Palinscar, 1989; Brown, Palinscar, & Purcell, 1986; Palinscar, 1986; Palinscar & Brown, 1984). This procedure takes place in a cooperative instructional environment where the teacher and students engage in a dialogue. The students are instructed in four specific comprehension monitoring strategies: (a) summarizing, (b) self-questioning, (c) clarifying, and (d) predicting. Studies using reciprocal teaching have found that these strategies can successfully be taught to low-achieving students and that the use of these strategies increases reading achievement (Palinscar & Brown, 1984; Padron, 1985, 1992, 1993; Pressley & Harris, 1990).

### *Critical/Responsive Teaching*

In schools today, there is a mismatch between what schools are about and the needs and concerns of students (Gordon & Yowell, 1994). In



addition to providing students at risk with cognitively guided instruction, there is also a need to provide these students with critical or responsive teaching. Responsive teaching addresses the mismatch between what the goals and mission of schooling and students' current needs and concerns. It also addresses the serious miscommunication problems that can occur in classrooms when teachers do not understand their students' social and cultural milieus (Lucas & Schecter, 1992). Responsive teaching focuses on the students' needs and culture and tries to create conditions that supports the empowerment of students (Darder, 1993). This type of pedagogy is often called "culturally-sensitive instruction" (Boyer, 1993) or "multicultural instruction" (Saldana & Waxman, 1994) and it focuses on the everyday concerns of students and tries to incorporate these concerns into the curriculum. It requires a learner-centered instructional approach, where teachers assume the role of a facilitator rather than the source of all knowledge (Branch, Goodwin, & Gualtieri, 1993). Critical/responsive teaching, however, is more than merely including aspects of the students' culture into the curriculum, textbooks, and learning activities. It also focuses on the critical family and community issues that students encounter daily. Responsive teaching helps students prepare themselves for meaningful social roles by emphasizing both social responsibility and academic responsibility. Furthermore, it emphasizes the promotion of racial-ethnic-linguistic equality and the appreciation of diversity (Boyer, 1993).

There have only been a few studies that examined critical or responsive teaching for students at risk, but one of the few such studies found that teachers who engaged in critical/responsive instruction were more likely to recognize and address the academic and social needs of their students (Darder, 1993). Darder (1993) also found that other successful strategies for students included collaborative group work, cooperative grouping, and more opportunities for student dialogue. Furthermore, students had more responsibility for their own learning and students were more involved in the development of curriculum activities and decisions about classroom activities.

### *Technology Use*

Several educators argue that technology can enhance and supplement traditional classroom instruction as well as offer a new way to deliver instruction (NEA, 1989; Office of Technology Assessment, 1988; Olsen, 1990; Polin, 1991; Rockman, 1991). Some of the specific beneficial roles of technology that they discuss include: (a) fostering students' problem solving and higher level thinking (Dede, 1989; Held, Newsom, & Peiffer,



1991; Lieberman & Linn, 1991; Office of Technology Assessment, 1988; Olsen, 1990), (b) enhancing student-directed learning and autonomous learners (Bell & Elmquist, 1991; Held, Newsom, & Peiffer, 1991; Hornbeck, 1991; Lieberman & Linn, 1991), and becoming an effective management tool for teachers and principals (Bell & Elmquist, 1991; Braun, 1990; Hornbeck, 1991; NEA, 1989; Office of Technology Assessment, 1988; Polin, 1991).

There is growing evidence that suggests that technology can significantly improve the education of students at risk of failure. Braun (1990), for example, examined several projects across the country that found that technology-enriched schools had a beneficial effect on student learning. He found several examples of technology that improved at-risk students' (a) attendance, (b) achievement, and (c) behavior. Descriptions of other major technology projects such as Gross (1990), Kephart and Friedman (1991), Olsen (1990), and Wiburg (1991b) all involve students at risk and all support Braun's findings. Furthermore, there have been several other studies that have found that technology has a positive impact on students at risk of failure (Chavez, 1990; Dunkel, 1990; Merino, Legarreta, Coughran, & Hoskins, 1990; Torres-Guzman, 1990; Walker de Felix, Johnson, & Shick, 1990).

There is also recent research that has examined the specific ways technology impacts students at risk. Hornbeck (1991), for example, lists several generic characteristics of technology that helps students at risk: (a) motivational, (b) nonjudgmental, (c) individualizes learning, (d) allows for more autonomy, (e) gives prompt feedback and (f) allows for mastery of content at one's own pace. Since students at risk are often disengaged from schools, Cantrell (1993) points out that the use of computers diminishes the authoritarian role of the teacher and also decreases situations where students could be embarrassed in class for not knowing answers. DeVillar and Faltis (1991) also discuss the effectiveness of technology for students at risk by describing how computer-integrated instruction facilitates social integration, communication, and cooperation. Another important outcome of technology-enriched classrooms is that it can help reduce or eliminate the "pedagogy of poverty" that exists in classrooms with students at risk of failure (DeVilla & Faltis, 1991; Waxman & Padron, 1994).

## Discussion

Alternative curricular and instructional innovations have been explored during the past few decades, but for the most part, none of them have had a substantive impact on the basic instructional approaches that

exist today. There has been a shift of focus in some content areas like science and mathematics from the traditional lecture and drill approaches to an emphasis on teaching for understanding and teaching in investigative ways (McKinney, 1992). These shifts of emphasis, however, will not have any long-term effects unless there are mechanisms to foster their development and use. There needs to be a strong commitment on the part of teachers to work together in order to improve their teaching. In order to build this commitment, teachers need to believe that these approaches will make a difference; they will also need administrative support and training.

The three instructional approaches that are described in this article all have been found to be effective for teaching students at risk of failure and there are several benefits of incorporating these approaches in urban schools. The implementation of cognitively guided instruction has several positive components that can improve the education of students at risk. In reciprocal teaching, for example, the text may either be read by the students or the teacher may read the text aloud to students. This technique can be very useful when teaching low-achieving students or limited-English proficient students who may experience a great deal of difficulty with the language. Having the teacher read the text provides the students with the opportunity to learn the four comprehension strategies presented in reciprocal teaching, without having to wait until they learn to decode (Padron, 1991).

Differences in background knowledge or experience due to cultural differences may be an important source of variation for strategy use and outcomes. The implementation of critical/responsive teaching, however, may help alleviate this problem. If a student, for example, has no prior knowledge about a particular topic being discussed, then the students may not be able to apply the strategy (Stein et al., 1989). In a classroom where students are not only of low ability, but also have a culturally different background, instruction becomes extremely complex. Not only does the teacher have to deal with knowledge base differences, but also in interpretation of issues presented in a text from a cultural perspective different from that of the student (Padron, 1991). Therefore, if students are from certain populations, low-achieving, or culturally different, they may not be able to tap into the prerequisite prior knowledge without help and thus may need more teacher-directed activity to help them accomplish the linkage.

Computer-enriched instruction has the potential for deepening classroom instruction, making it more meaningful, and assisting the learning of higher order thinking skills (Niemic & Walberg, 1992). When technology is used this way as an instructional tool it can eliminate the pedagogy

of poverty in urban classrooms and empower all students with the thinking skills that will help them help themselves. Technology-enriched environments, however, are a new and very different instructional approach from what teachers have been exposed to in their teacher education programs. Teachers, for the most part, have been trained with direct instructional models, while technology-enriched instruction requires a student-oriented approach wherein the teacher assumes a facilitator or coaching role. Technology-enriched instruction also requires some knowledge about technology that needs to be provided on an ongoing basis by the school or district.

### *Implications for Teacher Education*

Teacher education programs at both the inservice and preservice levels should ensure that teachers are provided with appropriate instructional practices for teaching students at risk of failure. Prospective teachers, in particular, need to have field experiences and student teaching opportunities to work with students at risk. Teacher education programs should also develop teachers who can recognize and change the pedagogy of poverty (Brookhart & Rusnak, 1993). School administrators and instructional supervisors should similarly recognize the dangers of existing instructional practices and encourage teachers to change their current practices. The implementation of these instructional approaches must be carefully orchestrated. It will also require a strong commitment from teachers since these are new and different instructional approaches than what they have been exposed to in teacher preparation programs.

In terms of preparing teachers for these new instructional approaches, teacher education programs should (a) provide the knowledge base about the cognitive and affective processes that influence learning, (b) include information about general and domain-specific metacognitive strategies and how they can be effectively taught to students of differing abilities and backgrounds, (c) encourage preservice teachers to "think aloud" during explanations so that they can model metacognitive thinking for their students, and (d) focus on learner-centered instructional approaches (Presidential Task Force on Psychology in Education, 1993). This will call for a change in policy that will need to empower teachers with the authority to implement such changes as well as support so that they will feel sufficiently supported and valued (Presidential Task Force on Psychology in Education, 1993).

There are several other factors that must also be addressed in implementing these instructional approaches that are related to teacher preparation. Teachers may need to receive more information on how to



address the cultural and linguistic differences represented in their classrooms. Boyer (1993), for example, argues that critical/responsive teaching requires the ethnic literacy development of all those who teach. Staff development procedures become crucial to the implementation of these instructional interventions since many teachers have not been exposed to these strategy training procedures, instructional technology, or ways to incorporate cultural pluralism into their instruction. Furthermore, since many teachers do not believe that strategy instruction is beneficial, particularly for low-achieving students, teacher training may need to specifically address issues related to teachers' attitudes and perception of students at risk. Finally, teachers of students who are at risk of failure are presented with complex classroom situations. They must diagnose students' needs in terms of learning strategies that they know, those that they do not know, or do know but do not use. In addition, teachers in these classrooms must also deal with different cultural backgrounds and in many instances with different levels of language proficiency. The variety of languages found in many urban classrooms and the difficulty in assessing the students' level of proficiency make diagnosis difficult. Therefore, teacher education programs must help teachers readily diagnose students' strategy use and learn how to address student differences in the classroom.

### *Implications for Future Study*

Although research on effective teaching and students at risk of failure has made significant progress over the past decade, there are still additional areas that need further investigation. In order to capture all the processes and nuances that occur in urban classrooms, triangulation procedures are needed to collect data from multiple perspectives (Evertson & Green, 1986). Collecting multiple measures or indicators of classroom processes may help alleviate some of the concerns and criticisms of previous research and provide us with a more comprehensive picture of the quality of classroom instruction provided for students at risk of failure. Student and teacher self-report survey and interview data as well as more qualitative, ethnographic data (e.g., extensive field notes, shadowing data) could all be used to help supplement classroom observation data.

Further correlational, longitudinal, and especially experimental research is needed to examine the effects of these instructional approaches on students' cognitive, affective, and behavioral outcomes. In particular, we need to examine if these approaches enhance students' higher level thinking, motivation, and educational aspirations. Furthermore, since all



of these approaches have not been incorporated into an integrated program for improving teaching and student learning, evaluative research studies will need to examine the impact of such interventions. Other research questions that still need to be investigated in this area include examining (a) the ideal or optimum levels and ranges of student and teacher behaviors that should exist in urban classrooms, (b) how teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and expectations influence their verbal interactions and classroom instruction, and (c) what other school-level variables or factors influence classroom instruction (e.g., school organization or climate). More studies are also needed to examine how schools and teachers can improve their classroom instruction. Similarly, observation instruments that specifically emphasize inquiry-based or constructivist learning environments need to be developed and validated. Since observational research has not been able to explain how students cognitively interact with process variables (Winne, 1987), further research may need to specifically focus on students' cognitive operations and observations of students' responses. Finally, we need to conduct additional studies to investigate other important alterable factors that impact students at risk of failure. These and similar issues still need to be examined so that we can continue to understand and improve the education of students from urban schools.

### *Conclusions*

The situation for disadvantaged students in urban settings is particularly precarious. Students who live in these economically disadvantaged and socially dangerous environments are at great risk of academic underachievement (Garcia, 1994). As Lerner, Entwisle, and Hauser (1994) put it, "all of American itself is at risk because of the breadth of the problems facing what will be the next generation of America's adults" (p. 2). The plight of students at risk of failure in urban settings requires a societal response (Schorr, 1989). Changing the "cycle of desperation" for these students will require the collaborative efforts of many different groups (Futrell, 1988). Teachers, administrators, university professors and administrators, parents, social workers, health professionals, businessmen, community leaders, and the government need to form an alliance in order to address these critical problems. This process will also require a change in attitudes that will make all of us aware of the severity of the problems, *and* seriously committed to reversing the cycle of educational failure for students in at-risk, school environments.

Given the magnitude of the social problems facing many students in urban schools, improving the quality of classroom instruction may appear

to be only a small step towards correcting the serious problems facing these students. Exemplary classroom instruction, however, can increase students' self-esteem, academic achievement, and reduce their alienation and boredom. Furthermore, schools can become "islands of tranquility" in the lives of these students. They can provide students with quality adult-student relationships and supportive environments that minimize students' fears and promote a sense of belonging (Presidential Task Force on Psychology in Education, 1993). Urban schools have the opportunity to provide these kinds of environments for all their students. Rather than reinforcing the negative experiences of failure, schools have the opportunity to help develop students' tolerance, sense of belonging, self-directedness, teamwork, cooperative learning, commitment, attitudes toward learning, participation, and engagement. The three instructional approaches described in the present article all emphasize the shift from teacher-centered to student-centered instruction, and they all focus on students' prior knowledge and cognitive learning. If teachers in urban schools begin to incorporate these instructional approaches, then we can move from a "pedagogy of poverty" to a "pedagogy of enrichment" (Brookhart & Rusnak, 1993). Consequently, improving the quality of instruction in urban schools may be the first step toward reversing the cycle of educational failure.

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# Connecting Content and Motivation: Education's Missing Link

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Daniel J. Burke

*Education is . . . not the filling of a pail, but the lighting of a fire.*  
—W. B. Yeats

The proposition seems simple enough. Motivate students and learning curves will rise. We've always known that; teacher educators have always "covered" (literally, that may be the problem) the issue in education courses, and seemingly, instructional practice has always unfolded with the assumption that somehow teachers would automatically connect motivation with content. This essential interrelatedness, unfortunately, eludes much of the instructional emphasis in classrooms, and therefore many optimal learning opportunities for those who would be beneficiaries are denied. The profession has only in recent educational history recognized relationships with and significance of *intrinsic* motivation—something that is worth doing for its own sake—as it relates to learning (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). As for *extrinsic* motivation—observable rewards such as letter grades, money, material success, and so forth—(Barenblatt & Lloyd, 1984), assumption about its import has more history, more professional acceptance, is more easily detected, and has been more frequently associated with routine task-completion (i.e., the three R's; rote, regurgitation, and reward!). However, for purposes here, motivation "type" is not the primary focus or cogent issue; connecting learner motivation, in general, with curricular content is.

The particular working definition of curriculum for this disquisition relies on the essential educational relationships and subsequent ramifications associated with the following six teaching/learning components: persons, places, time, content, methods, and materials. As these six

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components and their related methodologies interface with each other, the acts of teaching and learning take shape and the goals and purposes of education are activated. Of the six components, the one most frequently associated with teaching and learning is content (i.e., subject matter). Whether or not content should, in fact, be the most crucial curricular component remains debatable. There is little debate, however, that learner motivation, the incentive applied to activate or engage student learning, enhances achievement levels, promotes higher order thinking, stimulates reflective analysis, and induces improved student performance in routine content assimilation. Thus, when motivation coalesces with curricular components, learning is considerably more residual and consequential.

It is universally believed that teaching is a non-productive activity unless the learner is at some level intellectually engaged. And surely there is agreement that any significant learning is unlikely to occur when the learners are unmotivated (Borich, 1992). Thus, we know that content when it is applied, or has meaning assigned to it, is important, and we also know that motivation facilitates content assimilation. So, what's the problem? The issues needing investigation, if not resolution, are three-fold. First, if content-based learning outcomes are to be maximized for all learners, and motivation is key to that accomplishment, why does classroom practice focus so heavily on the relevance of each as separate entities; that is, one precedes or follows the other, rather than on their interdependence? Second, given the purposes of education, including the one suggesting that "the only truly educated person is the person who has learned how to learn," should not the major classroom activity—at all levels—focus on connecting content with the "real world," thus stimulating a fascination with and appreciation for continued learning? Third, would educators not likely be encouraged to reexamine and to reorganize their approaches to curricular development, forcing attention to teaching practices that are not easily customized to the more typical "one size fits all" mode of instruction?

What follows is an examination of and argument for improving the relationship between content and motivation. The problems, purposes, and possibilities for permitting peaceful co-existence and mutual relationship between content and motivation will be underscored. Several educational dilemmas are discussed, followed by a more in-depth review of relationship issues confronting content and its present and future association with motivation. An overview of psychological implications which influence learning processes will also be explored. This is followed with a discussion of the schools' intended purposes which are, of course, key educational elements since they provide direction and rationale

along with the foundation upon which curricular assessment is conducted. How content and motivation interface with these standards and purposes is important, interesting, and revealing. Several practical suggestions for teachers to consider are provided in an attempt to help them effectively connect content and motivation. Last, thoughts about teachers, the people who are charged with “bringing it all together,” are presented. Neither content or motivation matters very much, connected or not, without good teachers cultivating the needs and opportunities for good learning. Teachers have many responsibilities, probably too many, but none so important as that of ensuring and enhancing present and potential learner knowledge, skill, performance, and attitude. Ensuring more effective classrooms will also ensure better schools, a better educational system, and in the long-term, a better society. Optimally, if we are successful here, content and motivation may have the unique opportunity of becoming educationally reconciled.

### An Educational Dilemma

*From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in school comes from his inability to utilize the experience he gets outside . . . while on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning in school. That is the isolation of the school—its isolation from life.*

—John Dewey

For decades curriculum specialists, classroom teachers, and teacher educators have emphasized the importance of content. From national testing advocates (testing at any level, for that matter) to local school curriculum workers, the goals have been to identify, teach, and measure content, and only to rarely apply it to the “real world.” Test-driven instruction has somehow along the way been equated with learning appropriateness. In fact, testing itself is generally a competitive motivational device—a poor one, but one that is frequently employed in classrooms. Testing, especially standardized testing, is highly prevalent at the primary grades (Berliner, 1992), which means that its continuation through the educational spectrum is likely. The results of competitive testing as an appropriate learning activity are mixed. In a host of studies cited by Klausmeier and Goodwin (1966), competition in the learning environment did not produce better learning results than did cooperative activities. When threats of failure and frustration are reduced, often through non-competitive activities, learning tends to be more efficient and student performance improved. There is a place in the learning process for a variety of assessment tools and techniques. Those that stimulate interest,



curiosity, choice, self-fulfillment, and so forth, serve as excellent motivators. Thus, if the motivational level of learners is properly attended to, the chances for content mastery are increased dramatically.

Raw competition between content and motivation is, seemingly, forcing an increasingly serious situation. The inherent theme underpinning many of the questions being raised about the importance of content and the relevance of motivation is quite disturbing. For example, is learning being reduced merely to a matter of achieving minimal competency, mandated in part through national testing programs, state testing norms, test-driven instruction, and—of late—the threats of funding cuts by local school boards based upon results of test scores? Or, should the essence of learning be more dependent upon student readiness, willingness, and responsiveness? Might content and motivation be developed and applied mutually utilizing a variety of strategies for the benefit of the student?

In classrooms across the country, on a daily basis, both curricular content and motivation—two important learning forces—interchange frequently, although generally only incidentally. Neither seem to be symbiotic; both have profound implications relative to learning, and if applied intelligently, both could improve teaching and learning throughout the educational spectrum. In a somewhat curious sense, both are written about with some frequency, although independently, and each is increasingly being targeted by educators and non-educators alike. As an example of the latter, in a Colorado school district, the once highly regarded superintendent was recently dismissed primarily because of a “philosophic difference” with the school board over issues including the importance of and emphasis on self-esteem, motivation, and other learner-first issues. On the one hand, a “back-to-the-basics” and content-driven education position by the board collided head-on with the superintendent’s views, which tended to reflect a commitment to learners as well as to a vision for education’s long-term potential and significance. Ironically, the superintendent was on the side of quality education, but out of sync with the board’s majority position.

The controversy is heating up elsewhere as evidenced by public cries for higher test scores (content focus), juxtaposed against a reliable means (motivational importance) directly associated with getting them higher. One result, the most negative of all, is that both sides lose. It’s the wrong argument, but nevertheless it has taken center stage producing, among other problems, a crisis-like atmosphere over an issue that shouldn’t have developed in the first place. The more prominent arguments about their relationship are unchanged, except that group persuasion and individual passions about the independent significance of each are mounting. If

learning is to improve, these arguments must change substantially; perhaps through recognizing and addressing two real issues. First, this is not an either-or issue because both content and motivation are essential to the learning process. Second, when both are interrelated, one need not supersede the other, and therefore the issue should be about their connectedness. An individual becomes motivated during the act of learning, not before it (Shor & Freire, 1987). Motivation is inherent in and fundamental to the teaching/learning act. To be sure, along with other educational dilemmas, the recent politicization of content versus motivational-related issues are receiving increased attention in many communities, boardrooms, administrative offices, schools, and classrooms. While the public is concerned about the lack of motivation among high school students, for example, they are unable to reach consensus about the causes (Elam, Rose, & Gallup, 1994). Why is it, for example, that students can be unmotivated in school yet highly motivated outside? Unfortunately for students and teachers, perhaps equally so for learning, until separate and unequal treatment of the content-motivation relationship is replaced by their colligation, academic achievement should not be expected to rise significantly.

Motivation + Content = Optimal Learning

*If we are concerned with the shortage of talent in our society, we must inevitably give attention to those who have never really explored their talents fully, to all those who level off short of their full ceiling. If we ever learn how to salvage any respectable fraction of these, we will have unlocked a great storehouse of talent.*

—John W. Gardner

Motivation is always in “potential form” until it impels or ignites activity. Thus, individual behavior is motivated when a need is to be satisfied, especially at the time when that need is most important. When utilized effectively by both teacher and student, motivation makes optimal learning possible. It also determines the level or degree to which something is learned or acted upon. Thus, content and motivation, while generally independent of each other, become powerful components in learning environments once they are interrelated.

Learning—life-long learning—is a central objective of schooling. Therefore, shouldn't that which promotes, indeed enhances it, be primarily the focus of all curricular aspects, most notably content and its essential link with motivation? Content attainment should be a *vehicle* for learning, not an end in itself. What teachers prescribe as content, the

strategies they employ in delivering it, the methods they devise for assessing it, and meanings they assign to it, are all secondary to preparing the learning conditions and ensuring the learner's readiness level to educationally engage it. If the student doesn't connect with the content, or is not willing or interested in assigning meaning to it, of what real value is it, and to whom? Without connecting content and motivation, what levels of learning can be expected? What happens to student interest and to the likelihood for continued learning? And finally, have either the central purposes of the school or those of the teacher been well-served?

Since efforts to improve student self-esteem in schools are becoming quite fashionable in some communities and roundly criticized in others, the relationship between motivation and self-esteem becomes rather tenuous. This is even more interesting when student views are examined. Left to their own devices, many students would not likely choose to study. But when other factors are added, especially those sources of motivation closest to learner priorities, the desire to learn changes. Additionally, another of the six curricular components—time—can alter student performance and his or her desire to learn. The difference between mastery, for example, and disengagement from learning for many youth, is directly related to time. As a variable, time-on-task is critically important, both to content mastery and to levels of motivation. Some students learn faster, or slower, than others. In many instances, the cause for low or non-achievement isn't learning ability, but rather it is related to the lack of time or exposure to content. Might the difference in learning success be substantially altered through instructional foci where motivation and content mastery were connected? If this were the case, wouldn't the expected learning outcomes likely be realized or at least enhanced by more students?

Although quite a different kind of motivation, making money impacts one's educational interest in most cultures, the American youth-culture included (Anderson, 1988). While this kind of motivation is quite extrinsic and material in nature, formal education in general, and classroom curricular content in particular, have always sustained and even promoted themselves via the financial carrot. This emphasis is not altogether to be blamed on the educational establishment, nor is it singularly reinforced by the schools. The society at large has always recognized, rewarded, and even validated individual self-worth by occupational affiliation and income level. Content designed and taught for the purpose of enhancing the probability of popular and socially acceptable status is, to be sure, fair game. The result is, of course, that while extrinsic motivation is socially and economically defensible—even touted—subject matter meanings are relegated to a subservient position. In this instance, motivation becomes the nucleus; content is secondary and often subjected to an assigned



priority based on a cause and effect scenario. When this occurs, content is incidental to motivation and desired learning outcomes are short-lived, short-sighted, and short-changed.

While extrinsic motivation very distinctly enables and justifies, fortunately or not, a significant amount of student learning, it leaves much to be desired in so far as learning is concerned. The most powerful sources of motivation are not money or fear. Once the extrinsic rewards are provided, whatever was learned will soon be forgotten (Bates, 1979; Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973). On balance, however, such factors as pride, self-respect, sense of accomplishment, and self-development are considerably more important (Koestenbaum, 1991). Irrespective of the source or kind of motivation, when appropriately applied and connected, the relationship of motivation with content becomes complementary. Learning, then, has its best chances for making the impact for which it is intended. It is therefore educationally significant when motivation is connected, related, and coordinated with specific curricular content.

### The Psychological Connection

*It behooves us all to make sure that every child in America has a good education and access to a good job. We cannot, as a nation, afford to throw any child away; we need them all to become successful adults if the economy, the community, the work force, the military—indeed, the nation—are to thrive.*

—Harold Hodgkinson

The importance of psychology in this context is obvious. Once we get beyond the notion that motivation means the promise of reward or the threat of punishment, (the technique of choice used by teachers to keep students busy), much of the remaining salience of teaching and learning is indeed psychological. This includes the circumstances surrounding the selection, application, delivery, and assessment of content. It also speaks volumes about the importance of techniques used by teachers to promote student learning, the most notable being, of course, motivation. Educators in general, and classroom teachers in particular, might be well-advised to reflect on the following statement: "There is nothing so unequal as the equal treatment of unequals." If nothing else stimulates thinking about the significance of learning and of learners, this should. It's imperative that classroom purposes, indeed content expectations, be underpinned by the cautious reflections and ramifications of individual human differences. Little else matters, as teachers, as learners, as citizens.

School consists of those individuals who wish to be there, and those who are forced to be there. This condition itself makes for an interesting



psychological dilemma. Some students come ready and prepared to learn. Some even consent to what the teacher has in mind for them to learn, without expressing any reservation. Still others do not care about or want to learn at all, especially that which the teacher wishes them to learn. Add to these problems such matters as learning disabilities, health and nutritional liabilities, multiple social disenfranchisement, widely varying economic disadvantages, various safety and security comminations, and learning-related human differences (i.e., differing learning styles), and the classroom suddenly becomes a place where psychological perspicacity is indispensable. The successful teacher, in order to facilitate the connection between motivation and content, will be better-served by an outward sensitivity to psychological factors including learner need identification, be it social, physical, emotional, or intellectual.

Obstacles that inhibit learning, and therefore impede content-oriented instruction, are most frequently motivational, not cognitive in nature (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991). Students fail to learn not because they are unable to learn, but because they do not want to learn. Moreover, Csikszentmihalyi suggests that learning has little to do with packaging information, but has much to do with the aesthetics of learning. Applying these assertions to the classrooms of the schools leads to several interesting conclusions. For example, high-tech careers are less available to youth than employment opportunities requiring marginal or limited skills. Why, then, would youth be motivated to attain higher skills when most jobs in this country require lesser skills? And what knowledge becomes essential for these students? Try the driver's license examinations perhaps, and throw in ability to read and understand the current status or dilemma of a favorite television star, movie actor, or sports idol.

Content for many youth, especially at the secondary level, is likely to become less important in our society than it is now (Berliner, 1992). That probability threatens an already serious educational condition. Motivation, then, will take on new relevance and new expectation in its applications. Moreover, when motivation is misapplied, wrongly applied, or non-existent in the learning environment, the student's need to actively participate is depreciated. When that occurs, whatever knowledge acquisition was intended pales in comparison to what might have been learned even had appropriate motivational techniques been employed. As is the case with most humans, when learner needs are either thwarted or unsatisfied, or when the expectations are such that the learner's security is threatened, defense mechanisms begin to intervene. This resulting frustration is frequently manifested through behaviors such as repression, rationalization, aggression, and withdrawal, to name a few. Obviously, a

balance must be struck between need satisfaction (successful content-related experiences) and an acceptable achievement level irrespective of the motivational techniques employed. The objective is to achieve learner competency at a satisfactory level so as to satisfy a need on the one hand, and to avoid frustration on the other. Seemingly, adulthood is the time when the ability to balance these two often conflicting human conditions occurs. Whether or not it does depends in substantial measure on the formal educational experiences students received in their classrooms.

Connecting motivation with content is indeed a psychological challenge. In every instance in the learning process, the teacher is confronted with the issue of how to impel students to achieve in some commensurate fashion with their individual potential. Since learning is a psychological process, not a logical one, it is the individual that ultimately must motivate himself/herself. As is the case with learning, motivational response is also a very personal matter. With this understanding, learning can be viewed in two essential ways: first, the content must have significance to the learner (an extremely important and directly connected motivator); and second, the learner must realize a level of success in the illustration, demonstration, or presentation of what has been learned. By connecting that which is to be learned with internal and external reasons for doing so, the learner is more likely to meet with academic and personal success.

### Learning Outcomes: Education's Ultimate Purpose

*A way must be found to develop, within the educational system as a whole, and in each component, a climate conducive to personal growth, a climate in which innovation is not frightening, in which the creative capabilities of administrators, teachers, and students are nourished and expressed rather than stifled. A way must be found to develop a climate in the system in which the focus is not upon teaching, but on the facilitation of self-directed learning. Only thus can we develop the creative individual who is open to all of his experience; aware of it and accepting it, and continually in the process of changing. And only in this way, I believe, can we bring about the creative, educational organization, which will also be continually in the process of changing.*

—Carl R. Rogers

We start the discussion where it all begins—with a rationale for educating. The assumption is, of course, that knowledge is power, and power applied effectively engenders a better life. Acquiring and retaining useful information, assigning meanings to it, thirsting for its continuation, and functioning appropriately as a citizen in a democratic

society generally represent agreed upon reasons to educate. But there is an even a more fundamental rationale to educate. It is first and foremost a basic human need. Berliner and Gage (1984) assert that people do have a basic need to learn, to know, and that they will indeed assign meanings to information, things, events, and symbols. Maslow (1943) and Herzberg (1966), two noted motivational theorists, have similar views on the subject, and contend that the need to know is fundamental to the human condition. As a practical matter, knowledge is the fundamental enabler to greater “real world” experiences. In a sense, you are what you know. Therefore, because it is indeed essential to educate, the question now turns to one of how best to identify, transmit, connect, apply, and create knowledge. Curricular content is, most agree, indispensable, although arguments about “what” specific content are on-going. Ensuring optimal knowledge acquisition and its usefulness is more important than the subject-matter content itself. This means that identifying and applying techniques, which assist learners with content assimilation, are not only extremely contiguous to the learning process, but are strategically vital to the central purposes underlying the educative enterprise.

As has been discussed, the need to know, achieve, learn, and progress from one level of accomplishment to another is fundamental to the educative process. These matters are so important to both learning and living that in and of themselves they each become motivators. But how does content need fulfillment, with motivational support and enhancement, fit into the overall school outcomes? Are educational outcomes, the goals by which schools are ultimately judged, such that both content and motivation are seen as being mutually (a) inclusive (b) imperative, (c) reasonable, and (d) attainable?

A variety of learning activities, specific content objectives, and wide-ranging instructional techniques should be designed for every learning experience. The evidence as to whether schools have lived up to their promise should come from frequent student assessment in four essential learning outcome categories. If done properly, evidence will be available and abundant in each category. Ultimately, the educational system and the society itself will be judged on how well these categories have been fulfilled:

1. Knowledge acquisition—The learner acquires new knowledge and information that has both short and long-term value and meaning with applicability to his/her life in and outside of the classroom.
2. Skill development—The learner develops new skills and techniques that permit him/her to successfully experience an activity or function in and outside of the classroom.



3. Performance abilities—The learner acts, performs, and functions in a manner that demonstrates ability to effectively interact in the “real world” both in and outside of the classroom.

4. Attitude enhancement—The learner exhibits behavior that is both attractive and appropriate with regard to different people, ideas, and circumstances in and out of the classroom.

The general purposes of and standards for schools are an important element in further understanding and appreciating the relationship between content and motivation. Curricular content is developed in accordance with agreed upon goals and objectives, first from national priorities (i.e., Goals 2000), then from individual state legislative perspectives, and finally from local community prerogatives. Motivational techniques in relation to standards and purposes come from two sources: first, the mere impetus to satisfy or comply with the goals and purposes; and second, a desire to achieve a certain level of satisfaction. Both require motivational activity; the second of the two mentioned requires more sophistication because it addresses value-related issues. Agreement about specific school purposes and standards is relatively unimportant to this work, but that they exist is, of course, essential. At the Center for Leadership in School Reform, a set of belief statements have been developed as guidelines for school standards (Schlechty & Cole, 1992). Paraphrased below, they will serve as an example of educational purposes and standards that underpin the inherent necessity for connecting content and motivation:

1. Develop student capacity to think and reason, and ensure that understandings, skills, and habits of mind make it possible to participate fully in a multiethnic, multicultural society in an information-based global economy.

2. Every student can and will learn if presented the right opportunity to do so.

3. Learning opportunities are determined by the nature of the work students undertake.

4. The family and the community must guarantee each child the support needed to be successful in pursuing intellectually demanding tasks and activities.

5. The work of people in an information-based society requires the employing of ideas, concepts, symbols, and abstractions to solve problems, produce products, deliver services, or otherwise provide some useful outcome.

6. Students, and the work they are expected to do, should be the focus of all school activity.



7. Behavior in schools should be such that teachers are encouraged and empowered to invent work that responds to student need, and principals are encouraged to be the leaders of leaders so that accountability for and commitment to continuous improvement of quality is ensured.

8. The primary role of the superintendent is to be visionary, to be a community-sensitive leader, and to ensure high quality experiences for students.

9. The mission of district-level administrators and staff is to give direction to and support for the work of the schools.

10. Commitments to innovation and continuous growth and improvement should be expected of all people and programs supported by school district resources.

Taken as a whole, these generic school standards and purposes seem appropriate enough to receive acceptance in many American communities. Curricular content development in most schools would be germane and readily justified using this set of statements. Without specific content, and without the appropriate motivational connection, these statements become meaningless. Furthermore, if curricular content implicit in each statement is enhanced only through assumed or incidental learner motivation, the separation caused will result in diminished impact and relevance for both the learner and the stated educational purposes. If this is permitted, school standards and purposes along with their intended potential are doomed at the outset.

### Teaching: The Art of Facilitation

*Finally, there should grow the most austere of all mental qualities; I mean the sense for style. It is an aesthetic sense, based on admiration for the direct attainment of a foreseen end, simple and without waste. Style in art, style in literature, style in science, style in logic, style in practical execution have fundamentally the same aesthetic qualities, namely, attainment and restraint. The love of a subject in itself and for itself, where it is not the sleepy pleasure of pacing a mental quarterdeck, is the love of style as manifested in that study.*

—Alfred North Whitehead

Arguments will forever exist over the “what” (content) aspects of curricular disciplines. To a lesser degree, arguments will exist over the selection and use of motivational techniques. In either case, the fundamental issue goes unchallenged; improved levels of learning outcomes for *all* youth are not only possible but are achieved when content is properly accommodated and motivation is appropriately applied.

Here are some ways that teachers can facilitate the relationship between content and motivation:

- Learners must be involved in the “ownership” of the rationale, goals, strategies, and assessment of that with which they are to be engaged. This means, clearly, that learners should be afforded opportunities to assist in the development of courses, learning experiences, and ways in which they can demonstrate knowledge, skill, performance, and attitude attainment.
- Options and choices about the learning environment and the various curriculum components (persons, places, time, “content,” methods, and materials) must be available. Choice only makes sense when the alternatives are clear, attention to learning appropriateness is considered, and the relation of learning expectations is consistent with the rationale used by the student to make his or her choices.
- Whatever the expected learning outcomes, there must be a direct connection with the “real world” outside of the classroom. Application of acquired learning is most significant in life-like situations. Relevance is most successfully assigned salience by the applicator or user of information.
- A careful balance between cognitive and affective development is paramount. Generally speaking, classrooms (indeed learning) tend first to focus on the cognitive, then, time permitting, the affective domain. That probably should be reversed, and at the very least balanced, especially if content and motivation are to be interrelated.
- The shifting of responsibility for learning from the teacher to the student is fundamental to both content fulfillment and learner motivation.

Both the difficulty of learner goals and the learning sequence should increase as time passes. This process is illustrated in the figure below:

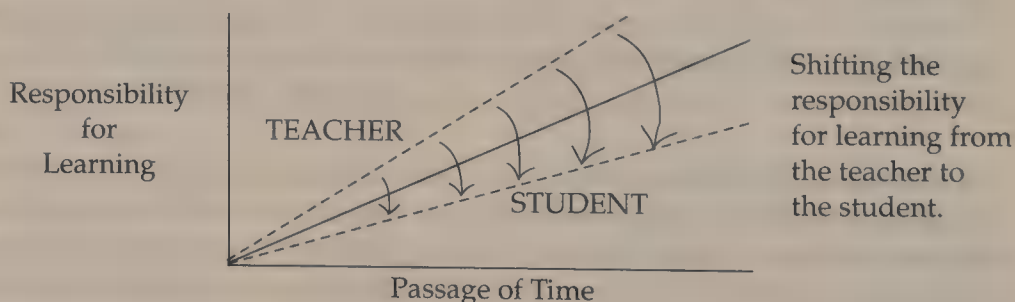


Figure 1. *Shifting the responsibility for learning.*

- Teaching strategies that foster curiosity and creativity on the part of the learner promote the relationship of content and motivation. Since creativity is often “in the eye of the beholder,” much latitude needs to be assigned to learner involvement. Learning activities that encourage “what” to think, for example, are very different from those that stimulate interest in “how” to think. Obviously, the teacher’s philosophic bent will determine learning approaches. If teachers intend to connect content and motivation, their instructional strategies become even more crucial.
- Consideration should be given to what the learner brings to the classroom—experiences, interests, and other resources. Nothing seems to stimulate human interest more than personal validation. To “draw out” the learner, to seek uninhibited learner understandings—especially those that differ from the expected, and to legitimize individual values, needs, aspirations, attitudes, and incentives will dramatically impact the learning environment. In a natural, non-presumptive manner, a closer relationship of and appreciation for content and motivation will result.
- Feedback and reinforcement are essential to good teaching and effective learning. When learners are given positive reinforcement, a source of motivation is tapped. The motivation-level itself is strengthened through reinforcement. Although simplistic, praise is something to which most humans respond; unfortunately, it has often been reduced to mere coddling. Perhaps revisiting some of the unadorned, more pedestrian elements of teaching and learning might be a productive exercise.
- To distinguish between short and long-term learner goals is critical to both content fulfillment and in sustaining consistent self-induced motivation. It is not possible to expect students to be committed to or participate in the learning process if the goals to be met are restricted either to long or short-term propositions. The mix simply has to exist for maximum learner effect.
- Journals, portfolios, logs, and other learner generated records of content-related activity are excellent methods of assessing both motivation and achievement. When students produce evidence, especially that which is non-assigned, or obtained out of school, its significance is noteworthy. Like incidental learning, learner-initiated productivity may be the most salient form of determining a student’s educational health.

Learning is at the heart of the educational process. It begins prior to birth and continues to death. The teacher is a central figure in shaping processes that will, for many, make the difference between living productively and living in regret. Whatever the future of education, two things are surely guaranteed: teachers are the key to its survival, its effectiveness, and its potential; and, without *excellence* in the classroom, it will not prevail outside, where it matters most.

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# Who Cares About Girls?

## Rethinking the Meaning of Teaching

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*Susan Laird*

*We need to know the writing of the past, and know it differently than we have ever known it; not to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us.*

— Adrienne Rich, "When We Dead Awaken" (1979, p. 35)

### The Conceptual Foundations of Teaching Reform

Over the past decade or so, advocates of "teaching reform" in the U.S. have questioned long taken-for-granted public school classroom practices, probably with just cause in most cases. But these reformers have embraced no new *concept* of teaching. Their ideal of "interactive teaching" is largely classical insofar as it reflects the influence of their consultations with analytic philosophers, whose claimed "standard sense" of teaching is explicitly Socratic in origin. In fairness to the teaching reformers, we should note that the conceptual meaning of teaching has received scant attention from philosophers of education over the past two decades, during which time a substantial new scholarship on women, girls, and gender has developed. Neither contemporary reformers of teaching nor those philosophers of teaching whom the reformers consulted took the

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I am indebted for the collegial discussion and commentary on that occasion to Ann Diller, Patricia First, Susan Franzosa, John Green, Catherine Hobbs, Barbara Houston, Jane Martin, Peter Smagorinsky, and graduate students in my "Values and Education" seminar at the University of Oklahoma for helpful criticisms offered before and after that presentation, and to Sally Zepeda, who read this version in draft.

historically feminized character of the teaching profession and the coeducational, *in loco parentis* context of U.S. public schooling explicitly into account in their considerations of what teaching could and should now mean (Laird, 1988, 1989a).

Lawrence A. Cremin's (1976) historical claims that "families educate" and that educational theorists should study "configurations of education" formed by interactions within, and relations among, the different institutions that educate (e.g., families, workplaces, mass media, religious organizations, as well as schools) remains philosophically anomalous (Laird, 1994b). But noting the common philosophic claim that mothers "socialize" rather than "teach" their young, Jane Roland Martin has critiqued this anomaly within philosophy of education:

There are numerous questions about the transmission of values by the family which philosophy of education could answer: What does "transmit" mean in this context? Which values ought to be transmitted by the family? Should the values transmitted by the family be reinforced by schools or should they be challenged? Do schools have the right to challenge them? Yet as its subject matter is presently defined, philosophy of education cannot ask them, for they are questions about the reproductive processes of society which are inappropriate to raise, let alone to answer. (1994, p. 41)

Besides housekeeping, nursing the sick, feeding, and comforting people, the "reproductive processes" (as she has controversially named and defined them) most especially include childbearing and childrearing. In the mid-19th century U.S., Catharine Beecher effectively campaigned for feminization of the teaching profession on account of women's traditional responsibility for these socially necessary processes, which she upheld (Cross, 1965; Hoffman, 1981). But neither philosophers of teaching nor reformers of teaching have reflected upon this historic fact's possible present significance in their analyses, critiques, and reformulations of teaching.

Past thought about teaching girls and past women's thought about childrearing and teaching youngsters have escaped philosophical scrutiny (Martin, 1994), just as a growing body of empirical research on girls' miseducation by U.S. public schools has escaped the attention of most commissions and consortia that have issued the past decade's myriad reports critical of schoolteachers, schoolteaching, and teacher education (WCRW, 1992). I propose that reformers of teaching can and should correct these oversights. Together with preservice and inservice teachers of both sexes, they can critically and constructively consider previously neglected sources of thought and information: With new sensitivity to

gender effects and to the significance of schools' *in loco parentis* responsibilities, they can rethink the meaning of teaching.

### *A Different Call for Teaching Reform*

The American Association of University Women (AAUW) has recently published three reports of empirical research on girls' schooling that have largely escaped attention they deserve from reformers of teaching. These reports repeatedly call attention to the family/school configuration in girls' miseducation. The first of these reports, *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America*, has documented four major findings:

1. A gender-gap on self-esteem increases with age.
2. Declining self-esteem, a governor on dreams and future actions, more strongly affects girls than it does boys.
3. Family and school, not peers, have the greatest impact on adolescents' self-esteem and aspirations.
4. How students come to view math and science differs by gender. (Greenberg-Lake, 1991, pp. 4, 6, 10, 12)

AAUW's second and most substantial report, *How Schools Shortchange Girls*, has cited many ways in which girls' academic education falls short of an egalitarian ideal, especially in mathematics and the sciences. But its most shocking findings give evidence of serious miseducation regarding vocational, physical, and emotional life, which have distinctively severe consequences for girls as they mature to womanhood: wage-earning inequality, sexual victimization, poverty, depression, attempts at suicide, eating disorders, substance abuse, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, early pregnancy, and low self-esteem. Therefore, the AAUW Report calls upon schools not only to correct many specific curricular insensitivities to gender, but also to teach a now largely "evaded curriculum" in the health and well-being of young people, often taken for granted as the curricular province of families. It advocates teaching activities that include "the expression and valuing of feelings" and discussion of "the complex personal and moral dilemmas [students] face in understanding and making decisions about the critical facets of their lives" (WCRW, 1992, p. 75).

Among these critical facets, many more girls (37%) than boys (5%) face the decision to drop out of school on account of family demands that they offer their caring labors at home (WCRW, 1992). Others with histories of incest or other sexual abuse, or with conventional attitudes toward gender, drop out of school in order to mother their own infants at



home. And with what results? Single-parent families headed by women without high school diplomas rarely escape poverty, and nearly half of all children under age 5 living in poverty in 1988 lived in families begun by teen mothers (WCRW, 1992). Yet especially assertive and independent girls with less conventional gender attitudes drop out of school because of friction with their teachers' demands for docility and passivity; indeed, according to one cited researcher, "a moderate level of depression, an absence of political awareness, persistent self-blame, low assertiveness, and high conformity may tragically have constituted the 'good' urban student" at the high school she studied (WCRW, 1992, p. 49). Although fewer girls drop out of school than boys, the consequences of this decision are far more serious for girls: The rate of female dropouts' poverty (23-47%) exceeds the rate of male dropouts' poverty (15-29%), a gender discrepancy greatest among Blacks and greater among Hispanics than whites (WCRW, 1992).

The AAUW has most recently reported startling data in *Hostile Hallways* that four in five students in grades 8-12 claim to have experienced some form of sexual harassment and that one in four of those harassed say it has caused them to miss some school. Most have chosen not to tell any adult about their experience of harassment, but both sexes confessed to researchers that they had made some serious decisions about the conduct of their school lives on account of sexual harassment from male or female peers or adults: avoiding the person who bothered or harassed them, staying away from particular places in their schools or on their school grounds, changing their seats in class to get farther away from someone, giving up a particular activity or sport, changing their groups of friends, and changing the ways they came or went to school. But girls reported making such decisions on account of sexual harassment more than twice as often as boys (Harris, 1993). More than twice as often as boys, girls responded to harassment with feelings of not wanting to go to school, not wanting to talk as much in class, finding it hard to pay attention in school, finding it hard to study, and thinking about changing schools; also more than twice as often as boys, girls reported that their experiences of harassment affected their class and school attendance, performance on tests, and grades in classes (Harris, 1993). Students who confessed to having engaged in sexual harassment claimed that they had done so mostly because "it's just a part of school life, a lot of people do it, it's no big deal," because they thought the person liked it, because they wanted a date with the person they were harassing, or because of peer pressure (Harris, 1993, p. 11). Interactive teaching practices such as those proposed by *How Schools Shortchange Girls* might do much to clarify and value honest feelings of embarrassment, self-consciousness,

diminished self-confidence, fear, sexual doubts, and psychological confusion that victims of harassment have reported to researchers (Harris, 1993)—and therefore help to prevent and counter the pervasive harassment which limits students' choices and makes school an unpleasant place for many students of both sexes, but especially for girls. Unfortunately, philosophers of education have yet to conceptualize such *in loco parentis* teaching, whose curriculum is the health and well-being of young people and whose interactions integrally include the expression and valuing of feelings.

### *The Standard Sense of Teaching*

Interactive teaching that involves the expression and valuing of feelings may not always count as teaching in the view of philosophers who have defined this concept's standard sense and influenced the view of interactive teaching advocated by contemporary reformers. Indeed, long before the AAUW published its three recent reports on girls' schooling, one of the most brilliant philosophical analysts of teaching made this shocking claim as part of his explanation of teaching's standard meaning: "We cannot allow the education of men to abandon the seriousness and the rigors of reason for the gentler disciplines of love . . ." (Green, 1971). The essential "manner" of teaching is rational (Scheffler, 1960), aimed at a shared understanding of conceptual meanings between student and teacher (Gowin, 1981; McClellan, 1976). The paradigm case of such a pedagogical interaction occurs in Plato's *Meno*, when Socrates engages a slave boy in dialogue over a geometric theorem (McClellan, 1976).

Philosophic analyses of teaching do vary in detail (Laird, 1989a, 1989b), and even the standard conceptual meaning they claim for teaching is ambiguous insofar as it can refer either to a task or to an achievement (Ryle, 1949). On this standard analytic view, teaching in its achievement sense is essentially aimed at "the development of reasonable men," and the concept's task sense necessarily entails "logical acts" (Green, 1971): a give and take of reasons between teacher and student (Scheffler, 1960). Bribery, threats, and social conditioning cannot count as teaching in this standard sense: a morally reasonable claim that may nonetheless raise serious questions about taken-for-granted school practices such as testing, grading, classroom "management," and the building of competitive "spirit." Yet other, far more ethical practices of acculturation or socialization also cannot count as teaching in the analytic standard sense even if they aim at (and result in) a student's necessary learning, for they may still necessarily fail upon occasion to appeal

directly to “the reason of the pupil” (Scheffler, 1960). For example, teachers’ common, deliberately nurturant acts such as encouraging, motivating, and disciplining may often be reasonable in intent and morally educative in effect, though more affectionate or dramatic than rational in manner; they may even be necessary for “real” teaching to occur. But on this analytic view such acts are merely “strategic” and insufficient to count in themselves as teaching (Green, 1971).

### *Conceptual Reform of Teaching*

Such philosophic analyses offer powerful explanations of one historically significant sense that teaching may have—especially when students are adults engaged in learning to philosophize, as were Socrates’ young companions in the Athenian marketplace. But, in view of the AAUW Report’s recommendation that interactive teaching should nurture the expression and valuing of feelings and aim to develop students’ mature capacities for health and well-being, not just their rationality, I question the analytic claim that this sense should be considered “standard” or a measure of what can “count” as teaching in any and all contexts. Martin (1994) has shown how the standard sense of teaching categorically rules out dignifying Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi’s well-known account of the mother Gertrude’s teaching young children in her home as a *bona fide* case of teaching, despite its intuitively just and once widely honored claim to be so. Given the variety of settings in which teaching may occur and the variety of educative ends teaching may aim for, with profound consequences for teaching in schools, I am not yet convinced that any sense of teaching should be declared “standard.”

Philosophical studies of teaching can justify prescribing or proscribing this or that notion of pedagogical interaction, but they need not do so. Philosophical studies of teaching can explore, construct, clarify, and reflect upon the “complementary or contradictory, consonant or dissonant” configurations of education that Cremin urged theorists to study. Such inquiry might enable philosophic reflection upon the politically potent questions that Martin has posed; it might begin to correct the epistemological gender inequality she has cited in philosophy of education by bringing women’s educational thought into its own domain; and it might enable a critically reflective approach to *conceptual* reform of teaching such as the AAUW Reports have suggested girls’ education will require. Toward these ends, the remainder of this article will analyze a 19th-century woman teacher’s concept of teaching girls that aims for their health and well-being and does entail the expression and valuing



of feelings—albeit at home. Rather than nostalgically propose this concept as a “new” prescription for schooling girls, I will conclude by posing critical questions about this concept for reformers and teachers to consider carefully in light of contemporary, gendered, and interracial configurations of education. I simply propose this historically significant, but taken-for-granted concept as one tool among many possible conceptual tools for rethinking the meaning of teaching with new sensitivity to gender and to the *in loco parentis* demands that schools today face.

### Teaching in a Different Sense

Most people probably remember tomboyish, 15-year old Jo March better than they remember her mother Marmee in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*. This bestselling “girls’ book,” which has never fallen out of print since first published in 1867-68,<sup>1</sup> and which occasionally has even been considered “subversive” (Lurie, 1990), dramatizes Jo’s coming of age to found and run an experimental “home-like school” (GW, p. 303). But as a domestic curriculum in itself, the novel also dramatizes Marmee’s childrearing practice with Jo and her sisters (two of whom were school dropouts), 16-year-old Meg, 13-year-old Beth, and 12-year-old Amy. Thus its young readers, or their mothers and teachers reading aloud, could learn that practice’s meaning and value, if not also a few of its characteristic methods and resources.

In the novel’s first chapter, “Playing Pilgrims,” Marmee reads her daughters a letter from her husband, Mr. March, then serving as a Civil War chaplain. He closes his letter reminding the girls to work hard, act lovingly toward their mother, “do their duty faithfully, fight their bosom enemies bravely, and conquer themselves” so that he “may be fonder and prouder than ever” of his “little women.” (LW, p. 28) Mr. March’s letter makes them tearful: Amy bemoans her selfishness, Meg scorns her vanity, Jo resolves to be less wild, and Beth just silently begins “to knit with all her might.” (LW, p. 30) Herself a “tall” woman (LW, p. 26), not a “little” one, Marmee counters these grim emotional effects: “Do you remember how you used to play *Pilgrim’s Progress* when you were little things? Nothing delighted you more . . .” (LW, p. 30) Suggesting that “we are never too old” for such play, she observes that three of them have just named their own pilgrims’ “burdens” to carry “in earnest” and then elic-

<sup>1</sup>Good Wives is the title of *Little Women’s* separately published Part II. Page references to each of the novel’s two parts will henceforth be noted parenthetically in the text, denoted by LW and GW, as appropriate.



its from Beth an admission that "being afraid of people" is her own pilgrim's "bundle." (LW, p. 31)

As Nel Noddings (1984, 1989) might remark, Marmee makes this move from painful feeling to playful thinking about "the longing for goodness and happiness" (LW, p. 31) with her daughters to "care for" them as they encounter "evils" such as pain, separation, and helplessness. But Marmee obviously also aims for their *learning* to survive their "many troubles and mistakes" (LW, p. 31) by sharing their love for each other and, for their mutual comfort and cheer, taking a playful, self-expressive approach to the increasingly adult, sometimes unpleasant tasks before them. From the evening's task of making bedsheets for their lonely, short-tempered, and boring Aunt March, therefore, they set about making a game, by "dividing the long seams into four parts, and calling the quarters Europe, Asia, Africa, and America" and talking "about the different countries as they stitched their way through them." (LW, pp. 31-32)

Undeniably, Mr. March's belligerent and paternalistic rhetoric, including the diminutive he assigns to his coming-of-age daughters, and the division between distant war labors and intimate domestic labors, to which only Jo objects, here do exemplify gender socialization: a hidden curriculum worthy of feminist critique and consciousness-raising that are difficult to imagine Marmee initiating (Martin, 1994). Underscoring this obvious point for later consideration, I nonetheless contend that Marmee's interaction with her daughters in this scene constitutes a clear case of *teaching*. She intends them to learn something about living well through honestly felt efforts at self-definition, efforts which without her intervention they may not have undertaken on their own. Such aims distinguish Marmee's childrearing as worthy of the name "teaching." Whether or not her "manner" is rational, in the sense of engaging her daughters' reason, therefore does not concern me here, albeit precisely such a manner is essential to the analytic standard sense of teaching and sometimes even also appropriate to Marmee's educational ends (Martin, 1994; Scheffler, 1960). For Marmee is teaching in a different sense from the standard analytic one thus defined: a sense now mystified by our failure to study it (Laird, 1989a). In Marmee's case, what does the concept "teaching" mean?

### *Bringing Marmee Into Educational Thought*

However anomalous recent school-centered discourses on teaching may make my claim that Marmee teaches her daughters, the claim does have noteworthy precedents in educational thought. In *Reclaiming a Conversation*, Martin has cited Beecher and Pestalozzi, as well as Mary

Wollstonecraft, who all argued that "mothers are teachers and, further, that the teaching mothers do is directed not just to the transmission of discrete skills such as tying shoelaces but to the development of values, principles, and habits" (1985, pp. 124-125). Contemporary philosophers of education other than Martin have not yet taken this claim seriously. A philosopher of peace, Sara Ruddick, however, has constructed a concept of "maternal thinking," whose essential activities are protection, nurturance, and training (1988). Whereas her conceptual analysis may well define maternal thought, its categorical divisions and the "training" concept's narrowness do not quite capture the explicitly educational aims that Audre Lorde has claimed central to her own childrearing practice as a Black lesbian mother:

This is what mothers teach—love, survival—that is, self-definition and letting go. For each of these, the ability to feel strongly and to recognize those feelings is central: how to feel love, how to neither discount fear nor be overwhelmed by it, how to enjoy feeling deeply. . . . (1984, p. 74)

Although such maternal teaching definitively differs from teaching in the analytic standard sense, as already noted, books and academic journals in education have not addressed such non-standard, but common-sense teaching claims either critically or constructively.

Where can we turn, then, for primary sources of educational thought about childrearing? Ruddick (1983) has identified women's literature, including Alcott's, as a major source of evidence that maternal thought does occur. For, by all accounts, Marmee is Alcott's portrait of her own mother, Abba May, who once wrote that women should assert their right "to think, feel, and live individually . . . be something in yourself" (Elbert, 1984, p. 86). She read Pestalozzi, and her husband, the Transcendentalist Bronson Alcott, wrote about Pestalozzi, even considering himself a disciple of that now almost forgotten philosopher of education. Bronson also wrote ponderous treatises idealizing Socrates and Jesus as teachers, and worked with Elizabeth Peabody and Margaret Fuller on an experimental effort at inter-racial co-education for children in Boston (Elbert, 1984; Saxton, 1977). Biographers cite Mr. March as Alcott's portrait of her father, who wrote one of the first published American diaries of child development, about Louisa and her elder sister (Elbert, 1987).

More than just a source of evidence that maternal thought exists, *Little Women* is itself a formulation of thought about a mother's teaching. Like her father, Louisa May Alcott was a schoolteacher, also one of Peabody's educational collaborators, and like her mother, she raised at least one

child at home, albeit as an unmarried aunt. Thus her adult life no less than her unusual upbringing among New England's Transcendentalists offered ample provocation to think deeply about both schooling and childrearing. More than just an autobiographical account of Marmee's teaching, her fiction is an artfully structured, close critical study of characters and events in mid-19th-century New England that compose different educative and miseducative notions of childrearing practice within certain kinds of homes and schools.

Instead of here undertaking the many possible sorts of critical inquiry about *Little Women*, Louisa May Alcott, Transcendentalist educational thought, the ethic of care, childrearing, motherhood's representation, or adolescent girls' development, I look forward to the challenging questions such wide-ranging interdisciplinary cultural studies may pose. Meanwhile, I will examine Marmee's case of childrearing with another explicitly constructive aim. What might "teaching" mean in Marmee's case? Toward what achievement does her teaching definitively aim within her own fictional context of home childrearing? Having pursued such inquiry, we can ask whether teaching in this "different" *achievement* sense entails a correspondingly different *task* sense of teaching, or whether it yields multiple senses of the teaching task. Rather than accept Marmee's case as a paradigm of maternal teaching without further inquiry, then, we will have to study cases from other cultural contexts, perhaps such as Carrie's in Ntozake Shange's *Betsey Brown* (Laird, 1989a, 1989b), which may be noteworthy for our philosophical understanding of teaching. Through such new inquiry, many complicated and perplexing questions will surely arise about the analytic standard sense of teaching and about this different teaching concept's possible value for teaching reform.

*Little Women's* detailed portrait of Marmee's childrearing gives abundant evidence which implicitly validates Lorde's general claim that "what mothers teach" is love and survival—even though one of Marmee's daughters, Beth (a school dropout), does not survive her girlhood, and another, Amy (also a school dropout), never really overcomes her selfishness. Like any teaching, Marmee's is not always successful, but its practice is nonetheless defined by her conception of what its success should mean. The ends and means of her daughters' developing capacities and responsibilities for love and survival, the available human examples of success and failure at attempts to achieve those goods, and the many obstacles to their achievement form her subject matter—the material of that curriculum which she intends her daughters to learn through their own efforts. Thus the novel does depict Marmee holding her ever-tried temper as she teaches Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy to love not only themselves,



each other, and herself but also their absent father, extended family, neighbors, and God. Meanwhile she deliberately teaches them to survive their "bundles," "burdens," and "scrapes"—ultimately even her own absence. Indeed, the recurring figure of Marmée's absence from home functions conceptually in the novel, first as one of her most artful teaching strategies and later as a test of her teaching's success.

### *Marmée's Teaching and Curriculum*

Marmée's conception of her teaching and curriculum reflects her knowledge ". . . that experience was an excellent teacher, and when it was possible she left her children to learn alone the lessons which she would gladly have made easier, if they had not objected to taking advice as much as they did salts and senna." (GW, p. 34) Her curriculum for her daughters therefore includes the complex art of learning from experience to love and survive, come what may. In teaching this curriculum, however, Marmée does not irresponsibly wait for life-threatening crises to occur that will try her daughters' capacities and responsibilities for love and survival. She deliberately demonstrates to them the necessity of exercising such capacities and responsibilities even when their life is at its most easygoing—during summer vacation.

The girls beg their mother to let them do nothing but what they like all summer long. Marmée consents to one experimental week of "all play and no work" such as they think they want. She helps her servant Hannah do "their neglected work" (LW, p. 153); allows the girls' messes to clutter the house, such that "Nothing was neat and pleasant but 'Marmée's corner,' which looked as usual" (LW, p. 153); and otherwise keeps "the domestic machinery running smoothly" (LW, p. 154) until the experiment's last day, when she sees their increasing, vague discontent and decides to take the day off from mothering and housekeeping and do exactly as she pleases "so as to let the girls enjoy the full effect of the play system" (LW, p. 155). This final "full effect" leads them to "a strange sense of helplessness" and a sudden discovery that in order to have meals, guests, pets, and the environment their various individual amusements require, they must do not only their usual little chores, but also work that they do not even yet know how to do.

When Marmée returns from her day away, she asks the girls if they are satisfied with their experiment and want to try another week of it. Since Beth's pet canary has died, an unexpected guest has come for dinner, and Jo has prepared a flop of a grandiose dinner party, they admit that "it is better to have a few duties and live a little for others" (LW, p. 163). Marmée then suggests they might spend their summer vacation learning



"good plain cooking"(*LW*, p. 163) and concludes her lesson by voicing a clear theoretical sense of what she has aimed to teach:

'... I wanted you to see how the comfort of all depends on each doing her share faithfully. While Hannah and I did your work you got on pretty well, though I don't think you were very happy or amiable; so I thought, as a little lesson, I would show you what happens when everyone thinks only of herself. Don't you feel that it is pleasanter to help one another, to have daily duties which make leisure sweet when it comes, and to bear and forbear, that home may be comfortable and lovely to us all?'"(*LW*, p. 164)

She furthermore explains that work "keeps us from *ennui* and mischief, is good for health and spirits, and gives us a sense of power and independence better than money or fashion"(*LW*, p. 164). But she also cautions them against a life of all work and no play, urging them to make regular hours for each.

Marmee's curriculum in arts of love and survival, however, does include far more than the skills and values of cooking and other house-keeping chores. It could be cited as an unacknowledged precursor of Noddings's recent reconceptualization of school curriculum, informed by her own experience of motherhood: a curriculum organized around "centers of care" for self, intimate and distant others, plants and animals, objects and instruments, and the physical environment. Marmee's home curriculum for her daughters significantly leaves out only Noddings's (1992) center of care for ideas. Also, as if following recent advice from psychologists Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan, "to break false images of perfection, to invite [girls'] most urgent questions into conversation, into relationship" (1992, p. 230), Marmee's curriculum takes the form of evening family rituals, by means of which she teaches them habits fundamental to the art of learning love and survival: sharing experiences with each other, thinking aloud about them in the retelling, risking and taking honest criticism, helping each other along with encouragement and praise, recognizing explicitly what each has learned through daily difficulties and triumphs, applying a playful and imaginative spirit to the hardest learning tasks of all—for example, overcoming humiliation, disappointment, shyness, vanities, raging tempers, laziness, spitefulness, selfishness. As the girls grow older, such ritual events give way to their exercise of those learning habits on their own initiative, especially the habit of seeking and taking advice about problems and decisions affecting their own and others' love and survival. This change marks her daughters' growing capacity and responsibility for their own

learning of her curriculum, central to any concept of her teaching achievement.

The core texts of her curriculum in love and spiritual survival are Christian. *The Pilgrim's Progress* provides the foundation—almost a developmental theory in itself—for her daughters' learning, which Marmee calls "playing pilgrims": "the Slough of Despond," "the Celestial City," "the Valley of Humiliation," and other names from the book are key phrases in their shared moral vocabulary, to describe their various experiences and emotional phases and states. Marmee also teaches her daughters to learn the habit of taking time alone with themselves each morning, to read in their (biblical) "guide-books." She seizes upon special occasions (such as Christmas or an illness) and opportunities that arise (such as visits or invitations) to teach her daughters how to be both generous and poor with grace: to tend the needy and sick and make charitable sacrifices for their basic survival, to make do proudly without wealth and luxuries that others who are better off misrepresent as necessities, to endure without complaint the distasteful jobs which provide their means to live. Marmee's curriculum reflects her particular perception of life as unpredictable and often troubled, and love as a basic necessity for surviving its difficulties with dignity and joy. Accordingly, she teaches her daughters to marry for love or not at all rather than for money or position.

Against the potentially grim seriousness of her sacrificial Protestant regimen, the materials of Marmee's curriculum also include ritualistic gestures which, in becoming known to her daughters as part of her own affectionate character, make a repeated point of family love, good cheer, and personal pride as important habits of active self-expression: for example, always making sure they have "nice pocket-handkerchiefs" as they leave home or always standing at the window to watch them walk down the street each morning and affectionately waving at them just before they turn the corner. Thus Marmee's curriculum in love and survival takes shape not only from Bunyan's moral concepts like "the City of Destruction" and "Apollyon," but most especially from Marmee's own feelings about herself and her daughters. Her thoughtfully constructed curriculum includes more than texts and mental or physical skills; it includes emotional skills, attitudes, dispositions, habits, and values, as well as body language that speaks to her daughters through the physical senses and from the heart.

### *Miseducative Childrearing and the Need for Marmee's Teaching*

Not all activities that mothers and other adults acting *in loco parentis* undertake in their custody, schooling, and upbringing of youngsters in

*Little Women* can count as teaching in the sense that Marmee's practice often exemplifies. Many other adult characters in the novel practice childrearing without any clear intent to teach children anything about the value, meaning, or means of learning love and survival. Kind old Mr. Laurence coddles his lazy orphaned grandson when his private tutor reports him truant from his lessons. Learned Mr. Davis publicly humiliates, and metes out corporal punishment to, his mischievous students in Amy's school. Haute-bourgeois Mrs. Moffatt hospitably socializes her daughter's girl-friends, including Meg, to a "very fashionable," narcissistic, doll-like femininity. And destitute Mrs. Hummel neglects to exercise any concern about Beth's and her own children's vulnerability to a lethal, contagious illness. Such commonplace cases of miseducative childrearing obviously present contrary cases of Marmee's teaching. Moreover, they demand and frustrate her own best teaching efforts in the interest of the children's learning not to be persuaded by coddling, humiliation, precious feminine socialization, or ignorant neglect to shrink from making their best efforts to love and survive in an unpredictable, sometimes cruel world.

Other instances of miseducative childrearing in *Little Women* occur despite adults' clearly educative intent. Such events in the novel become miseducative because the childrearing adult overlooks the importance of teaching love when teaching survival, or else overlooks the importance of teaching survival when teaching love. For example, when Marmee takes the girls on a charity mission to the Hummels, for whom they sacrifice their Christmas breakfast, Mrs. Hummel is sick, but no instructive comments about the danger of contagion enter into Marmee's lesson in sacrificial charity toward others. Much later, when Marmee leaves home to tend Mr. March's sickbed in the war down south, Beth alone heeds Marmee's teaching and continues to make charity visits to the Hummels; Ignorantly taking no precautions for her own health, she contracts scarlet fever from Mrs. Hummel's baby, who dies from the disease, and nearly dies from it herself. Since helping others is apparently Beth's only motivation for overcoming her shyness, Marmee's teaching about charity toward their indigent neighbors is obviously just what Beth needs to develop a stronger, less house-bound and introverted sense of self. But sadly Marmee never teaches Beth to exercise precautions for her own survival, and Beth's illness only has the miseducative effect of making her more house-bound and fearful than ever.

By contrast, when Beth is sick, Amy must leave the March home to escape the same illness that nearly kills her sister. Aunt March takes Amy into her home and teaches her domestic skills and academic lessons important to her material survival as lady of an affluent household:



She had to wash the cups every morning, and polish up the old-fashioned spoons, the fat silver tea-pot and the glasses, till they shone. Then she must dust the room, and what a trying job that was! Not a speck escaped Aunt March's eye, and all the furniture had claw legs, and much carving, which was never dusted to suit. Then Polly must be fed, the lap-dog combed, and a dozen trips upstairs and down, to get things, to deliver orders, for the old lady was very lame, and seldom left her big chair. After these tiresome labours, she must do her lessons, which was a daily trial of every virtue she possessed. Then she was allowed one hour for exercise or play. . . . Then patchwork or towels appeared, and Amy sewed with outward meekness and inward rebellion till dusk. (LW, p. 257)

This loveless, servile domestic curriculum only intensifies Amy's characteristic self-centeredness when she might most effectively have been taught, and perhaps even have learned, to empathize with and generously cheer her troubled sisters, who were tending Beth's sickbed with serious fears for her life. Thus, Marmee's prolonged absence from home brings to light certain childrearing events which make clear that her daughters' growing capacity and responsibility for learning both love and survival are necessary to her teaching achievement. Neither love alone nor survival alone is a sufficient aim for the conception of achievement that distinguishes teaching in the different sense that Marmee's childrearing practice exemplifies.

### A New Conceptual Tool for Teaching Reform?

Although perhaps few children have been so artfully mothered as the March girls, *Little Women's* popularity with generation after generation of girls has made Marmee a public figure in their education for womanhood. Because the novel has often been ignored by scholars as a best-seller or as a children's book, it has not always commanded the close critical readings it deserves. Such circumstances may have mystified Marmee's teaching and made her an unintentional instrument of girls' domestication as she was of the ill-fated Beth's (Laird, 1989b). As an extremely popular cultural symbol for an often unattainable, sentimental ideal of private motherhood, Marmee may even have contributed to girls' conventional notions of femininity and to their declining self-esteem as young women coming of age in a world that has presumed Marmee's childrearing role to be both universally appropriate and possible for women to fulfill, if not actually a social norm or a biological destiny. Could the analytic standard sense of teaching itself have



claimed so much credibility among reformers in the absence of that unexamined popular presumption? Recent empirical research on girls and on "at-risk" youth amply shows that presumption to be unwarranted—and harmful besides (Davis & McCaul, 1991; Schultz, 1991; WCRW, 1992). Having debunked that presumption and displayed its destructive consequences, such research poses a challenge for reformers, to rethink the concept of teaching that analytic philosophers have called "standard."

What practical value might the different teaching concept that I have found exemplified in Marmee's case hold for ongoing thought about teaching reform? This is a concept of interactive teaching that involves the expression and valuing of feelings which *How Schools Shortchange Girls* has recommended; this concept founds such expression and valuing of feelings, and other educational activities as well, upon a certain sense of achievement: *children's growing capacity and responsibility for learning to love and to survive despite their conflicts, pains, and troubles, most especially their mothers' absence*. Admittedly the March girls' conflicts, pains, and troubles differ in many particularities from those of many schoolgirls today. Teenage pregnancy, AIDS, and substance abuse seem like utter impossibilities in the March girls' lives, unless perhaps we try to imagine Amy's character subjected to the social challenges of our own time. She did not face sexual harassment at school, but she dropped out of school because her teacher did harass her. Regrettably, the March girls' world is not yet altogether alien to ours. Mrs. Hummel finds single motherhood no less a struggle than women do today. Beth's low self-esteem, depression, illness, preoccupation with domestic chores, fearfulness of the world beyond home, habitual self-denials and reticence about speaking up, and unwillingness to continue attending school bear startling resemblances to the contemporary conditions of schoolgirls' lives which the AAUW's recent reports have brought to public attention. Therefore, reformers of teaching face the challenge that Jo claimed as her own, the challenge of distinguishing a conceptual understanding of Marmee's teaching from *Little Women's* treacherous sentimentalities about domestic femininity and private motherhood.

### *A Challenge to Treacherous Sentimentalities*

Ruddick has not considered girls' educational problems, nor has she integrally considered schooling and teaching, in her controversial argument for bringing "transformed maternal thought into the public realm" (1983, p. 226). Yet over a century ago, Alcott seems to have made precisely such theoretical considerations in writing *Little Women*. Jo's

imaginative and courageous experiment in schooling at the novel's conclusion is a social transformation of Marmee's teaching which supplants the need for a private motherhood that commands women's full-time attentiveness to children. It is itself a kind of "public-spirited" motherhood, which may pose new questions for contemporary reformers of teaching who have thus far neglected the family/school relation. Moreover, with its characterizations of Jo's friend and husband, Professor Bhaer, and of Marmee's servant, Hannah, this pedagogical novel may even have anticipated some concerns expressed by Ruddick's critics, concerns clearly relevant to teaching in schools: about boys' education for future childrearing responsibilities and about middle-class assumptions that may be unjust to working-poor mothers (Hooks, 1984).

An implicit critique of maternalism, particularly relevant to teaching reform, lies in the textual fact that Beth, who has no teacher besides Marmee throughout the novel, does not survive her coming of age to adulthood; whereas all her sisters have other, additional sources of education that foster their belief in their own capacities for survival as adults: schooling, jobs, travel, books, conversation with college-educated men friends, and relations with a feisty, independent aunt. Thus Marmee's teaching may be necessary to the educational achievement that defines her childrearing, but her teaching alone is not sufficient for her daughters' learning to love and survive, except insofar as Marmee does teach Meg, Jo, and Amy to pursue such learning with help from other teachers besides herself. Marmee is not even their sole teacher about childrearing. As a young mother, Meg has occasion to learn a few childrearing principles and techniques from her husband, an experienced teacher, Mr. Brooke. Although Professor Bhaer does appear a troublesome, paternalistic figure when he guides Jo away from the urbane lures of intellectual life and professional writing, he nonetheless does exemplify a man who brings jolly playfulness, loving attention, and thoughtful consistency to his teaching and childrearing responsibilities.

Marmee also depends on assistance from her housekeeper, Hannah. Before *Little Women's* popularity saved her (and her parents) from poverty, Alcott herself suffered the oppressive working conditions of a domestic servant when she was not teaching children in schools. In failing to teach her daughters a loving appreciation for Hannah's many caring contributions to their survival and comfort, Marmee lends power to the maternalist myth that children's nurture is essentially maternal rather than a responsibility that adults may share, even if unrelated to each other. Hannah could have children of her own, whom she leaves behind to care for the March family and their home; Hannah could be homeless and dependent upon a room in the Marches' home; the novel

never tells us who Hannah is. Despite Marmee's teaching of charity toward poor neighbors, the novel never displays the Marches' interested attention to Hannah's feelings or situation, not to mention her life apart from themselves and their own wants and needs. She prepares breakfast for the March girls each morning, after which they leave home without thanking her or even bidding her good-bye as they exchange parting affections with Marmee and their cats. Thus *Little Women* demonstrates that Marmee's teaching, no less than school teaching, may be imperfectly conceived even if strongly conceptualized, insofar as it repeatedly overlooks a hidden curriculum worthy of close critical attention, concerning the alienating privileges of economic class and of biological motherhood (Martin, 1994). With regard to this hidden curriculum evident in Marmee's home, are teachers in schools unlikely to recognize their own taken-for-granted situation, as public servants hired to care for "other people's children" (Grumet, 1988, p. 164), as often akin to Hannah's? Thus *Little Women's* account of Marmee's teaching may lead educational reformers to rethink the meaning of teaching as a relation, or a network of relations, more complex than the dialogic dyad it has generally been presumed to be.

*Little Women's* narrative of Marmee's childrearing, then, not only suggests a concept of teaching neglected by contemporary philosophers of education, it also raises critical questions about cultural assumptions concerning the seldom questioned ideal of childrearing as an individual, private, and essentially "maternal" activity. Marmee's effort is necessarily shared, necessarily social, necessarily embedded in a web of relations that Cremin would call a configuration of education. If that view were widely shared, would motherhood be the setup for failure that it often seems to be today? In what relation should the different sense of teaching that Marmee's childrearing practice exemplifies stand to school teaching? Could and should such teaching occur outside the home? Need one be a mother to learn how to do such teaching? Could and should men learn to do it, too? Must they learn it from mothers as girls often do? Could and should adults charged with *in loco parentis* responsibilities in schools practice such teaching?

### *A Challenge to Rethink the Task Sense of Teaching*

*Little Women's* final chapter, "Harvest Time," celebrates the fruits of Marmee's teaching by considering precisely the latter possibility, for it announces Jo's determination to practice such teaching herself in her own "happy, home-like school" for boys otherwise "going to ruin, for want of help at the right minute" (GW, p. 303). Indebted to Marmee's



understanding of teaching, Jo's "home-like school," Plumfield, could be a forgotten fictional precursor of Martin's "schoolhome," her new, experimental notion of a school that would function in the public world as a "moral equivalent of home" (Laird, 1991; Martin, 1992, p. 46). Perhaps if Amy and Beth could have gone to a school like Jo's Plumfield, they would not have dropped out of school and required home-schooling. Since even a home-like school is not exactly the same as a private home, the practical particulars of Jo's teaching activities and curriculum may prove different from Marmee's, though conceived upon the same definitive sense of achievement. In the one classroom at Jo's school, her father and her husband are "trying the Socratic method of education on modern youth" (GW, p. 303), thus making clear that the theoretical foundation of Marmee's and Jo's teaching outside any classroom is not to be confused with theirs. Indeed, the men's classroom teaching seems to pale in importance beside Jo's teaching *in loco parentis*. The teaching achievement in Marmee's home and Jo's home-like school—as well as other homes (like Audre Lorde's and Betsey Brown's) or schools—may have the same conceptual meaning, a meaning different from the analytic standard sense. Still, teaching activities may necessarily vary from case to case.

Teaching defined by this different sense of achievement can only claim to be reasonable insofar as its practice responds both to the particular children who must be engaged in learning love and survival and to the particular contexts of conflict, pain, and trouble in which they live. This different concept of teaching therefore demands not only a critical re-evaluation of the analytic standard sense of teaching, it also will require reformers' sensitivity to the varied social contexts in which teaching may occur. Jo's teaching activities and curriculum may differ from Marmee's in practice because, unlike Marmee, Jo is teaching wild boys like Tommy Bangs who "will smoke sweet-fern cigars under the bed-clothes, though he's set himself afire three times already" (GW, p. 313). Indeed, at this school, Jo teaches motherless boys and homeless boys; "slow boys and bashful boys; feeble boys and riotous boys; boys that lisped and boys that stuttered; one or two lame ones; and a merry little quadroon, who could not be taken in elsewhere, but who was welcome to the 'Bhaer garten', though some people predicted that his admission would ruin the school." (GW, p. 303) In *Little Women's* sequel, *Little Men* (1870/1947), Jo adds to her experiment in special education and (token) inter-racial education a new commitment to co-education, as well, placing yet another contextual demand upon her teaching practice that is especially significant in light of the AAUW reports (Laird, 1994a). As we consider *Little Men*, its higher-education sequel *Jo's Boys* (1886/1949), *Betsey Brown*



(Shange, 1985), and other sources of thought about teaching and gender within the family/school configuration; as we contemplate the differences of setting, of gender, of race, of economic status, of ability, of character which such sources present—along with differences of many other sorts—we will have to analyze and evaluate the teaching activities entailed by a sense of teaching achievement shared with Marmee (hence also with Lorde) in various cases. Perhaps through such further philosophic work our conceptual understanding of the teaching task and our agendas for teaching reform and school reform will change, as well.

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# Synthesis of Research: Teaching Whole-Group Classrooms

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*Allan C. Ornstein*

Whole-group instruction is the most traditional and common form of classroom organization. Teachers generally gear their teaching to the “mythical” average student on the assumption that this level of presentation will meet the needs of the greatest number of students. A common block of content (in any subject) is taught on the assumption that large-group instruction is the most effective and convenient format for teaching it.

In front of the group the teacher lectures, explains, and demonstrates on a topic, asks and answers questions in front of the entire class, provides practice and drill exercises to the entire class, works on the same problems, and employs the same materials. Instruction is directed toward the whole group, but the teacher may ask specific students to answer questions, monitor specific students as they carry out the assigned activities, and work with students on an individual basis.

Whole groups can be an economical and efficient way of teaching. The method is especially convenient for teaching the same skills or subject to the entire class, making assignments, administering tests, setting group expectations, and making announcements. Bringing members of a class together for certain activities strengthens the feeling of belonging to a large group and can help establish a sense of community and class spirit. The whole group learns to cooperate by working with and sharing available resources, setting up rules and regulations for the learning environment, and exchanging ideas. Finally, this method of grouping students is most effective for directing and managing large numbers of students.

The critics of whole-group instruction contend that it fails to meet the needs and interests of individual students. Teachers who use this method

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tend to look upon students as a homogeneous group with common abilities, interests, styles of learning, and motivation. Instruction is geared to a hypothetical average student, which only fits a few students in the class, and all students are expected to learn and perform within narrow limits. Students are evaluated, instructional methods and materials are selected, and learning is paced on the basis of the group average. High-achieving students eventually become bored, and low-achieving students eventually become frustrated. The uniqueness of each student is often lost in the large group. Extroverted students tend to monopolize the teacher's time, and passive students usually are not heard from or do not receive necessary attention. Finally, students sometimes act out their behavioral problems in the safety of numbers.

### Class Size and Achievement

Does class size affect whole-group learning? When it comes to improving student performance, common sense would expect a clear relationship to exist. Surprisingly, class size does not automatically lead to better student performance. In one review of 152 studies that analyzed smaller classes and student achievement, 82% found no significant impact, 9.2% saw positive results, and 8.6% found negative results (Hanushek, 1989).

In still another review of eight studies of low-achieving students, Slavin (1989) found that differences in achievement levels of students in larger classes (22 to 37 students) compared to small classes (15 to 20 students) were insignificant. Across the eight studies the effect was only +.13—very disappointing given that the average class size in the large groups was 27 students compared to 16 in the small groups (40% difference). In another review, Madden and Slavin (1989) found that only when class size is reduced to one-to-one teacher/student ratios, as in tutoring, does size make a difference.

Although Glass (1982) and Glass and Smith (1978) received considerable attention when they concluded that class size below 15 students had a substantial effect on student achievement, somewhat unknown, this was only significant in 10 out of 77 studies—and learning benefits did not really appear until class size was reduced to three students. The effects of class size and achievement were more positive in elementary grades than in middle grades and high school.

In the largest single study ever performed in Tennessee, kindergarten classes were randomly assigned to classes of 15, 25 with an aide, and 25 without an aide; these numbers were retained through Grade 3. The study found almost zero effects with the aides and moderate effects in favor of the smaller classes by the third grade; a year after the difference was

positive but insignificant (Nye, 1991; 1992). However, other state-wide studies in Indiana and South Carolina at the primary level showed very modest achievement effects when class sizes were reduced (Muller, Clinton, & Walden, 1988; Slavin, Karweit, & Wasik, 1993).

At the secondary level, class size seems to be indistinguishable (Glass & Smith, 1978; Robinson, 1990). One possible reason is that size may have different effects on different tracks (honors, academic, vocational, etc.); different subjects (English, social studies, etc.); students (different ability, motivation, study habits, high-achieving vs. low-achieving); and/or how content is presented (review and practice, problem-solving, or questioning and discussion). These confounding variables may blur the effects of class size so that the latter becomes indistinguishable.

In conclusion, class size seems to have modest effects on school achievement. Since reduction in class size is expensive, the cost should be weighed against the cost of other innovations to determine the best policy or programs for achieving academic results. For example, Cooper (1989) suggests that increasing school attendance among students, increasing academic time in reading (or any other subject area), improving the quality of instruction (hiring better teachers for low-achieving students), and providing more review or practice to learn the material on tests have positive effects, more so than just reducing class size.

Dividing the whole group (say 25 students) into smaller, homogeneous groups (3 to 5) with the teacher spending more time with the low-achieving groups is perhaps more beneficial than small whole group instruction (say 15 students), so long as the teacher knows how to take advantage of the extra time for the low-achieving groups without short changing the other groups. To be sure, different grouping patterns within whole groups are essential for variety, motivation, and flexibility in teaching and learning.

### Classroom Tasks

Instructional tasks are the core of the classroom setting. Most teachers maintain control over instructional tasks by making the decisions about what is to be taught, what materials and methods are to be used, and how much students are to be allowed to interact. There are teachers, however, who do permit student input in planning content and activities. Secondary school classrooms tend to be more controlled settings than elementary school classrooms (Goodlad, 1984; Ornstein, 1995b). The key variable, of course, is the teacher and not the grade level. When the teacher has complete control over instruction, it is likely that most students, if not all, will be engaged in a single classroom task and work toward the same goal

with the same content. When students have input, it is likely that they will work on different classroom tasks (Marx & Walsh, 1988).

Teacher control over tasks affects the social setting and nature of evaluation. Under single-task conditions with high teacher control, students usually work alone, and evaluation of academic abilities and achievement is based on comparison to others in the class or to standardized achievement levels. Under multiple-task conditions with low teacher control, there is more social interaction and cooperative learning; evaluation is conducted more on the basis of individual progress than by comparison to others (Benninga et al., 1991; Royer, Cisero & Carlo, 1993).

Classroom tasks involve one of three basic elements: (1) *facts* (i.e., What is the capital of Chile?), (2) *skills* (i.e., reading, writing, spelling), or (3) *high-order processes* (i.e., analysis, problem-solving, concepts). Most classroom tasks initiated by teachers are what we might call low-level, involving facts or skills. Only a small portion are high-order tasks (Ornstein, 1995a). The reason is that in a whole-group classroom setting, the range of ability is usually wide, and it is easier to keep things simple so that a majority of students can perform the tasks without frustration. By focusing on low-level tasks, facts or skills, right answers and short-term goals are emphasized at the expense of critical thinking and integrating prior and past knowledge for long-term benefits. Sadly, the idea for the student is to know the answer, not the process, to complete the assignment on time and to get it out of the way (as if it were medicine). There is little concern about understanding, about relevant nuances or implications of concepts and principles of the content or skills being emphasized.

Most classroom tasks are initiated by the teacher; students usually act in response to the teacher's expectations. Most tasks are structured by the teacher and concentrate on the acquisition and comprehension of knowledge, as well as practice of skills. Basically, classroom tasks that are initiated by the teacher fall into four categories: (a) *incremental tasks*, which focus on new skills or ideas and require recognition; (b) *restructuring tasks*, which involve the discovery of an idea or pattern and require some reorganization of data; (c) *enrichment tasks*, which involve application of familiar skills and ideas to new problems; and (d) *practice tasks*, which are aimed at making new skills and ideas automatic so they can be used in other task situations and cognitive processes (Bennett & Carre, 1993).

In order to facilitate learning, the teacher must learn to match appropriate tasks with the students' abilities and background knowledge. Matching becomes more difficult as students get older and have the potential to learn more. It is also more difficult in heterogeneously grouped classrooms because of the range in students' abilities and interests. The teacher must consider which tasks contribute most to students' learning,



and when it is appropriate to introduce these tasks so students gain new insights and skills.

Success in matching can be judged by student performance. The more errors that students make in working on the tasks, the greater the mismatch. Fewer errors mean that students are capable of working on the tasks, but not necessarily that a good match has been made, because the tasks may be too easy to contribute to learning.

In observing 17 second- and third-grade classes in math and language activities, Bennett and Desforges (1988) found that approximately 40% of all instructional tasks were matched, 28% were too difficult, and 26% were too easy (remaining tasks were not characterized). Children with different abilities had different experiences. High achievers were underestimated on 41% of the tasks assigned to them, and low achievers were overestimated on 44% of the tasks.

This pattern of over- and underestimation of tasks was found in another study of 21 third- to sixth-grade classes in math, language arts, and social studies. In this study 500 academic tasks were analyzed, and the extent of mismatching was greater for both high- and low-achieving students (Bennett, 1987).

In both studies teachers were more concerned with overestimating than underestimating tasks. In fact, no teacher saw any task as too easy. Actually, both types of mismatching lead to failure to meet the needs of the students. When tasks are underestimated, too many students are not learning up to potential, and they also may become bored. When tasks are overestimated, too many students fail to learn because they don't understand what they are being asked to do and they are likely to become discouraged. Furthermore, the research cited studied grades 2 to 6. If the assumption that matching becomes more difficult in the upper grades is correct, then mismatching may help explain why so many students drop out of school at adolescence.

Actually, understanding classroom tasks is not an "all-or-nothing" experience. Students seldom experience flashes of insight, rather they gain gradual understanding with further practice or explanation, as well as variability in tasks. High achievers more often than low achievers have a larger knowledge base in the subject so they quickly integrate relevant information pertaining to the tasks; moreover, they have more confidence in their ability to learn so they remain on task and work on various tasks for longer periods without giving up. In fact, some are even challenged by difficult tasks—but not so for low achievers. Low achievers are often frustrated by difficult tasks—and easily give up.

Understanding is rarely marked by systematic, across the board advances, especially in subjects where prerequisite information is needed—as



in math, foreign language, and advanced science. Instruction is misguided, according to Hiebert (1991, 1992), if it mistakes gradual understanding for the inability to understand and assumes rote practice or drill is the only viable approach. A good deal of concept learning, or high-order tasks, involves multidimensional understanding, not discrete or specific representations. A single task, repeated several times, may not represent well all features of a concept but rather capture only particular features. Thus, low-level tasks accompanied by concrete materials, often designed for low achievers, may have its limitations with higher end tasks since this instruction fails to capture all the representations needed for full understanding. Thus the cycle of low achievement may be repeated by the way classroom tasks (involving facts and skills) are introduced by teachers.

### Altering Instructional Variables

Researchers are focusing on elements of the classroom that teachers and schools can change, or what some call alterable environments for purposes of measuring the effect they have on student achievement. According to Slavin (1987a), there are four components of instruction: (a) *quality* of instruction, (b) *appropriate* level of instruction, (c) *incentives* to work on instructional tasks, and (d) *time* needed to learn tasks. He concludes that all four components must be adequate for instruction to be effective. For example, if the quality of instruction is low, it matters little how much students are motivated or how much time they have to learn. Each of the components "is like a link in a chain, and the chain is only as strong as its weakest link" (p. 92).

Bloom (1984) lists 19 teaching and instructional variables based on a summary of several hundred studies conducted during the past half century. His research synthesizes the magnitude of effect these variables have on student achievement. The five most effective ones in rank order are: (a) tutorial instruction (1:1 ratio), (b) instructional reinforcement, (c) feedback and correction, (d) cues and explanations, and (e) student class participation. The next most effective variables for student achievement are (f) improved reading and study skills, (g) cooperative learning, (h) graded homework, (i) classroom morale, and (j) initial cognitive prerequisites.

Bloom concludes that the *quality* and *quantity* of instruction (teacher performance and time devoted to instruction) are the most important factors related to teaching and learning. Moreover, most of the instructional variables that are effective tend to be emphasized in individualized and small-group instruction. Bloom assumes that two or three

variables "used together contribute more learning than any one of them alone, especially those in the first five rankings."

According to Walberg's (1984, 1986) review of hundreds of studies, nine general factors influence student achievement: (a) ability, (b) stage of development, (c) motivation, (d) instructional quality, (e) instructional quantity, (f) home environment, (g) classroom social group, (h) peer group, and (i) use of out-of-school time. Walberg lists 23 variables under instructional quality. The variables are similar to Bloom's. For Walberg, teacher reinforcement (reward for correct performance) has the largest overall effect on student achievement, slightly more than one standard deviation; it ranked 2nd with Bloom. Reading training (programs designed to help students improve reading) was ranked 3rd by Walberg and 6th by Bloom. The variable labeled "cues, participation, and feedback" was ranked 4th by Walberg; it was split in two and ranked 3rd and 4th by Bloom. Graded homework and cooperative learning ranked 5th and 6th for Walberg and 9th and 10th for Bloom. The only major differences within the top rankings are tutorial instruction, which ranked 1st with Bloom and 10th with Walberg; and instructional acceleration, which Bloom did not rank and was 2nd with Walberg.

In a related study, after assessing 228 variables associated with learning, Wang and Walberg (1991) conclude that the quality of instruction accounts for 16.5% of the variance related to student learning, that the classroom environment can explain 14%, school policies another 12%, and instructional time another 8%. All these factors are alterable. The remaining variance of learning (.60) deals with hard to change factors such as parent and peer influence, present cognitive abilities and motivation, and student and community demographics.

The general conclusion is that the classroom environment, that is, both the quality and quantity of instruction, can be modified for the students' benefit. The instructional variables discussed by Bloom, Walberg, and Wang provide excellent guidelines for improving instruction. They seem to be effective across school districts, ethnicity and gender, grade level, classroom size, and subject area. They deal mainly with improving the process, not increasing inputs or spending. Most important, they call attention to classroom variables that can be altered, rather than to such practices as IQ testing or to various cognitive deficits of students—which reflects negativism and hopelessness.

### Ability Grouping

The most common means of dealing with heterogeneity is to assign students to classes and programs according to ability. In high schools students

may be tracked into college preparatory, vocational or technical, and general programs. In many middle and junior high schools, students are sometimes assigned to a class by ability and stay with that class as it moves from teacher to teacher. In a few cases, and more often in elementary schools, students are assigned to a class on the basis of a special characteristic, such as being gifted, handicapped, or bilingual. Elementary schools may use several types of ability grouping. In addition to the types used in the secondary schools, they may assign students to a heterogeneous class and then regroup them homogeneously by ability in selected areas, such as reading and mathematics.

Despite widespread criticism of between-class ability grouping (separate classes for students of different abilities), teachers overwhelmingly support the idea because of the ease in teaching a homogeneous group. Parents of high-achieving students perceive tracking to be in their best interests. Reality is also a consideration. By the time students are in middle school, the achievement and motivation gaps between the top third and lowest third achievers have grown extremely wide, and teachers often cannot accommodate this range of student abilities. Hence, the norms of the school culture resist detracking (Oakes, 1985; Ornstein, 1995a).

The primary criticism of separating students by ability is that it results in low expectations for low-ability students, lowered self-esteem, less instruction time, less homework, and less learning—even worse, a compounding and stigmatizing effect on low achievers (Good, 1987; Hastings, 1992). The negative consequences of these practices disproportionately affect minorities and female students in math classrooms. Given our democratic norms and the need to deal with diversity in schools (and society), the argument is made that differences in abilities can become assets in classrooms rather than liabilities (Oakes & Lipton, 1992; Wheelock, 1992).

Some researchers have found that high-achieving students benefit from such grouping, but this does not compensate for the losses for students in low-ability groups. When Slavin (1987b) weighed the outcomes of all students (high and low) in ability-grouped classes, “the effects . . . cluster closely-around zero” (p. 112). However, instruction in mixed-ability, untracked classes more closely resembles instruction in high-achieving and middle-track classes than instruction in low-track classes, so the mixed-ability grouping tends to benefit low-ability students (Oakes, 1985; Oakes & Lipton, 1992). Similarly, average-ability students who are grouped in high-ability classes achieve significantly higher grades and higher scores on achievement tests than do their cohorts who are placed in average classes, since their teachers have higher expectations for them and the content is more advanced (Mason, 1992).



Within-class ability grouping, on the other hand, has been assessed as effective for all students. Moreover, students in heterogeneous classes who are regrouped homogeneously learn more than students in classes that do not use such grouping. This is especially true in reading and mathematics, for which within-class grouping is common, as well as for low-achieving students (Gamorau, 1992; Oakes, 1987).

The research data suggest that a small number of within-class groups (two or three) is better than a large number, permitting more monitoring by and feedback from the teacher and less seatwork time and transition time (Heibert, 1983; Webb & Farivar, 1994). For example, in a class of three ability groups students spend approximately two-thirds of the time doing seatwork without direct supervision, but with four groups they spend three-quarters of the class time doing seatwork without the teacher's monitoring of their work.

When within-class ability groups are formed, students proceed at different paces on different materials. The tasks and assignments tend to be more flexible than those in between-class groups. Teachers also tend to try to increase the tempo of instruction and the amount of time for instruction in low-achieving within-class groups to bring students closer to the class mean (Slavin, 1989; Yarworth, 1988). There is less stigma for low-ability groups in within-class grouping than in between-class grouping, since grouping is only for part of the day and the class is integrated the rest of the time. Regrouping plans tend to be more flexible than in between-class groups, because moving students from group to group is less disruptive within a class than between classes. Finally, regrouping is most beneficial when it is based on achievement levels which takes place frequently so students can be regrouped during the school term, and when teachers adapt their instruction to the level and pace of the students' abilities and needs.

### Concluding Guidelines for Teaching Whole Groups

When teaching whole groups or regular classes of 20 or more students, it is important to start well and on time. The teacher needs to set the tone for good classroom management and make good use of allocated time. Here are some practical suggestions to get the instructional ball rolling on the right path.

1. *Get your room ready.* If possible be in the room before the class arrives. Your appearance helps to start on time.
2. *Be sure the room conditions are appropriate.* Check the lighting, heat, ventilation, and so forth. Be sure the desks and chairs are in proper order.



If there are closets in the room, be sure they are not gaping wide open. Check to see if the chalkboard is clear of “leftovers” from a previous period. (However, honor a colleague’s request to save material so long as it is on the side.)

3. *Have your materials ready.* Attendance book, lesson plans, instructional materials, extra pencils or pens for students who may need them, chalkboard eraser, and other instructional materials (charts, pictures, maps) that you may need should be readily available.

4. *When students arrive.* Be near the door (do not block it) to help direct middle grade or junior high school students to their seats; they need more controls or structure than high school students. Be sure students go to their assigned seats. If necessary, remind students that there is a homework assignment or review question to copy.

5. *Close the door when the late bell rings.* It is time to start. Don’t wait for stragglers. If students arrive late, admit them but mark them late if they do not have a late pass. Take up the matter after class, if necessary, but not during class time.

6. *Give an assignment.* Obtain full attention. Start the students on a review exercise, warm-up drill, or set of problems. Explain instructions clearly. And be sure they begin the assignment.

7. *Check attendance: attend to clerical routines.* Now is the time to deal with clerical paperwork, attendance and late forms, and special notes or forms. These chores should take no more than 5 minutes.

8. *Attend to special student needs.* While the students are completing the assignment, attend to special student requests or problems. Attend to one student at a time; otherwise, you may lose control.

9. *Circulate among students.* This bolsters classroom management and ensures students are prepared with books, pens, assignments, and the like.

10. *Check notebooks, homework, or other written work.* If time permits, check to see that students have their notebooks, homework, texts with them. Remind them that notebooks (homework assignments) will be frequently checked.

11. *Review assignment.* When most students seem finished with the assignment, start reviewing it. Make sure students understand the assignment. If needed, take extra time to discuss or reteach specific aspects of the assignment.

12. *Enforce written standards.* If the school, department, or you personally, has a specified method of procedure for students to write in notebooks, to submit homework or to do warm-up assignments, enforce it with the class.

13. *Attend to academic tasks.* Teach! This includes discussions, questions, explanations, demonstrations, projects, reports, and practice sessions.

14. *Summarize the lesson.* Learn to pace your lesson. As the period ends, check your watch. Remind students classwork is to continue until you give the word that the class has ended.

15. *Dismiss the class.* Some schools provide a warning bell. Don't permit students to dismiss themselves, but don't keep them too long after the end-of-the period bell (since they must report to another class on time).

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# Twelve High School 11th Grade Students Examine Their Best Teachers

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*Nancy McCabe*

## Abstract

This article describes interviews with 12 11th graders (Juniors) in regard to the most effective teachers students have experienced in their high school years. Students who were interviewed responded to questions posed to them. Examples of these are: Who is the best teacher you have had? On what did you base this decision? How did he/she teach the subject? What characteristics are striking and memorable about this teacher? Can you recall an experience, example, or situation that illustrates this? The responses by the students were refreshing and honest in a time of teacher reform, with its propensity for addressing cognitive aspects of teaching. These juniors remind us not only of the importance of the competency of the teacher, but, perhaps more importantly, the persona of the teacher.

## The Setting

We often hear in education that at the elementary level, learning is more student/child-centered and high school learning is more subject-centered. While this may be true to a certain extent, the students who were interviewed gave testimony to the importance of the teacher addressing and attending to both the cognitive and affective dimensions of their lives. While this is not a new idea, it is a crucial reminder to educators that learning is not a technical enterprise—it is a human endeavor in which the best teachers know that students have both intellectual needs as well as those that deal with feelings, attitudes, and values.

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A high school in a suburb of Chicago, Illinois was chosen because of the fine reputation it holds as a truly quality school. In all areas, it strives for excellence—in academics, extracurriculars, sports, service, and its overall valuing of education and commitment to growth. It is a school with vision, with administration, faculty, and students interacting to create, shape, and plan this vision. In my interviews with 12 Junior boys and girls, of various ethnic backgrounds and academic levels, it was apparent that these students could speak well to what educators should and could look like now and in the future. Not only did school and their best teachers help prepare them for college, more importantly, they felt prepared to live productive, meaningful and humane lives in a changing, global society. Most of the students are academically and socially involved in their school; most of the teachers they cited are also active participants in the life of the school. They relate well to students and enliven the learning community through their concern for both the affective as well as the cognitive experience of students. A salient feature throughout all the conversations with the students was that they felt known and respected by their teachers and wanted to learn because this teacher cared not only about the subject matter, but about them as well. Talking with students from the most accelerated level, the Academy, to students in Honors and Regular classes, they regarded their teacher's sense of humor and enthusiasm, furthermore, as very important qualities of the best teacher they had. Not only is it beneficial for high school students to be in a classroom with a teacher who possesses knowledge, but also to be with a teacher who possesses a repertoire of instructional methods and interpersonal skills. Let us take a look at these students who reflected on and spoke about the best teachers they had. From their candid insights, we can learn or perhaps reaffirm what high school students believe and value.

### Tim

Tim came to this school as a sophomore, is involved in sports, and plans to join the Marine Corps after graduation. It was challenging for him as for the others to decide on which teacher was the best, as this school "has so many fine teachers," he said. He chose to speak about an English teacher he had his sophomore year. Tim was this teacher's lab assistant as well, and he commented: "He was not strict as alot of teachers are. He never would say sit down and keep quiet. His was a free-flowing class. Everyone benefited. He was open and he listened to you. He cared—cared about everybody. You could go to him anytime. I really learned."

When I asked Tim what kind of teaching method this teacher used he responded that he used a variety, but mostly discussion. He added: "He

was a young teacher who could understand the problems of high school students and he had a sense of humor—definitely. He treated you on a person-to-person level, no lower than him. He was like a friend who made a difference.”

When asked what he remembered most about this teacher, Tim reflected for a moment and responded: “*The Old Man and The Sea*—he got everyone to understand it and all the symbolism.”

Tim’s teacher stressed affective as well as cognitive learning. He was sensitive to student feelings and needs while fostering higher order conceptual thinking skills.

### Pam

Pam is involved in band, softball, and theater. She values all that her school has to offer, especially elective courses and knowledgeable teachers. When asked to decide upon her best teacher, she wanted to speak of two. The first one was a music teacher: “He had high expectations. I respected him alot. I could talk to him anytime. Without his enthusiasm (and the music department’s) we would not have taken first in the California musical competition. He believed we could do well and we did.

Pam also cited her physical education teacher and coach, a young teacher: “It was her positive attitude. She was behind us all the way; and her enthusiasm was incredible too. We had a six game losing streak and she got us up, and we ended up second in the conference. Everyone knows her and respects her. She could relate well to students.” Pam affirmed an important point—connection, a relationship between teacher and students was apparent. Again, this was a teacher Pam felt she could talk to anytime. The teacher related as a person and Pam found her friendly, enthused, positive, and understanding.

### José

Jose came to this school as a sophomore and was grateful for the many fine teachers he had and felt that most of them do care. He mentioned his English teacher, however, as the best teacher: “When I came here I could not speak any English; she cared about me.” In asking José how she cared, he commented: “Not just about me—she cared about everybody. She explained things to us; not just about English but also about American society. She was challenging; we did alot of practice and exercises with groups. She was a very good person. She did not care if you liked her—she only wanted to help you—to teach.” When asked what he will remember most about her, his eyes brightened and said, “her smile.”

Adjusting to American life, school, and culture, Jose saw this teacher as someone who not only helped him learn English, but as a "very good person." Indeed, she understood not only his cognitive needs but also affective ones during this important transitional time in his life.

### Matthew

Matthew would like to teach one day. He participates in cross-country and loves running. In being asked to describe the best teacher he has had and how he came to this decision, Matthew spoke with high regard about his sophomore English teacher:

"He was a good teacher who made learning fun. We had a lot of activities. English is not my strong subject and we had simulation games, group projects. We could talk about anything with him. We were like one big family. We had to do a persuasive speech. Instead of telling us it's due in two weeks, he helped us everyday. I am more confident in English and my friends feel this way. I still talk to him. He helped me to write better. He had a great sense of humor. He cared. He related to you. He's a great guy and treated each one like he was your kid. I could approach him about personal problems too." This teacher helped Matthew not only air academic concerns but personal ones as well. He not only taught him how to write (a challenging task for any teacher), but he made learning enjoyable, fun. He not only gave them relevant assignments, he took them through the process of writing as well. Matthew touched on a key point. In saying that class was like "one big family," it expresses the bond, the support, the closeness the class shared—a learning community of 22 students.

### Tom and Sarah

Tom and Sarah did a joint interview due to time limitations of their schedules. These were two very busy and involved students whose energy was boundless and insights were provocative. Tom was active in Student Council the last 3 years and was recently elected to be President of Student Council the next year. He is also in gymnastics and Key Club. Key Club is a service organization helping people in the community such as older persons and Special Olympics. He cited a teacher he had sophomore year. He was the first student who acknowledged that this teacher was not one everybody liked. However, many students respected him. As Tom said, "He seemed to know everything." I asked Tom if he could illustrate this: "He was big into symbolism. We spent weeks studying gothic cathedrals—had many slide presentations. He pointed out the



universal characteristics cathedrals share and I could hardly believe it. Then I went to Notre Dame and saw their cathedral and everything we learned fit—it was all there. He didn't tell you how to think but that you need to think and see there are other ways of looking at things and the world. He opened up ways of looking at things. He was about middle-aged and was very discussion-oriented. I loved that and to debate in class. He would draw on the board, use visuals, discuss and wave his arms alot. We did an excessive amount of reading and we always had many tests. I thought he had a great sense of humor. I still see him and we still discuss and laugh."

This teacher attended to students' different styles of leaning. He was respected by students, and Tom saw some very special qualities in him which aided his growth as a learner. Whereas Tom saw meaning in the gothic cathedral lesson, Sarah was disinterested in all the details. The same person, while affecting Sarah differently, influenced Tom's life and the need to look at things in other ways.

Sarah chose her English teacher whom she had for freshman English and language studies. She enthusiastically spoke of him: "I loved him. He had a great sense of humor. He not only knew you as a student but knew what your interests were and how many brothers and sisters you had—things like that. If you know a teacher better, you're going to listen more—you want to be involved in the class more and discussions. "

Tom reinforced Sarah's favorable attitude toward this teacher: "He was very human. He sort of broke the stereotype kids have about teachers." When asked what he meant, he replied: "You know—I realized teachers just don't go home and read books." I would see him at Cubs' games or pass me in my car on the way to school and kiddingly try to race me."

Sarah said: "We knew he had a wife and kids." Sarah's point is noteworthy. This teacher realized students had a life outside of school, was interested in their lives as they realized he, too, had a life outside of school—he conveyed himself as very human and humorous and this touched the hearts and minds of students.

Tom said that he was voted #1 funniest teacher in the school: "He could say the funniest things in a monotone voice." Students respect him and want to attain to the high expectation he has for them.

Tom and Sarah felt fortunate to have had the opportunity to have this person as their teacher. They also added he is a published author and is "really involved in and loves what he is doing. Kids don't want to like a class if the teacher doesn't."

This stimulating discussion helped me to affirm once more the significance of the teacher at the high school level truly liking, even loving what he/she is doing and the profound influence this imparts to students. The

persona of this teacher came shining through. The positive relationship this teacher established with his students had an important impact on their learning. Affirming students' abilities and worth influenced their opinion and motivation to learn. Tom and Sarah excitedly burst out saying: "You wanted to learn."

Gina

Gina is President of the International Club and is interested in international relations or marine biology as a major in college. She is a serious and delightful student. She, too, expressed a warmth for her best teacher, though she claims that her school has many. Not surprisingly at this point, she cited this same special person who teaches language studies. Ironically, even though the class was not in her future major area, she commented:

"He loves what he does. He respects students and does not underestimate their curiosity to learn. He has great expectations and brings life to vocabulary. He incorporates it into real life. With novels and plays we analyze symbols and metaphors—all the good stuff. I feel fortunate to have a teacher who is also an author. We have daily quizzes and unit tests. Everyone is engaged in the class. He values what we have to say. If a teacher does not have respect for you, the teacher does not deserve ours." When asked what she will remember most about him, she paused: "His personality."

Gina's comments about this teacher reinforces a significant characteristic regarding an effective teacher as one who can orchestrate the cognitive and affective elements of a learning situation to flow together. Furthermore, respecting students and believing in them maximizes their opportunity to learn.

Kathy

Kathy participates in sports as well as in the variety show and musicals at school. She is a lively and caring person and is the youngest of 11 children. She also is active in her youth group at church. Her future interests lie in education and/or interior design. She felt positive about most of the teachers she has had. She, too, cited her language arts teacher—the same person who has been acknowledged by some of the others. She spoke vividly about his teaching performance. She appreciated that he did not favor guys over girls and vice-versa. Some teachers are gender-biased—he is not: "Guys like him too—he's awesome—he gets along well with all the students. You know what you're supposed to do. He

does a really good job. He's like a friend too. If he knows we are going to have a game, he always wishes us good luck. He's interested in us and that makes a difference. He's more of a person. He understands your life." Asked if she could give an example of this, she responded: "I was in the spring musical and we had a big paper due. I did not have it done and he understood how time-consuming the musical was; I didn't get home from rehearsals until 11 PM and he said I could hand it in Monday. He'd rather have me do a good job and get it in a little late. He can be firm but flexible too."

Kathy spoke of his innovativeness and creativity: "He is entertaining. He helps us expand our vocabulary and prepare us for the SAT test. We don't just memorize words and definitions. He created a word baseball game which is competitive and fun at the same time. You can be very creative in assignments. He asked us to write a paper on a subject and find and use terms in the paper relating to it. I chose interior design and learned alot. He's a super kind of guy."

Kathy expressed qualities that have been thematic so far. Not only did this teacher who was "more of a person" recognize the cognitive needs of students but addressed their affective ones as well. He loved his subject and students did too; he taught in an entertaining way, a subject such as vocabulary, which animated his pupils' learning. He had a repertoire of strategies to convey his love of subject matter to students. However, the greatest skill was in "being interested in everyone"; the persona of this teacher impacted Kathy and others.

### Maura

Maura participates in swimming and various clubs at school as well as service ones. She chose to talk about why her U.S. History teacher was the best teacher she has experienced. "He's funny, flexible, and does not do the same things everyday. One method I liked was the fish bowl method. The class is seated around 3 students in the middle. Three extra chairs are in the middle. Students who want to present an idea or ask a questions can sit in these chairs. He's creative, fun. One important point about him is that he tries to get to know you." She also cited her language arts teacher—this same special person who made vocabulary so much fun. He had a lot of variety: "If a teacher just talks to you—you're bored," she added.

These statements illustrate that high school students appreciate a teacher who employs a variety of pedagogical skills in the classroom. Moreover, students who are actively engaged in the learning process not



only learn more, but also develop more positive feelings about themselves.

### Amy and Laura

Amy and Laura did a joint discussion because of their schedules. They are friends also and dialoguing about their best teachers flowed easily. They were eager to talk. Both students are in the Academy. I asked them to comment on the Academy. Amy explained: "It is an accelerated, select program; you apply before Freshman year. It integrates studies in English, social studies and foreign language. You take a foreign language for 4 years and have the same teacher. For example, I am taking Spanish and I have the same Spanish teacher all 4 years. We have three classes in the morning and then attend classes in the afternoon with the other students in the school." She mentioned how important the Academy has been to her. There she learned how to write term papers creatively as well. She and Laura value how English and History are correlated. Reading *The Great Gatsby*, for example, while studying this time period in History makes learning and understanding them fit together. Amy and Laura both reflected with great admiration about their English teacher last year, who is retiring this year: "She knew so much. It was like receiving wisdom. She loved us. Tension was released when she walked in the room. She was so enthusiastic. When she read Shakespeare we learned to love it too. She loved teaching here. She was like a grandmother—we could tell her anything."

These two students in an advanced program spoke of a teacher who not only knew her subject area well, but knew her students well. What a great tribute to a teacher whose students could say of her, "She loved us." Her sense of nurturing, support, and enthusiasm caught on like wildfire. Students' needs for a fulfilling learning experience were met and they grew intellectually, socially, and emotionally. The interdisciplinary learning program enriched the students' educational perspective as they integrated concepts from various subject areas. This teacher's creative and humanistic approach in teaching encouraged students to discover their own gifts and talents.

### Paul

Paul is a lively fellow who has many interests: student council, theater, sports, drawing, singing, and outside of school he serves as a counselor in a summer day camp. His impressions of school are very favorable, and Paul is one who appreciates the many courses the school offers: "I



took a sports medicine class, most high schools don't offer that and I plan to take a very special class Senior Year—Simulation in Space." He values the amazing opportunities school offers. Discussing the best teacher at school, he chose his Sophomore biology teacher: "I was not very good at math or science and I got an A in his class." This teacher conveyed to students that learning and enjoying it can go hand in hand. "Everybody laughed, activities were fun and you still learned. I looked forward to biology. If he was teaching a formula he could make it fun. He was enthused, flexible, not rigid—you wanted to listen. He put life in perspective. Before taking a test he would say, "do your best." You wanted to learn and no one failed. He would help you with problems. I still talk to him in his office when he is free. Sometimes he would start the class with a motto or quote."

This teacher possessed a strong rapport with students; he also invited students to apply learning to life situations. The process of learning a subject in which Paul didn't feel strong increased his self-esteem. Moreover, he began to improve in achievement. The teacher's belief and confidence in his student's abilities enhanced the supportive, positive, and enjoyable milieu of the class. Paul realized, also, that learning can be fun.

### Discussion

The characteristics of the best teachers these 12 students discussed are intertwined throughout their discussions. They are teachers who not only care about their subject matter but about students as well. They integrate the cognitive and affective domains of teaching and learning. They are interested in their students as persons as well. They respect and are respected by their students. They relate well and take time to get to know them. They are positive role models and have high expectations yet are flexible. They engage students in a variety of learning activities and students feel a connection with them.

At the high school level, it is characteristic of effective teachers to not only know their subject well but to convey enthusiasm as well. This may be the greatest motivator on the secondary level. The best teachers cited belonged to no particular age group, so this did not affect their decisions. Students perceived the best teachers as those who came across as very human, yet very professional at the same time. They believed in students and students wanted to learn. They were organized and prepared. They were subject-centered as well as student-centered teachers.

A point worth noting is the predominance of students citing English teachers as their best ones. In an overt way, they addressed the cognitive

and affective needs of students. They engaged students with the subject matter as well as with each other. By providing stimulating places for students to learn, these teachers left an imprint on their students' lives. They enlivened the classroom through a variety of instructional methods, and through their enthusiasm and caring about students' feelings and thoughts. They positively influenced student growth and learning.

In a holistic way, the best teachers could also be a friend and create a sense of community and bonding within the class. Students need a safe, supportive space in which to dialogue and learn, and these teachers provided this. As one student said: "He cared—cared about what everybody thought." A recurring quality of the best teachers is that of having a sense of humor. The students valued this as part of the classroom milieu and enjoyed, even looked forward to the teacher's class. So much of the literature and discussion today on education and learning has a tendency to be technical and objective. While this perspective is needed—talking with 12 Juniors at one of the best schools in Illinois (defined by academic performance) helped put some things in perspective. If more teachers could take time to care about what students are thinking and feeling, education would be a more purposeful and enjoyable enterprise for all.

# Assessing Effective Teaching

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Bruce W. Tuckman

## Abstract

Effective teaching is defined as either that which (a) causes students to learn and grow, or (b) is accepted by teachers and other educational professionals. Both definitions yield lists of teaching behaviors that can be assessed by trained classroom observers using performance-based evaluation. Such observation systems are not necessarily either valid or reliable measures of effective teaching, due to problems of both specification of behaviors and quality of observations. To a certain extent, both types of problems can be lessened using student judges. An alternative approach is to have teachers construct portfolios, but this also raises issues of validity and reliability. If the purpose of assessment is not to force accountability on teachers, but to help them improve, a self-improvement system using the Tuckman Teacher Feedback Form is described and recommended.

## Assessing Effective Teaching

In order to assess effective teaching, you must first decide or determine what effective teaching is. Herein lies the rub. Not only is there no universal agreement about what effective teaching is, but there is considerable controversy over its description. Even then, if everyone were to agree on the components or elements of effective teaching, a second controversy would emerge on how these elements are to be measured. In fact, it is difficult to separate the two issues, specification and measurement, since determining the first seems to predetermine the resolution of the second.

Let us begin, therefore, with a statement that is likely to receive a high degree of agreement, namely that *effective teachers are those teachers whose*

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*students learn and grow the most.* Therefore, to assess teaching effectiveness, all we need to do is measure learning and growth across all of the students in the class. There are at least two problems in going on from here. First, there are factors other than the teacher that affect learning and growth, including most notably the point at which students start, that is, how much learning and growing they have already done, and out-of-school influences such as parents and environment.

The second problem is in measuring student learning and growth across a finite period of time. What measures should one use for this purpose? In a large-scale effort called process-product research, undertaken during the past 2 decades (see, e.g., Evertson et al., 1993; Good & Brophy, 1991; Porter & Brophy, 1988), student learning and growth was measured using standardized achievement tests of reading and mathematics. This is likely to result in a model of effective teaching that may not generalize to subjects like music, art, special education, physical education, or even social studies and science. Moreover, many of the studies were done in elementary grades in big city schools further limiting the generality of the results.

The model of effective teaching that resulted from process-product research is one that emphasizes review, seatwork, homework, practice, and student performance appraisal such as the approach proposed by Good, Grouws, and Ebermeier (1983). It represents what has been referred to as *direct instruction*. It is a vastly different "effective teaching" approach than that referred to as constructivist or discovery learning, and might be termed *indirect instruction*. Hence, linking the definition of effective teaching to student outcomes will lead to great variability as a function of what student outcomes are chosen as the basis of the definition.

Let us consider a second approach for defining effective teaching, namely *having teachers and perhaps other educational professionals collectively specify those behaviors that constitute effective teaching*. In the State of Florida, for example, 27 such behaviors have been specified, ranging from the application of knowledge of individual differences to meeting students' needs to using computers (Florida Department of Education, 1993). While such a list can be said to have face validity (meaning that it looks good), there is no way to establish its empirical validity since it is not tied to student outcomes. Moreover, how can anyone use such a list to reliably judge teaching effectiveness, since some of the statements are vague, and most represent difficult judgments to make, given the rapidity of events in the typical classroom.

Both of the above two approaches, consensual judgments by teachers and the observation of teachers whose students achieve best on



standardized tests, produce the same kind of outcome, a list of effective teaching behaviors. Ideally, this list, however produced, includes behaviors that are both specific and measurable, making possible what Medley, Coker, and Soar (1984) call the *measurement-based* evaluation of teacher behavior. It has also been referred to as *performance-based*.

### *Performance-Based Evaluation*

This approach has been used on a wide scale in a number of States, primarily in the South, with the most recent attention being focused on North Carolina and its Teacher Performance Appraisal Inventory (TPAI; Riner, 1991; Stacey, Holdzkom, & Kuligowski, 1989). This instrument was developed on the basis of process-product research and endorsed by a subset of teachers in the State (Holdzkom, 1991). Its use, however, has not been without controversy. A significant issue regarding such instruments has been raised by Milner (1991) who was concerned that the TPAI was doing more than merely assessing teaching in North Carolina; it was shaping it. In a study of teaching behaviors opposite to (but presumably as important as) those measured by the TPAI (suppositional ones like supposing and conjecturing in contrast to propositional ones like proposing, putting forth, and informing), Milner found a marked reduction in occurrence. Teachers tended to increasingly teach in ways that conformed to the system being used to evaluate them. Not surprisingly, assessment practices influence teaching techniques, a finding not all find comforting.

Another example of a system for performance-based evaluation is the one currently at use in Florida, called the Florida Performance Measurement System. It is shown in Figure 1.

The performance-based approach to assessing teaching effectiveness has an authenticity to it that appears quite attractive at least at first blush, so much so that it has even been proposed as a basis for teacher licensing (Murnane, 1991). Current multiple-choice licensing tests have been found to lack the power to predict subsequent teaching performance in its variety of manifestations (Haney, Madaus, & Kreitzer, 1987), so alternative approaches are worth considering. As in many professions that require traditional tests for entry, minority candidates may be discriminated against, and considerable time may be spent learning facts that are unrelated to actual on-the-job performance.

Such a performance-based approach for assessing teaching is being developed by The Educational Testing Service covering four content areas: (a) planning, (b) instructing, (c) managing, and (d) evaluating (ETS, 1990). Another similar approach has been developed by Collins and Frederiksen

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DOMAIN	EFFECTIVE INDICATORS		Freq	Freq	INEFFECTIVE INDICATORS
ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTION	1. Begins instruction promptly				Delays
	2. Handles materials in an orderly manner				Does not handle materials systematically
	3. Orients students to classwork/ maintains academic focus				Allows talk/activity unrelated to subject
	4. Conducts beginning/ending review				
	5. Questions: academic comprehension/lesson development	asks single factual			Poses multiple questions asked as one
		requires analysis/reasons			Poses nonacademic questions/procedural questions
	6. Recognizes response/amplifies/ gives corrective feedback				Ignores student or response/expresses sarcasm, disgust, harshness
	7. Gives specific academic praise				Uses general, nonspecific praise
	8. Provides for practice				Extends discourge, changes topic/no practice
	9. Gives directions/assigns/checks comprehension of assignment/ gives feedback				Gives inadequate directions/no homework/no feedback
PRESENTATION OF SUBJECT MATTER	10. Circulates and assists students				Remains at desk/circulates inadequately
	11. Treats attributes/examples/nonexamples				Gives definition or examples only
	12. Discusses cause-effect/uses linking works/applies law or principle				Discusses either cause or effect only/ uses no linking word(s)
	13. States and applies academic rule				Does not state or apply academic rule
VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION	14. Develops criteria/evidence re: value judgment				States value judgment w/no criteria/evidence
	15. Emphasizes important points				
	16. Expresses enthusiasm/challenges students				
	17.				Uses vague/scrambled discourse
	18.				Uses grating/monotone/inaudible talk
MANAGEMENT OF STUDENT CONDUCT	19. Uses body behavior that shows interest/smiles/gestures				Frowns/deadpan/lethargic
	20. Stops misconduct				Doesn't stop misconduct/desists punitively
	21. Maintains instructional momentum				Loses momentum/fragments/overdwells

Figure 1. The Florida Teacher Performance Measurement System.

(1989) that focuses on teacher-student interaction reflecting learning, thinking, listening, involving and helping, with the teacher functioning as “coach.” Trained observers watch videotapes of teachers at work with students.

As in the previous discussion of the TPAI, the major task of new performance-based evaluation will be to fit the approach to an accurate, current model of teaching effectiveness, while making it flexible enough at the same time to cover the many settings, situations, and students for which teaching occurs. In other words, the instrumentation used to judge teachers and potential teachers must be a *valid* reflection of that ambiguous concept, effective teaching.

No less important is that the performance-based approach be *reliable*. We have all watched judges of athletic performance such as figure skating provide assessments of a given performer that not only vary widely from our own personal assessment, but from one another as well. The use of instant replay has made us keenly aware of the imperfection of human judgment, no matter how well-trained and experienced the judge. The scoring of essay tests and writing samples is consistently subject to error, regardless of the amount of training provided to the scorers (Tuckman, 1993), and essay tests and writing samples do not move around and talk like teachers do. Who is to guarantee that the judgments of teaching performance on which much may be at stake will be even reasonably accurate?

In using such a performance-based evaluation program in Salt Lake City to determine recipients of merit pay, it was found that peers’ and supervisors’ ratings varied systematically from one another. (Outside observers were not used because of excessive cost.) To compensate for this problem, multiple observers were used and outlying evaluations were discarded (Farnsworth, Debenham, & Smith (1991). Of course, the training and use of observers from within the system is itself a costly and time-consuming process.

Some of the time and cost associated with having observers make coded records of actual teacher behaviors can be avoided by using simpler and more global ratings of teaching style after observing the teacher for a period of time. Evidence for the validity of such observer ratings of teaching can be found in the work of Esfandiari and Kourilsky (1991) using an instrument I developed called the Tuckman Teacher Feedback Form (TTFF; Tuckman, 1991; Tuckman, in press). The 30-item form, based on an interpersonal model of teaching, uses ratings to measure five dimensions of teaching: organized demeanor, dynamism, flexibility, warmth and acceptance, and creativity. Esfandiari and Kourilsky found that student teachers who perceived their classroom conditions to pose



problems of classroom management or creative teaching were rated by their supervisors as being lower in organizational demeanor, dynamism, and creativity than student teachers who did not perceive such problems in their classroom environment. In other words, those student teachers who perceived problems changed their style to accommodate to the problems, and this change was perceived by their supervisors.

If the major shortcoming of the system for assessing effective teaching is the availability of observers, or the cost and time associated with training them, then there is an alternative, namely to make use of those observers on hand. This brings us to student evaluation, that is, the evaluation of teaching by students.

### *Student Evaluation*

Student evaluation of teaching is common at the collegiate level, but rare at the K-12 level. It may be hard to ask elementary students to make sophisticated judgments about teacher behavior, but there are kinds of judgments they can make. As students get older, the level of sophistication of the judgments they can make goes up. However, the nature of the judgments students of any age are typically called upon to make are considerably different from those used in performance-based evaluations. In most performance-based evaluations, observers are typically required to keep track of the occurrence of prespecified teaching behaviors, such as asking questions, or admonishing misconduct. These judgments require intense concentration on each and every movement the teacher makes and word the teacher utters. In contrast, student judgments are more global ratings, not merely of teacher behavior, but of the effect of that behavior on the student. Therefore, student ratings are, by their very nature, subjective.

Student ratings are considered by many teachers to be nothing more than a measure of popularity. But such ratings can go well beyond the notion of mere liking for the teacher; they can be descriptive, and hence a reflection of teaching effectiveness. Brekelmans, Wubbels and Creton (1990), for example, studied the relationship between ninth grade students' ratings of the interactional behavior of their physics teachers and students' cognitive test outcomes. Those teachers perceived by students as being stricter, more leader-like, and less uncertain produced higher student scores on physics achievement tests than teachers perceived to be the opposite. Student satisfaction with instruction, a measure that can only be validly obtained from students themselves, was found to be directly related to the perceived cooperativeness of the teacher, and inversely related to the degree to which teachers reported themselves to be dissatisfied with teaching.



One might also argue that student assessments of teaching are more “authentic” (to use a word of great currency in educational evaluation) than those of outside observers, since students are the clients of the system, and their satisfaction is important. Also, students see their teachers for extended periods of time, viewing both their “highs” and their “lows,” while outside observers may be viewing a performance put on for their benefit.

### *Portfolios*

A portfolio is a “container” for storing and displaying evidence of a teacher’s knowledge and skills. It typically includes samples of students’ work, teacher-developed plans and materials, videotaped teaching episodes, and teacher-written reflections on their own teaching, thereby reflecting the important activities that take place in the classroom (Wolf, 1991). A portfolio is intended to be a dynamic portrayal of teacher performance based on multiple sources of evidence (Valencia, McGinley and Pearson, 1990). But the portfolio strategy for assessing effective teaching is fraught with problems, since they are difficult to construct, store, and score, and are vulnerable to misrepresentation (Shulman, 1988). To try to overcome or avoid these problems, considerable structuring of the task is recommended.

Wolf (1991) describes a project in which teachers were instructed in portfolio construction. They were told to include teaching artifacts accompanied by reflective accounts of their meaning. Teachers’ statements were found to be highly descriptive, but not sufficiently analytical or reflective to be useful. Also, presentation formats varied greatly, as did the amounts and kinds of evidence included. Overall, teachers found the task of constructing portfolios to be highly taxing. In addition, because of the uniqueness of each portfolio, scoring was difficult, and required many guidelines and considerable training of scorers. Given the problems, the practicality of this approach on a widescale basis seems quite limited.

As a college professor, I have personally experienced the portfolio approach as part of my department’s annual review of faculty members for merit raises, and as a candidate for both university and national teaching awards. I have also been on and chaired my department’s and college’s evaluation committee, requiring me to read and evaluate the portfolios of my colleagues. Even with a high degree of structure and specificity, I can attest to the difficulty in both constructing and evaluating portfolios, particularly in the area of teaching effectiveness. Ironically, in this area, we have come to rely more on student ratings of teachers than on any other entry in the portfolio.

### *Why Assess Teaching Effectiveness?*

It might have seemed more logical to begin this article by tackling this question, but it has been postponed toward the end for two reasons. First of all, if I had started with it and come to the conclusion that there was no reason to assess teaching effectiveness, it would have been a very short article. Second of all, the issue of "why assess" cannot be considered without looking at the methods of assessment, since doing it or not doing is closely related to practicality. We have already seen that most of the assessment methodologies are lacking in both validity and practicality, that is, they do not necessarily distinguish between more and less effective teachers, and whatever they do, it is costly and labor intensive.

The reasons usually given for assessing teaching are: (a) certification, (b) recertification, (c) annual evaluation, and (d) merit raises. All four represent hurdles for teachers or prospective teachers to cross. In other words, they represent "accountability," and as such can be expected to constrain teachers rather than inspire them (McLaughlin, 1991). Certification is usually based on completing a program of study and taking a test that measures literacy skills and knowledge of pedagogy (although current efforts are underway, as mentioned earlier, to construct a performance-based evaluation as a supplement or replacement). Recertification usually requires additional coursework. Annual evaluations are usually based on relatively unstructured classroom visits by principals or supervisors, and merit pay, if it is available (which is rare), is based on a variety of inputs.

The primary motivation for improvement of assessment has been for the first and last reasons, certification and merit raises. As novices, entering teachers cannot necessarily be expected to manifest high degrees of teaching effectiveness, so current methods of assessment may be sufficient. And merit raises are uncommon enough that elaborate assessment techniques may be uncalled for.

But there is another reason for assessing teaching that is not on the above "short list." This reason is to improve teaching. Given that most teacher turnover is for reasons other than incompetence, the greatest need for members of a profession who are likely to spend their lives in it is for self-improvement. To meet that need, an assessment system needs to be reasonably simple and cost-effective, valid (at least in the eyes of teachers), related to teachers' own goals, not to some externally-derived set, and useful for providing meaningful feedback. Given such a system, its use would be justified by the possibility that it might cause some teachers to change. It would be like holding up a mirror so they could see themselves as others see them.

*A Self-Improvement Assessment System for Teachers*

Practicality and validity are both enhanced by using students as data suppliers in such a system. Students are “there”; students are the clients whose needs teachers should be expected to meet. But students cannot be expected to do coding or make frequency counts, only to render impressions. These impressions, moreover, will be primarily based on the interpersonal perspective of the student relative to the teacher.

The Interpersonal Teacher Model mentioned earlier (Tuckman, 1991; Tuckman, in press) is based on the notion that observers use constructs or dimensions to construe reality or build impressions of what they see. These constructs overlap to form construct systems or factors, and, while they are not identical from one person to another, there is a high degree of similarity in the aspects of a situation that are attended to by participants in that situation. In the teaching context, these systems or factors apply primarily to the interpersonal domain, particularly to the way students view teachers’ methods of or style for controlling events. The five factors or perceived ways of controlling events are (a) organized demeanor (OD)—use of planning and organization, (b) dynamism (DY)—use of energy and force, (c) flexibility (FL)—use of changeability, (d) warmth and acceptance (WA)—use of personal liking, and (e) creativity (CR)—use of novel environments.

The instrument used for measuring these factors, shown in Figure 2, is the TTFF. It has been shown that even without explanation and training, it will yield reliable results among high school students (Tuckman, 1991). It can be used by teachers to identify their ideal level of attainment or goal on each factor (see Kourilsky & Esfandiari, 1991). Judgments of students can then be compared to self or ideal ratings to identify potential discrepancies or areas for improvement. Tuckman and Yates (1980) compared two groups of student teachers, one given feedback from students on the TTFF relative to their own ideal ratings, the other not. Four weeks later, a second round of student ratings showed that the group given the feedback changed significantly more than the group given no feedback. Such assessment feedback, therefore, represents a viable strategy for enhancing teaching effectiveness, if teaching effectiveness is defined in terms of personal performance goals.

Clearly, the shortcoming of the approach is that it cannot be used as proposed with young children, who would not be able to complete the rating instrument. In such cases, ratings on the instrument could be provided by supervisors, peers, or, in the case of student teachers, cooperating teachers (as done by Kourilsky & Esfandiari, 1991). It would still be easier than using performance-evaluation schemes that use coding or frequency counting, and require considerable training of observers.



Person Observed \_\_\_\_\_ Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

TUCKMAN TEACHER FEEDBACK FORM (STUDENT EDITION)  
MY TEACHER IS

1	DISORGANIZED	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	ORGANIZED
2	CLEAR	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	UNCLEAR
3	AGGRESSIVE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	SOFT-SPOKEN
4	CONFIDENT	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	UNCERTAIN
5	COMMONPLACE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	CLEVER
6	CREATIVE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	ORDINARY
7	OLD FASHIONED	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	MODERN
8	LIKEABLE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	"STUCK UP"
9	EXCITING	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	BORING
10	SENSITIVE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	ROUGH
11	LIVELY	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	LIFELESS
12	ACCEPTS PEOPLE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	CRITICAL
13	SNOBBY	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	MODEST
14	CONFUSED	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	ORDERLY
15	STRICT	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	LENIENT
16	IN CONTROL	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	ON THE RUN
17	TRADITIONAL	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	ORIGINAL
18	WARM	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	COLD
19	RUDE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	POLITE
20	WITHDRAWN	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	OUTGOING
21	EASYGOING	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	DEMANDING
22	OUTSPOKEN	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	SHY
23	UNCHANGEABLE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	FLEXIBLE
24	QUIET	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	BUBBLY
25	AWARE	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	FORGETFUL
26	"NEW IDEAS"	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	SAME OLD THING
27	IMPATIENT	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	PATIENT
28	UNCARING	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	CARING
29	DEPENDENT	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	INDEPENDENT
30	UNPLANNED	① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦	EFFICIENT

Figure 2. The Tuckman Teacher Feedback Form-Student Edition (Copyright © 1987 by the author). For scoring:  $OD = \{(items\ 1+14+30) - (items\ 2+4+16+25) + 25\} \div .42$ ;  $DY = \{(items\ 20+24+29) - (items\ 3+11+22) + 18\} \div .36$ ;  $FL = \{(items\ 15+23) - (items\ 10+21) + 12\} \div .24$ ;  $WA = \{(items\ 13+19+27+28) - (items\ 8+12+18) + 17\} \div .42$ ;  $CR = \{(items\ 5+7+17) - (items\ 6+9+26) + 18\} \div .36$ .



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# Narrative Research, Teaching, and Teacher Thinking: Perspectives and Possibilities

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The use of narrative forms of inquiry for analyzing teaching and teacher thinking has generated almost as much controversy as excitement in the field of education. Methodologies that are common to narrative inquiry have presented a challenge to some of the assumptions inherent to empirical research inquiry. One of the contentions that empiricists typically confront narrative researchers with is the fact that every teacher has a story. In contrast, many believe that story research offers a thick and rich description of the experiences that teachers live in context-specific situations. Such descriptions are thought to play a powerful mediatational role for teachers who engage in active reflection. These descriptions have been credited with guiding practice through the illumination of tacit wisdom and assisting teachers in the generation of practice based theory. Story represents an enormous database from which to develop new understandings about the relationships among phenomena in educational contexts. However, there are several questions that empiricists raise about the utility, authenticity, and claims of veracity of story that beg the question of whether the research community will sanctify story telling work as a viable methodological approach.

In this article, we analyze the utility of narrative as a legitimate educational research tool. Tracing the historical development of research paradigmatic models, we provide a comparative description of sociolinguistic (narrative) and empirical research methodologies, discuss the

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various definitions and conceptions of narrative(story), explore the socio-political conceptual and theoretical frameworks that guide both narrative and empirical (technical) forms of research, highlight the disadvantages and advantages of using story as a methodological research tool in education, examine future directions for the use of narrative inquiry, and conclude with a conceptual framework designed to offer story a utilitarian role in the communication processes for researchers, academicians, and educators.

### Major Research Programs

It is widely documented (Erickson, 1986; Wittrock, 1986) that three major educational research programs have competed for attention during the past 3 decades (process-product research, process-mediator-product research, and process-psychological mediators-sociological mediators-product research). During the 60s and early 70s most educational researchers were engaged in process-product research in an effort to establish relationships between what teachers do in the classroom and student outcomes. For the most part, process-product studies were conducted as a reaction to Coleman, et al (1966) who reported that differences among students were a result of differences in abilities (i.e., IQ) not school environments, and Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) who claimed that a teacher's expectancy of whether or not a child would do well in school was related to school performance.

At this time, a number of field experiments were conducted and considerable attention was given to examining the components of effective schools. Many of these studies demonstrated that active teaching, direct instruction, time-on-task, emphasis on strong teacher control, and behavior management were effective. These research efforts coincided with the empirically based process-product research programs that were a reaction against the laissez-faire culture of the late 60s and early 70s. Concerns related to the unnatural ecology of aggregating aptitude and treatment variability into manageable units of study were expressed. The primary reason for erosion of these efforts was probably the strong empirical, atheoretical approach given to addressing educational research problems. In sum, a focus was given to what worked, but not why and explanations were lacking.

Subsequently a program of research referred to as process-mediator-product research emerged in which time was considered to be the primary mediator of student achievement. Much of this research was anchored onto Carroll's (1963, 1989) mastery learning model in which attention was given to describing and manipulating variables such as



learner ability and aptitude, instructor attributes, and quality of instruction. The primary variable used to account for differences in student performance in Carroll's model was the time needed to learn. This behaviorally anchored mastery learning approach was somewhat more explanation oriented than the non-mediated process-product models. A common factor among educational research studies in the early 70s was the persistent behavioral bias and focus on observations. As we moved into the 80s and 90s, some attention was given to adding cognitive science components of instruction (e.g., active engagement, prior knowledge, cognitive conflict, etc.) to Carroll's mastery learning model.

A sociolinguistic component was added to the paradigm in the 90s. Today, the major paradigm is a process-product research paradigm combined with a sociolinguistic perspective (process-psychological mediators-sociological mediators-product research paradigm), a type of disciplinary eclecticism that pervades today. Within this paradigm, considerable attention is given to dynamic, interactive, context, and unobservable processes. Narrative inquiry and linguistic analysis are center stage while a radical, critical, political focus is taken. Race, culture, and social class are used to explain differences among students. Advocates of this sociolinguistic position view social science as a science of criticism and a search for meaning rather than a science striving for practical process-product answers and experimental science in search of laws.

### A Sociolinguistic Perspective

Sociolinguistic methods are rooted in Western European intellectual history. Many of these qualitative methods (ethnographic, participant observation, case study, phenomenological, constructionist, and interpretive) developed out of interest in the lives and perspectives of people who had little or no voice in society. For the most part, these views were compatible with Marx who viewed the self as shaped through concrete circumstances of daily living and Freud's subjective and unscientific notions. Of course, these views were incompatible with the tenets of German natural science-Newtonian physics that supported the process-product behaviorally anchored mastery learning and cognitive science research efforts of the 60s, 70s, and 80s. Sociolinguistic researchers focus on how social organizations and cultures relate to making choices. When looking for explanations related to individual differences, the search is not for abstract universals (e.g., intelligence and aptitude), instead the focus has been on finding concrete universals (e.g., race, culture, and class).

The German natural science model is frequently associated with radical conservative views. From this perspective, schools have served a social

sorting function. Biased learning environments are believed to be established by teachers who have set middle class standards of academic performance. Individual differences in academic performance and minorities' lack of success have frequently been attributed to genetic deficits (Jensen, 1969); socialization defects (cultural deprivation, linguistic deprivation, family disorganization, negative attitudes, cultural deviance); and cultural differences (teacher expectations, linguistic interference, second language-interactional interference, culturally incongruent instruction).

In contrast, many advocates of the sociolinguistic perspective are aligned with the radical left position and they believe that a social revolution is a necessary condition for school improvement. From this perspective, the explanation for failure is rooted in politics (i.e., in the inequitable distribution of power and privilege in society). These views are compatible with a Marxist dialectical view, a perspective usually found in countries where institutions are controlled by the state (e.g., the Soviet Union and Scandinavia). From a radical left, sociolinguistic perspective, school failure is viewed as self-defeating resistance rather than inadequacy.

Most sociolinguistic researchers use qualitative methods to collect their data sets. Beginning without prior conceptual explanations, they conduct long-term, intensive participant observations in a field setting. Although the methodological process is believed to be unteachable, having a solid grounding in substantive courses in anthropology and sociology is considered important. By taking a distanced observational stance and moving from the general to the specific, sociolinguistic researchers learn through active participation, reframing as the analysis proceeds. Focus is given to pattern (scientific and empirical) discovery. The sociolinguistic researchers' aim is not proof in a casual sense, but the demonstration of plausibility. Within the sociolinguistic paradigm, it is considered to be important to teach the findings that emerge from sociolinguistic studies by teaching teachers to be researchers and establishing collaborative relationships between teachers and researchers.

From an empirical perspective, it could be argued that the yields of these sociolinguistic research programs are questionable. There are questions related to viewing social science as a source of criticism rather than obtaining practical, empirically based solutions to educational problems. Questions are raised with respect to choosing political grandstanding and protest rather than confronting the academic challenges that result from being in a highly competitive middle class school environment. Empiricists would claim that conducting research and making social policy are rarely done by the same persons and that two cultures (researchers and policymakers) continue to prevail.

## Conceptions of Story/Narrative Forms of Inquiry

Characteristically, story is a narrative with very specific syntactical shape (Scholes, 1981, 1982) and subject matter which allows for, or encourages the projection of human values upon this material. Story places an emphasis on the connections between what humans think, know, and do as well as the reciprocal relationships between the way that human thinking shapes behavior and knowing shapes thinking. As an entity with a beginning, middle, and end, story has a dynamic that is created and interpreted through the lived experiences of a person or a participant observer who offers a vicarious interpretation of an individual's personal story. A synthesis of the lived experiences results in a narration that occurs through a process of active construction. Two factors are involved in this reconstruction process (temporality and causality). Related to the time, place, specific situation, and cultural context, these factors provide a framework for interpreting the events and outcomes within a the story. There are similarities between story and other forms of representation. For example, the structure of a story parallels that of a musical exposition. Musical works have an introduction, a development, recapitulation, or variation on a theme, and denouement. As the theme is developed, the listener may become acutely engaged in attending to the melody, often referred to as the thematic content, or may focus on the harmony, the dynamics, the tonality, the metric movement, the intervallic patterns, or the tempo. As with the situation of hearing or reading a story, the listener constructs his/her own personal experience and meaning while listening. There is no assurance that the listener's experience is synonymous with that of the composer's intentions. The representation of the listener's experience is contextualized and embedded in their previous experiences, tacit knowledge, and their connectedness to the exposition. Similar to the way listeners construct meaning upon hearing musical compositions, narrative researchers employ codes and conventions so as to construct stories, relay their interpretations (as exemplified by the musical elements of melody, dynamics, or harmony), convey the sequence of incidents (demonstrated by musical conventions such as meter, intervallic patterns, or tempo), and describe a synthesis of events that occurs by way of a story (also illustrated by the musical structures of development, recapitulation, variation on a theme, or denouncement). By its very nature a story involves an agent who acts to achieve goals that can be interpreted in understandable ways. Story establishes the "ordinary" and the demonstration of the truth as it is experienced.

Story or narrative belongs to the classroom ecology paradigm that includes socio-linguistic mediational research on teaching, as well as more



methodologically qualitative, interpretive, and critical forms of inquiry (Martin & Sugarman, 1993). Story telling is an ethnographic form of qualitative research that involves telling or recounting. Research involving narrative forms of inquiry have included microanalyses of teacher-student interactions taking place in classrooms in which the focus is given to specific curriculum areas (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988; Connelly & Clandinin, 1986; 1988; 1990), documentations of teachers' reflections (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993, 1990; Elbaz, 1991; Kagan, 1988; Leinhardt, 1990; Schon 1987; Shulman, 1987; Yinger, 1987) and microanalyses of social and community factors that influence schooling, teaching, and learning over an entire school year (Peshkin, 1978).

Story research emphasizes learning-how-to teach and seeks to elucidate teachers' ways of knowing. Use of narrative as a form of inquiry suggests that teachers' thought processes, not solely their behavior, are essential to the knowledge base on research on teacher thinking. Knowledge that results from narratives is qualitatively different from formal theoretical knowledge, which represents the synthesis of interactions taking place within a particular context and the classroom situations in which knowledge is transformed into action. Story knowledge attempts to relate pre-defined observables to theoretical context. In story, the teacher is the unit of analysis.

By highlighting the teacher, a basic assumption is sustained that holds that the teacher is an individual who brings a specialized set of social relationships and experiences to the classroom. These particular social relationships and experiences are considered to be important components in the development of knowledge. Although the practical knowledge that coalesces as practitioners interact in the classroom results in knowledge in action, the quality and type of knowledge is integrally interwoven with the teachers' level of expertise. Additionally, classroom experience may not be the best teacher since teachers are generally very isolated while experiencing and perceiving events (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1986). Perceptions formed may be limited by the depth and breadth of their own experience or teachers' own bias. Connelly & Clandinin (1986) argue that the classroom experience integrated with active reflection acts as a powerful instructor that facilitates teachers' development of beliefs and perceptions of themselves as learners and teachers, while helping them to acquire practical knowledge. Narrative inquiry acknowledges the importance of the teacher's role by placing a value on teacher autonomy and reflection.

The overall purpose of story is to fill a gap in the knowledge base of teaching by crafting a mode for teacher voice and providing a means to understand the interpretive frames that teachers use to improve their



classroom practices (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990). Narratives emphasize teachers' own interpretations of context-specific classrooms, by elucidating the context in which decisions are made. An attempt is made to bring to a conscious awareness the nature of a teacher's professional reasoning. The common thread in studies involving narrative is the overarching emphasis on the validity of teachers' judgments that is drawn from their own experiences.

Sparks-Langer and Bernstein-Colton (1991) claim that several major benefits are derived from research that utilizes teacher narrative. First, these studies heighten an awareness regarding what motivates teacher action and provides a detailed description of a teacher's everyday life. Second, teachers' narratives provide material for instructional case study material. Third, narratives can provide teachers with insight gained as a result of self-reflection. Sparks-Langer and Bernstein-Colton (1991) contend that narrative research represents a bridge to a new way of thinking about teacher thinking. It is recognized that many contemporary researchers who have had philosophical differences to or a predisposition against the use of empirical forms of methodological inquiry have chosen to superimpose the sociolinguistic techniques of the humanities onto the overall context of educational research. If we were to consider all research methodologies from a macro perspective and graphically represent them on a continuum (see Figure 1), it becomes apparent that the sociolinguistic techniques complement empirical methods of inquiry.

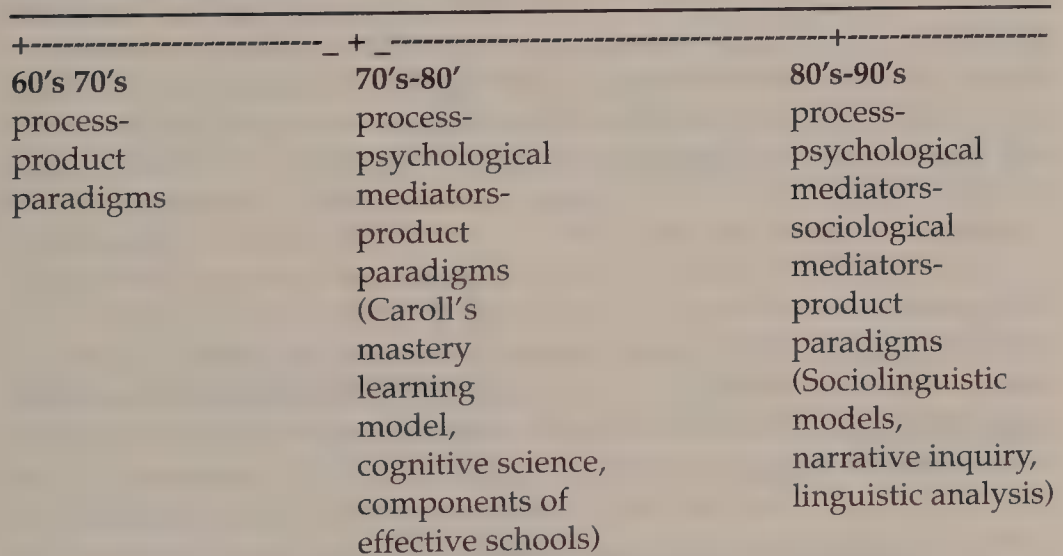


Figure 1. Chronological representation of major educational research paradigms.

As illustrated in Figure 1, educational research paradigms have evolved from the strict behaviorally anchored empirically validated models of the 60s and 70s to models that are mediated by behavioral and cognitive science psychological models in the 70s and 80s and sociolinguistic models of inquiry in the 80s-90s. In the last 30 years, there have been successive attempts to consider mediating factors that influence student learning, as well as contextual, environmental, and sociopolitical factors.

Characteristic of the narrative inquiry paradigm is that meaning sought from classroom experiences relies upon interpretive and analytical frameworks. Narrative inquiry attempts to explicate an understanding of the events that occur in specific educational contexts under investigation. This method relies heavily upon creating rich and thick descriptions without reliance on causal, associative data treatments and analyses. One of the fundamental assumptions underlying narrative inquiry is that teachers' personal biographies interact with particular situations that help them understand their use and application of practical knowledge. Narrative inquiry also seeks to explicate teachers' ways of knowing and their origins by analyzing the reflective thought processes and the related behaviors of particular teachers.

Other environmental factors may also influence teacher thinking behaviors and reflection in action, such as the contextual, organizational, or bureaucratic structures indigenous to school environments. Despite the fact that narrative is a type of sociolinguistic mediational research, it is somewhat remarkable that there has been little attention given to understanding the relationship between the ways that environmental structures such as the contextual, organizational, or bureaucratic elements might influence teachers' behavior or how these elements possibly mediate teachers' display of practical knowledge. While responses can be predicted in laboratory or role play situations, in real world contexts, planned responses may be sacrificed for behaviors that are perceived as normative within the context of the culture in which they are expressed. Teachers may also experience pressure to conform to the contextual influences of the power structures within which they have to co-exist. Having provided a framework for what constitutes story and narrative forms of research, we now turn our attention to the conceptual frameworks that amplify the utility of story in context-specific situations.

### Conceptual Frameworks

In this section, we outline the advantages of story, the criticisms regarding the use of story as an educational research tool, the limitations

that remain unaddressed by researchers who advocate story, and discuss what we consider to be relevant epistemological issues.

### *Advantages of Story*

Advocates for the use of story as a form of inquiry assert that story has benefits that can not be realized solely by empirical methodologies. A list of the advantages which have been reported to be transacted from the use of story as a methodological approach to conducting research on teacher thinking is presented below:

1. Stories are believed to be constructions that give meaning and convey a sense of experience.
2. Story has been used as a frame to counter the empirical modes of inquiry that have dominated research on teacher thinking.
3. Narrative has been used by women as a means to portray their specialized ways of knowing (Belensky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Helle, 1991) and to provide them with a representative voice in the research literature.
4. Storied knowledge can be organized into explanatory frameworks. The cultural and contextual variables that serve as interpretive lenses for comprehending one's experiences can be analyzed.
5. Experienced teachers use narrative structures as a frame for organizing, interpreting, and integrating their use and application of curriculum knowledge (Gudmundsdottir, 1991).
6. Knowledge derived from teachers' stories results in the acquisition of event-structured knowledge (Carter, 1993; Carter & Doyle, 1987; Carter & Gonzalez, 1990) and promotes expertise in teaching. Teaching is experienced as a complexity of social events that is driven (in part) by knowledge derived from teachers' stories.

### *Criticisms of Story*

Critics of story claim that story telling suffers from an absence of an "authenticity judge" (Klein & Greene, 1993) and an inability to "... distinguish a scholarly interpretation of a classroom event from that of a delirious observer" (Salomon, 1991, p. 10). Others suggest that the use of story research results from a researcher's inability to utilize experimental design methods and statistical techniques for data analysis. Summarily, story is portrayed as an indefensible form of inquiry owing to the fluidity that characterizes the context in which data is collected. Even Connelly and Clandinin (1990), who rely heavily on narrative inquiry in



their own research, seem to suggest that perhaps narrative inquiry provides a research agenda that gives curriculum professors something to do (Schwab, 1983).

Other criticisms of story include the view that it places extreme emphasis on teachers' personal meaning, exaggerates the significance of the writer, and tends to confer an unwarranted level of authenticity upon teacher experience by rewarding narcissism. Basic problems of knowledge claims that are associated with elevating teachers' stories to a "privileged status" have yet to be systematically addressed.

In an overall sense, story telling is a variation on reflection. Reflection may be the type of experience in which individuals analyze, question or privately re-think their own behavior and perceptions. During this kind of experience, individuals are offered an opportunity to incorporate the wisdom and perceptions of others. While reflection is essential to the processes involved in analysis, clearly this technique is not emergent; reflection has been around for more than 50 years. Reflection seems to be a quality of good practitioners who are generally thought to be intuitive individuals. As such, some researchers assert that the use of the term reflection is equivalent to faddism.

### *Limitations of Story/Narrative*

Several limitations regarding the disadvantages of story have been cited. If this method is likely to be accepted by the research community at large, it seems that the aforementioned concerns obligate disputation or consideration of whether or not to modify the techniques involved with gathering story telling data. A few related limitations are enumerated below:

1. The relationship between story and reality as defined by the experiences of an outside observer does not necessarily portray a one-to-one correspondence.
2. Selecting a story for teaching purposes conveys a particular conception of teaching to students. For example, the study of a story as case descriptive material usually involves the view of only one individual. Of course, these descriptions are open to multiple meanings. The complexities portrayed in narrative descriptions along with the possible inaccuracies, sometimes leads to confusion in teaching because there are many interpretations inherent in a complex story. The possibilities for different interpretations are also a function of the perspectives and experiences that students engaged in the study of story bring to the task.
3. Story does not represent a consensually agreed upon and/or scholarly curriculum. Therefore the use of story as curriculum for training teachers



raises questions regarding what knowledge is worth most. Similarly, if told stories solely represent those of the dominant culture, how does this promote pedagogical practice for people of color, women, underrepresented populations, and/or the underprivileged classes? How do the findings that are associated with ethnography inform the field or advance our knowledge theoretically? How does contextualized ethnographic research that generally is reported in a case study format help us in terms of what teachers should consider doing in classrooms?

4. Analyzing an individual narrative does not lend itself to empirical investigation. Furthermore, interpretations that emerge in narrative are not open to verification since they emanate from beliefs that are the collaborative construction of the teacher (interviewee) and/or researcher (interviewer).

5. Interpretations of narratives are influenced by belief systems that are a product of one's own cultural framework. Are neutrality or unbiased perceptions possible? Can we claim that the evidence derived from interpretations truly corresponds to an objective reality or renders any universally valid principles or laws (Greene, 1994)? The generalizability and utility of interpretations is also open to argumentation.

6. Paradigmatic assumptions about the value of various research methodologies also play a role in interpretations that emerge from narrative research. Story has been criticized for amplifying moralistic, narcissistic, and omnipotent representations. Illuminating related concerns, Hargreaves (1994) claims that the voice given to teachers through the use of narrative has come to represent teachers' as an entity, but that this notion is a highly morally laden and prescriptive voice, not an empirical or actual representation of all teachers. He points out that later career teachers do not necessarily exemplify "care" for their students. Research on teachers' thought and voice is characteristically replete with teachers who are humanistic and caring, but not about teachers who are cynical, lack knowledge, and/or demonstrate a lack of pedagogy. The research literature amplifies that the positive, moral characteristics are not grounded in representation of all teachers.

According to Hargreaves (1994), this moral singularity of teachers' voice needs to be deconstructed. Research on teaching shows that teachers didactic moralistic instruction seems to dominate classrooms even today. Many teachers tend to see classrooms from the position of power, authority, privileged status, and role instead of from the viewpoint of their students. One can build a strong case for the notion that understanding teachers voice should be a priority, but we must be careful not to romanticize these "voices" by according unwarranted authenticity to

them. Of the most poignant criticisms leveled against story is that they amplify a sense of narcissism, by exemplifying delusions of omnipotence and highlighting the sense of a boundless self (Hargreaves, 1994).

### Epistemological Issues

#### *Assumptions Underlying Interpretation*

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) claim that the primary value of narrative inquiry is its quality as subject matter and its capacity to render life experiences. However, there are inherent difficulties with this claim since falsehood may be substituted for meaning and narrative truth by using criteria that give rise to significance, value, and intention. Meanings told do not necessarily represent the interpretation of teacher (interviewee) and secondary or tertiary levels or interpretations may be falsely created. Methodological errors in interpretation of narrative can occur from attempts to generalize the events of story. One may misrepresent the truth and alter actualities by fabricating a recounting of the events. Narrative smoothing (Spence, 1986) may result from an obscurity of facts, leaving open questions of what is not being told. Gadamer (1960) concurs and reminds us that "the interpreter experiences two claims: one from the object of the interpretation . . . and one from the interpreters' own lived circumstances" (pp. 124-125). Prejudgments and prejudices can not be set aside, since they have so much to do with shaping those *interpretations* (Greene, 1994).

Sanctifying story-telling work and formulating an epistemology to support this methodology is insufficient without addressing the assumptions that underlie this method or without considering those posited by empirical researchers. In the same connection, story has been criticized on epistemological grounds because the criteria of acceptance are rooted in contextualism. Furthermore, the interpretations gathered from story data don't necessarily yield practical information, and the meanings embedded in story are not always accessible to the reader. Nespor and Barlyske (1991) contend that when researchers use narratives as a tool for constructing knowledge they are describing, discovering, or identifying objects that really exist. However, they use teachers' constructions of the object which have been fashioned according to the needs of the researcher. In this sense, narratives are used to express relations of power and political agendas of researchers, not as a tool to discover truth and expand the pluralistic knowledge base of research on teacher thinking.

Nespor and Barlyske (1991) point out the fallacy associated with the premise that narratives index fundamental structures, thought, or experience as Polkinghorne (1988), Bruner (1986), Gergen & Gergen

(1986), Connelly & Clandinin (1990), and others suggest. The representational fallacy is that entities that emerge within story actually preexist and contribute to the creation of that discourse. Researchers reify narrative discourse, make inferences from nonobservable mental processes, and then use discourse as evidence for the existence of the inferred processes. Thus the creation of a sophisticated and esoteric, but circular and indefensible systems of reasoning have been created to forge the acceptance of a nontraditional method of research. One must also ask if narrative research is actually more prevalent than the empirical (traditional) forms of inquiry than previously acknowledged. How much of current research, case studies, and the like are grounded in empirical interpretations that represent forms of story?

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) have defined criteria for narrative as grounded in white, educated, and Anglo-American society. This perspective contradicts their assumption that narrative reflects basic human cognitive structures that mirror normative methodological inquiry. The historical specificity that defines criteria for narrative is class biased, gender biased, and culturally biased if the criteria of acceptance is based solely on middle class, and dominant cultural values system. Using these criteria as the standard ignores the diversity, richness, and thickness of experience that narrative portends to exemplify.

Narrative is a culturally specific communication that imposes certain societal structural characteristics. This poses an inherent difficulty in determining whose narrative is being told, that of the teacher (interviewee) or the researcher (interviewer). According to Willinsky (1989), representation is always a matter of power that should be treated with skepticism. Recounting one's history and related social events do not always portray the lived experience of the teacher's discourse. An account may be told through the lived experiences or interpretation of the researcher, however, the latter may reject the researcher's desire for recognition (Crapanzano, 1980).

### *Conceptual Roots of Story*

On an epistemological level, story is conceptually rooted in mentalistic psychology rather than behavioral psychology. Kendler (1993) stated that the differences between the two are methodological, not theoretical. He asserted that selecting behavior as the dependent variable does not negate the use of hypotheses about mentalistic processes as long as theoretical mentalistic assumptions have testable behavioral implications. In contrast, the behaviorists would argue that by promoting techniques of self-observation, "the unbiased scrutiny of experience" (MacLeod, 1968),



is unachievable because conscious experience is a private and only available to the self-observer and most people are incapable of self-awareness. Behaviorists also claim that it is only when an event can be observed by more than one person that socially agreed upon criteria can be adopted that might lead to observational agreement. The overarching dilemma is that narrative researchers can not provide veracity or socially agreed upon criteria in which to judge the content and/or value of story. Pondering the notion of either/or perspectives, Keller (1985) contends that this dichotomy is akin to the male/female opposition. She links the abstract and objectivist to masculine modes of thinking and self-interpretation, but challenges male claims to universalism and neutrality. Greene (1994) concurs with Keller (1985) and states that, "For mainstream and technical thinkers (often including some the doctrinal Marxists), so-called *subjective* views are suspect in part because they are associated with embeddedness or situatedness and, by extension, with the female" (p. 433).

Psychology can not resolve the conflict that ensues during a debate related to which is better, qualitative or quantitative methodology. However, psychology can shed light on the consequences of adopting competing principles. The dilemma facing the empiricists is that they can not provide value-free information that is not an expression of the researcher's political or value commitments. Some will insist that behavioral methodology seeks to attain political power (control), not truth (explanation). On the other hand, the subjective conceptions associated with qualitative research can be criticized for failure to distinguish those value judgments (emphasis on controlled observations, use of comparison groups, statistical significance) intrinsically associated with empiricism, and those that can be detached from empirical evidence.

One of the major issues that empiricists have yet to grapple with lies in the limitations associated with the knowledge claims that empirical researchers offer. Greene (1994) asserts that,

Too many researchers still find it difficult to confront the effects of technicism on their thinking or to face the problem of objectivity. The desire for precision and disinterestedness continues on, sometimes as a corrective against what is viewed as uncontained relativism and reliance on mere *opinion*. (p. 432)

A limitation associated with empiricism lies in its inability to discern if the quality of research illuminates the social consequences associated with competing methodologies. Technocratic research varies in its ability to empirically predict consequences associated with assumptions underlying qualitative and quantitative methods of research. Secondly, knowledge



claims that emanate from the notional quality of behavioral concepts may or may not be socially defensible. In contrast, the difficulty associated with narrative inquiry as a phenomenological and mentalistic conception of psychology resides in the observation that it suffers from an inability to offer persuasive knowledge claims that society can trust. Kendler's (1993) claim that empirical researchers need to abandon their assumptions that quantifiable research can identify definitive principles that describe predictable human behavior should be instructive to those who believe that a strict use of empirical methodology can guide teaching and teacher education programs. Kendler (1993) also suggests that empiricists must give up the notion that a gap between what is and ought to be can be bridged only by empirical evidence.

Kendler (1993) receives support from Martin and Sugarman (1993) who contend that research on teaching that relies primarily on an empirical enterprise is ill-fated because of an overemphasis on methodology. Furthermore, they claim that empirical researchers have failed to adequately address the epistemological problems that confront assumptions underlying their work. Much of the empirical research on teaching: (a) lacks an underlying theory that identifies specific variables, (b) provides an insufficient description of the characteristics of focal variables that are particularly worthy of empirical scrutiny, or (c) fails to explain why empirically based evidence is pragmatically unmanageable (Martin & Sugarman, 1993). On the other hand, one might ask how research based on narrative inquiry can be advocated when it seems to be based purely on rationally biased assumptions.

Many of the current debates on teaching have been focused on concerns related to methodological and epistemological paradigms to the exclusion of providing a theoretically defensible argument for the empirical preoccupation. Martin and Sugarman (1993) have pointed out that during the proliferation of empirical studies, no new scientific understandings or heuristics have been made available for practitioners.

### Future Directions

While the use of story has become an emergent power in educational research, teachers' stories currently do not provide us with a political or paradigmatic base from which to create new understandings. Contextual parameters are needed to illuminate the potential contributions of research that relies on story. (Goodson, personal communication, April 8, 1994). One avenue to capitalizing on the unrealized benefits of story research may involve macrolizing the location of story. Macrolizing means to take a more global perspective, moving beyond the analysis of individual stories

as they exist in micro or singular educational contexts. Macrolizing refers to the process of creating a quantifiable database from story research, by analyzing all of the stories that emerge in a particular location (educational context) or assessing common themes, patterns, or traits that emerge across locations. Since the ultimate aim of story as an educational research tool is mediate pedagogically, politically, and educationally what we want to share, categorizing and organizing information gleaned from story research seems to be a logical progression from accumulating individual stories.

What does continued research on classroom ecology with narrative as the methodological vehicle portend for training teachers? Perhaps the time is ripe to create teacher training programs that are designed to focus on using individualistic, socio-linguistic and psychoanalytic anchored approaches to teacher education (Combs, 1965). An overview of the predominant purpose of story research reveals that story tries to create an awareness about what teachers do and how they teach. Each teacher's story seeks to impart something of a practical nature regarding how that particular teacher copes with instructional and curricular matters in the context of his/her environment. However, the emergent insights derived from one's own story or a study of stories has implications only in the context in which the story was located.

Perhaps we need to re-assess the potential utility of story research. For example, if the descriptive findings that emerged from studies which used narrative inquiry were organized into analytical or classificatory systems, then tangible connections between practice and theory might be synthesized. By obtaining narratives from many or all of the teachers in several schools, a database of multiple stories could be created. Patterns or classificatory systems of action might coalesce that would suggest how teachers use story or their professional reasoning. An analysis of these classificatory systems of action might also illuminate the reciprocal relationships between teachers' thinking and behaviors. Story is purposeful in that it attempts to create self-awareness for teachers. Therefore, by organizing the data into logical categories by quantifying multiple stories, as well as the contextual and demographic variables related to the occurrences of and characterizations of self-awareness, the applicability of this method to research in teaching and teacher thinking might be substantiated.

Within medicine, particularly psychiatry, documentations of patients' case histories have been chronicled. They became codified sources for illustrating classificatory systems of mental disorders. This information has become a database for the creation of the diagnostic statistical manuals in which characterizations of symptomatology have been organized.

Volumes of case studies have been written into books which are used as primary sources for training psychologists, psychoanalysts, and psychiatrists to guide the effective treatment of their patients. Using these same sociolinguistic approaches, stories could be used to clarify effective teaching practices in context specific environments and highlight effective instructional strategies for students in "characteristic" or "chronicled" situations.

### Summary

The decade of the 60s was a time of great enthusiasm for educational and societal reforms. It was assumed that we could eliminate the effects of race, sex, culture, and socioeconomic status on the quality of education. During the 70s and 80s, social deficit models and culturally different models were used to explain individual differences among students. Today, the deconstructed models in which school failure is viewed as self-defeating resistance rather than inadequacy prevail.

Overall, it could be argued that educational/psychological research has made little contribution to educational practice. It is recognized that social science research cannot provide the kind of hard information about human behavior that physics provides about the behavior of atoms. Perhaps there is no such thing as a science of teaching and/or education. While the synthesis of research on teaching (Walberg, 1984) has yielded some agreement on the ingredients of effective teaching, the procedures remain inexplicit. Most would probably agree that the documented consistency of educational effects has put teaching on a more sound scientific basis. That said, perhaps it is a good tactical position for us to hold on to all of these models at this time in the evolution of our thinking. Since we simply don't know what the best course of action is at this time, perhaps it is best to keep all the models in mind when attempting to solve educational problems.

Still the question remains, how can narrative inquiry be incorporated into the research process-psychological mediators-sociological mediators-product agenda outlined above? We recognize that stories are important in that they constitute a legitimate arena of formal knowledge about teaching. Teacher research makes knowledge about teachers' expertise accessible and provides different perspectives on teaching and learning that can not be known by other forms of inquiry. However, while all forms of research rely on assumptions, it is crucial to question assumptions that underlie different conceptions of research inquiry; most of us would probably support the notion that absolute truths will never be known about the truths of assumptions.



Concerns about the limitations of narrative research techniques have focused upon the descriptive nature of narrative and have highlighted the lack of objective standards to guide improvement or gauge effectiveness. To be truly effective, narrative research should be evaluated within the context of standards that would be used to ensure appropriate classroom practice. The responsibility of the teacher must progress beyond the development of his/her own idiosyncratic theory and/or practice in the development and incorporation of these standards into his or her classrooms practices (Buchmann, 1986). Incomplete considerations about story involve examining the possibilities for the use of story that have not been previously suggested. Using narrative as the sole form of methodological inquiry will require agreed upon and rigorous methodological procedures, clear conceptualizations, the formulation of key assumptions, and common referents that have precise meanings that are consistently used.

Given the importance of stories, the next step should focus on making the information that is likely to emerge from story accessible by looking at recurring patterns across different contexts and variables. We suggest a conceptual framework to guide such research that includes four process-oriented principles: (a) situating teachers' stories in relationship to other stories, (b) contextualizing stories in relationship to other considerations, (c) raising questions about story in relationship to social and political considerations, and (d) regrounding stories (Hargreaves, 1994).

The implementation of the first principle is predicated on increasing the use of story and building large data bases of multiple stories. For example, suppose that teachers' stories were compiled for all building teachers within several public and private schools. Each teacher would be asked to maintain a daily journal and content analysis procedures would be employed to examine journals. The occurrence of recurrent themes would be identified, categorized, and quantified within and across all journals. These activities would address the first principle.

Related to the second principle, various themes would be categorized in relationship to teachers' gender, age, level of education, area of subject matter expertise, socio-economic status, country of origin, ethnic orientation, demographic context of school, and type of school in which the teachers worked. If a series of patterns emerged, or similarities across variables and contexts within thematic categories were illustrated, then statistical techniques might be employed to test for significant relationships. Statistical techniques such as path analysis might be used. Path analysis techniques permit testing the validity of casual inferences for pairs of variables while controlling for the effects of other variables. Path models can be specified and the influence of exogenous variables which



correspond to independent constructs (themes that occur within multiple stories) on endogenous variables, which correspond to dependent variables (teachers' gender, age, level of education, area of subject matter expertise, socio-economic status, country of origin, ethnic orientation) influenced by other variables (e.g., demographic context of school and type of school) present in an educational context (location) can be estimated. Limitations on the meaningfulness of parameters are predicated by the researcher's ability to demonstrate the extent to which models can be shown to fit the data. If the pattern of variances and covariances derived from the model do not differ significantly from the pattern of variances and covariances related to the observed variables, then a given model is said to fit the data (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Fernandez, 1993). This evidence might serve to identify strengths and weaknesses of story telling as a research tool. In a similar connection, these activities would amplify the third principle, by causing researchers to raise questions about story themes that emerged in relationship to social and political considerations. A total analysis of the findings would then lead to re-grounding stories as suggested by the fourth principle.

A second approach to expanding the use of story involves examining the outcomes of certain emergent themes among teachers, such as teacher isolation, working with a student with disabilities, and professional disequilibrium (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993) that might occur during teacher's transition from a novice to advanced beginner teacher. If teachers' actions were the same for each situation reported, we might ask if these were coincidental, or influenced by one variable or a combination of variables. Although it might be tempting to assume a trend or lack of consensus while conducting this type of analysis, the only way to know an answer is to perform studies on a large scale basis.

A third approach would be to have several researchers analyze teachers' stories. There can be little doubt that the interviewer interjects his/her interpretive reality while recounting a teacher's story. For example, if one teacher's story were distributed among a group of researchers, what is the likelihood that the analysis or identification of thematic content would be the same? How do we separate the framework of one's own culture, experiences, or tacit knowledge from their interpretation of teachers' stories? If we gathered 7 to 10 teacher stories, and engaged five to seven researchers to analyze the content, what degree of agreement or inter-rater reliability might be achieved?

Voracious debates about the limitations of story and empiricism are difficult to evaluate. Surely, there are other productive approaches to take in addressing this matter, rather than engaging in seemingly unresolvable debates. A marriage of empiricism and mentalistic psychology is not

unreasonable given that the underlying assumptions from both camps can not be verified. Research in the field may be strengthened by a combination of these methods. The power of story to make new things possible and important in educational research becomes a reality when researchers' aims are focused on expanding our understanding rather than providing the one right methodology. If we begin to quantify the contexts in which teachers' themes occur, then the potential value of story as an educational research tool may be known. The substantial and quantified framework offered by these approaches may affirm Noddings (1991) belief that it is by engaging educators regardless of gender, class, and culture and giving them a voice that we may realize the use of story as a vehicle to direct and change lives.

We are coming full circle in our exploration of what constitutes truth, knowledge, and viable educational research constructs. However, ultimately, we must disengage from the notion of re-negotiating which research method is worth most and examine the essential means by which research methodology can inform practice. If we do not challenge the value or utility of story as a viable methodology, we will remain mired in the usual undisciplined circular discourse that characterizes much of what educators do. To challenge these assumptions might give rise to an emergent linkage that we believe exists in macrolizing the location of multiple stories. Further, the creation of a classificatory system supported by an empirically derived systems will serve to illustrate the relationship between teacher reflection, thought, philosophy, and their subsequent actions. Finally, attempts to codify thematic material will exemplify the notional value of story and illustrate the importance of this methodology in the training of collegiate and preservice educators.

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# Teacher-Researcher Relationships in the Study of Teaching and Teacher Education

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Over the past several years there has been a virtual explosion over the types of questions that are being asked about teaching and teacher education and, consequently, in the ways in which answers to these questions are sought. This shift, in turn, has decisively changed roles and relationships among teachers and researchers in both the conduct of inquiry and the structures for linking research and practice. Indeed, in an increasing number of instances, a distinction between researcher and teacher is irrelevant as teachers become researchers (see Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993).

In this article, we examine the nature of this basic change in teacher-researcher relationships and explore some of the central issues raised by this development. In particular, we focus on issues related to (a) the equalization of participants' roles in the research process and (b) the control of how data are interpreted and used. To do this, we first trace briefly the character of the underlying shift that has taken place in the study of teaching and teacher education and enumerate some of the underlying themes that appear to be prompting this movement. Throughout, our concern is less with explicating that nature of competing approaches to inquiry than it is with understanding the effects of various approaches on teachers, researchers, and the ways in which these two communities interact.

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## The Shifting Landscape in Teaching and Teacher Education

Traditionally, research on teaching meant a search for indicators of teaching effectiveness, that is, features of teaching practice that consistently predicted high achievement on standardized tests of academic skills. To engage in this search, researchers measured aspects of teaching in a large sample of classrooms and correlated these scores with those derived from student achievement tests in order to estimate relative effectiveness of different teaching “processes.” The results of such analyses were seen as integral to the process of defining the content of teacher preparation. Research was to discover the “knowledge base,” that is, to verify what teachers were supposed to learn to be effective, and teacher education was to make sure candidates for teaching mastered this content efficiently and thoroughly regardless of their personal dispositions or commitments. In this light, research on teaching had a dominant and authoritative standing in research on teacher education (see Doyle, 1990).

Within this framework, with its emphasis on teaching effectiveness, relationships between teachers and researchers were quite remote and detached. Researchers, many of whom had never taught in K-12 classrooms, formulated the studies, constructed the measurement instruments, oversaw the data processing and analysis, interpreted the computer printouts, and wrote the final reports. Teachers, in turn, granted permission for observers to enter their classrooms and dutifully taught their students, ideally without noticing they were being watched. Indeed, the methodological norms of the time dictated that the actual measurement of teaching be done by trained observers—typically graduate students—who were unfamiliar with the questions the research was designed to address. It was not uncommon, therefore, for researchers and teachers to never actually meet.

At a more general level, the overriding structure for the researcher-teacher relationship was formal, unidirectional, and, Gitlin (1990) would argue, alienating. Research was a commodity to be communicated to practice. The researcher and teacher (or “practitioner”) communities connected, if at all, primarily through textbooks, inservice workshops, district or state policies, or even evaluation instruments. Only occasionally did teachers and researchers actually sit down together to delve into common understandings and quandaries. The teachers’ primary contribution to the study of teaching was to stand and listen.

By the early 1990s, this scene was strikingly different. Teaching was being studied up close by researchers who had an immediate affinity with K-12 classroom teaching, by collaborative teams of teachers and researchers, or by teachers themselves. Methods of inquiry were intensely

focused on the rich explication of a single or a few local situations, and the emphasis was on understanding the circumstances and the perspectives of the participants rather than predicting standardized test scores. A wide range of anthropological, linguistic, and, eventually, literary approaches were being brought to bear on the pedagogical and curricular "texts" of classroom life. And there was a growing sense that the research process itself needed to be educative for the teachers as well as the researchers (Gitlin, 1990).

A number of factors animated this transformation. The following four movements are among the prominent ones (for more details, see Carter & Doyle, in press):

1. The emergence of a *cognitive perspective* in research on teachers and teacher education (see Carter, 1990) which led eventually to an interest in the central role of preconceptions in teacher development (see Hollingsworth, 1989; McDiarmid, 1990) and an emphasis on situation and personal construction in teachers' knowledge acquisition (see Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, 1994).

2. The rapid evolution of an emphasis on teachers' *personal knowledge* (see Carter, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 1987; Ross, Cornett, & McCutcheon, 1992), that is, the situated and personalized images and understandings that teachers glean from the actual practice of teaching in classrooms. This accentuation of personal knowledge pushed the locus of inquiry into teaching further away from a knowledge based in researchers' observations and closer to the persons who hold practical understandings of teaching. To understand personal knowledge from this perspective, one must examine the lived experiences of the individual teacher through personal narrative and life history studies (see Cole & Knowles, 1993; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

3. The growing reaction against technical rationality and the remote control of teaching which expanded into a critique of the *politics of teaching*, that is, the power relationships that govern teachers' accountability. Gitlin (1990), for instance, maintains that the relationship between researcher and teacher in most forms of classroom research, including ethnography, denigrates the personal knowledge of teachers, silences their voices, and conveys the impression that only researchers produce knowledge for teaching. Goodson (1994) argues for research that "sponsors" the teachers' voice to reveal the complexity of their work, empower them to make schooling practices more inclusionary and emancipatory, and deny outsiders—university-based researchers or government policy-makers—access to a simplistic "knowledge base" for controlling teaching. With the expanding awareness that much of the actual work of teaching is



carried out by women, there has also been increasing attention to gender in the understanding and control of teaching practice (see Gore, 1993; Grumet, 1988).

4. Finally, there has been a rapidly expanding interest within the teaching and teacher education community in *narrative and story* as forms of both inquiry and pedagogy (see Carter, 1993; Elbaz, 1991). At one level, the case is made that story represents a way of knowing and thinking that is particularly suited to explicating the knowledge that arises from action and, thus, is an especially relevant form for expressing teachers' practical understandings. More broadly, it is argued that we live storied lives, that is, that "My acting-in-the-world . . . is the continuous plotting of a narrative, interpreting the past and projecting the future according to my image of myself" (Funkenstein, 1993, p. 22).

These movements are, of course, interconnected. In sum, however, they point to a concern for the significance of personal construction and the local scene in understanding human action and social policy, and to an emphasis on personal agency in teaching practice. In this view, what teachers understand is seen as an indispensable source of knowledge for and practices in teaching. As a result, there has been a rapidly expanding interest recently in personal narrative and biography in teaching and teacher education. This work is based on the premise that the act of teaching, teachers' experiences and the choices they make, and the process of learning to teach are deeply personal matters persistently blended with a teacher's identity and, thus, his or her life story. Thus, a central focus on teachers' personal lives is considered essential in designing and conducting research, interpreting data, and formulating policy regarding school reform and the education of teachers at all levels of schooling and stages of their careers (see Carter & Doyle, in press). Moreover, research on teaching is seen primarily as a way of making sense of the personal meanings teachers associate with the incidents and circumstances of teaching practice (see Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

### Changing Relationships in the Research Setting

With respect to teacher-researcher relationships, this movement toward the local and personal has underscored the importance of close collaboration in the study of teaching and teacher education. For instance, Cole and Knowles (1993) argue forcefully that all research on "the contexts in which practical and professional action reside" (p. 491) requires a dialectic perspective or partnership at each and every stage of the

process: question formulation, information gathering, interpretation, and theory construction: "Thus, researcher and teacher become engaged as joint theorists/researchers in a mutual apprehension and interpretation of meaning in action" (p. 491).

Gitlin (1990) maintains that classroom research, even much of the recent ethnographic work, is essentially alienating for teachers because their actual voices are silenced and their concerns are pushed aside by the researchers' interests in common themes and broad patterns. He calls, therefore, for "educative" research in which the essential purpose is to serve the interests of teachers.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) have described in some detail the intensely collaborative features of narrative inquiry. Such inquiry is grounded in the premise that "education is the construction and reconstruction of personal and social stories . . ." (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). In the conduct of studies, Connelly and Clandinin (1990) work closely over long periods of time with a small number of teachers to achieve, through observation, journal writing, conversation, documents, and the mutual construction of narrative, an understanding of how the teachers interpret and give meaning to practice and come to terms with the interplay of self and situation. Central to the process is the teacher's story. The researcher, however, is quite active in the process of constructing a collaborative narrative:

Narrative inquiry is . . . a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling and restorytelling as the research proceeds. In the process of beginning to live the shared story of narrative inquiry, the researchers needs to be aware of constructing a relationship in which both voices are heard. (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 4)

A key notion in this line of work is that of narrative unities, which underscores the coherence and continuity of an individual's experience. Connelly and Clandinin argue that, from the perspective of schooling, a teaching act is a "narrative-in-action," that is, an "expression of biography and history. . . in a particular situation" (1985, p. 184). Thus, for an individual teacher, theory and practice are integrated through her or his narrative unity of experience.

Connelly and Clandinin emphasize that teachers know teaching experientially through "images, rituals, habits, cycles, routines, and rhythms" (1985, p. 195). Special attention is given to "image" as a form of knowing that is nonpropositional, holistic, imbued with emotionality and morality, largely tacit, and continuously under revision (see also Elbaz, 1983; 1991). Clandinin (1989) argues that image

draws both from the present and future in a personally meaningful nexus of experience focused on the immediate situation that called it forth. It reaches into the past, gathering up experiential threads meaningfully connected to the present, and it reaches intentionally into the future and creates new meaningfully connected threads as situations are experienced and new situations are anticipated from the perspective of the image. Image is the glue that melds together a person's diverse experiences, both personal and professional. (p. 139-140)

This knowing embodied in images stands in sharp contrast to the conceptual frameworks exemplified in the formal academic disciplines, that is, the paradigmatic mode of knowing (see Bruner, 1985).

Others have developed approaches similar to that of Connelly and Clandinin. Butt, Raymond, and their colleagues have constructed an approach called "collaborative autobiography" in which teachers write personal statements that cover

a depiction of the context of current working reality, a description of current pedagogy and curriculum-in-use, reflections on past personal and professional lives that might facilitate understanding present professional thoughts and actions, and finally, a projection into preferred futures through a critical appraisal of the previous three phases. (Butt & Raymond, 1989, p. 407)

These statements are done in a group setting, so that individuals hear other autobiographies which can prod memory. The researchers then enter to assist, on the one hand, the autobiographer to identify major themes, patterns, issues, and events in his or her text, and to chart independently, on the other, the concepts, ideas, and categories that the research finds in the text. The products from these two interpretive activities are then brought together to construct a composite description and explanation. This composite is then read by the autobiographer for validation. The researchers also visit classrooms to see if the accounts accord with actual events.

### Issues in Teacher-Researcher Relationships

The collaborative and egalitarian character of modern approaches to classroom research is quite compelling with respect to its promise for building a rich understanding of teaching events and enhancing teachers' capacity to manage the substance and conduct of their own work. What's missing from this discussion, however, is attention to the particulars of



power and rewards in teacher-researcher relationships, factors that influence in basic ways the actual conduct of inquiry in teaching and teacher education.

We turn now to a discussion of some of the issues of power that appear to surround and permeate teacher-researcher relationships within this new climate of concern for explicating the local and understanding the personal and for conducting research collaboratively. The model situation we have in mind involves a university-based researcher or research team working quite closely with a teacher or group of teachers primarily for the purpose of inquiry, although other intentions and objectives may also be at work in the venture.

### *Power and Rewards in Teacher-Researcher Relationships*

Although not always recognized, power is a central ingredient in any research setting and especially in classroom research. Traditionally, researchers assumed power over teachers by virtue of their social status, their expertise with respect to the enterprise of inquiry, their access to time to devote to a project, and, in many instances, their funding. This power extended to the framing of questions, the selection of investigative tools, the interpretation of data, and the publication of results. There was also differential power with respect to the sponsors and audiences for research, that is, the funding agencies who subsidized studies and the policymakers who used the results of research to alter schooling. Researchers' "knowledge," in contrast to teachers' "experiences," had legitimacy in these corridors. As a result, teachers' lives were often affected not only as participants in research but also as targets of policies for school reform.

Teachers were "protected" in this process by having their identities masked and their actions and words reduced to impersonal scores. At the same time, they were excluded. Their voices were silenced in the accumulation of knowledge about teaching, the formulating of policies that controlled how teaching was done and how teachers were educated, and in the distribution of rewards, in terms of both money and prestige, that accrue to knowledge producers. One suspects, of course, that teachers filtered what researchers were told and were able to see and, in this sense, controlled, if not subverted, the outcomes of inquiry.

The modern emphasis on the personal and the local would reformulate this power matrix in research along two lines: (a) equalization of roles and responsibilities for the character of the inquiry, and (b) an increase in the teacher's control over data. This is a fundamental change that involves issues of substance, motivation, and rewards in the research enterprise. In the following sections, we elaborate on these themes.



*Equalization*

In commenting on current directions in research on teaching and teacher education, Milburn (1989) argues that, for the most part, teachers themselves remain in the shadows, their voices muted by the researchers' fairly transparent political agendas and interests in broad generalizations that smooth over the particular and the idiosyncratic in real teachers' lives. Along similar lines, Popkewitz (1994) maintains that researchers' voices are still the loudest in the study of teachers' personal knowledge and thinking. Such research is the "re-interpretation of situated thought through cognitive psychology or symbolic interactionist perspectives" rather than "a naive cataloging of thought that 'naturally' exists" (p. 2n).

These comments reveal an important dynamic in contemporary configurations of classroom research. Although teachers certainly are motivated to know more about their work, their primary attentions and concerns are appropriately local. But questions in research are typically driven from the outside by a scholarly community and its sponsors, for example, policy-makers and funding agencies. The available reports, in other words, are written by academics who have a variety of theoretical, political, and practical agendas. And these agendas do not always favor a teachers' perspective. The general rejection of technical rationality, for example, has meant a devaluing of technical issues in teaching, such as classroom management and instructional procedures, and a disregard of knowledge that might inform these areas. As Kagan (1992) notes with respect to preservice teacher education, novices enter teaching with a concern for procedure and all too often find only abstract theories about broad educational issues.

Goodson (1994) further argues that an exclusive focus on teachers' practice in classroom research is quite limiting in that it catches teachers at their most vulnerable point, and is ultimately politically conservative because it ignores the policy context within which teachers' work is embedded and shaped. Thus teachers' are exposed but not empowered to address the real contextual issues that govern their work.

Finally, researchers often direct research projects toward common themes that can help inform educational policy and staff development planning. As the particulars of real teachers' lives or experiences fade to the background, it is sometimes difficult to hear the teachers and to imagine that their voices would be uniform or that they would always agree with researchers on the meanings of this work.

Teachers frequently do not have the time, the inclination, or the expertise to participate extensively or effectively in the scholarly community. Moreover, the rewards for doing so are seldom available within K-12 schools, in contrast to universities. Thus, teachers often have less

investment than university-based researchers in the particulars of a given research project. Perhaps these issues could be resolved through a differentiation of roles and responsibilities within a research team, but such differentiation typically reflects a status hierarchy with respect to knowledge production. Thus, the plan replicates the same power arrangements of traditional research on teaching.

A final comment in this area relates to the tendency of teachers to be treated individualistically in most studies, despite the evidence which indicates that confidants and a reference group are quite significant to teachers (see Huberman, 1993; Sikes, Measor, & Woods, 1985). This individualistic stance is also ironic given the emphasis in current work on story. Story necessarily implies a community both as source of narrative forms and as audience (see Carter, 1993). It would seem that the tradition would be enriched by a more explicit appreciation of community in personal narrative and life history.

### *Data Control*

The question of control over data is especially salient with respect to the serious ethical, political, and educational issues that deeply collaborative and intensely personal inquiry raises (see Cole & Knowles, 1993; Denzin, 1989; Goodson, 1994). In some of this work, teachers are being asked to disclose private thoughts and feelings, which in itself can make them vulnerable to censure or derision, especially outside the particular context of the study. Anonymity, confidentiality, and control of the information are especially significant issues for teachers in this research context and become even more so as they assume co-investigators' responsibilities for data interpretation and theory construction related to their own personal narratives.

In addition, the intensely personal nature of the subject matter and the collaboration can create personal disruption and interpersonal dynamics that can extend far beyond what is usually thought about with respect to research relationships, particularly if the interviews bring difficult personal issues to the surface. Typically the interpersonal support and sense of relationship is high during the interviews but abruptly stops when the project moves to another phase or ends. This can have painful consequences for the teachers.

In a recent paper Cole (1994), who is a specialist in the personal history approach to research and teacher education, described her reactions to being a participant in a life history study. Reflecting on her experience of being the researched, she was aware of her strong emotional reactions. She was quite anxious in anticipation of the interviews and found that they

invaded her daily life in ways she, as an experienced researcher, had never anticipated. She also worried about the coherence, accuracy, and relevance of her interview responses, that is, the subjective feeling of incompleteness in her answers and the oversimplified and sometimes distorted version of her life that she seemed to be hearing in her own answers and in the tentative interpretations that the researcher found. These factors complicated the issues of authority over the information and its interpretation, and made her especially sensitive to who saw this information and how it was understood. Finally, the experience stayed with her well beyond the interviews themselves. Looking back over this experience she became aware that most of those she interviewed in the past were silent on these matters, suggesting that the private impact of being researched in this intensely personal way can be masked.

This report suggests that a shift in power relationships between teachers and researchers may not be easy to achieve in fact, even when the "teacher" in question is an experienced and knowledgeable researcher. Regardless of intentions, the structure of a research setting places the teacher under scrutiny and, thus, implicitly locates the investigator in a powerful but sheltered position with respect to the content of the study. Exercising power from a subordinate position may not be inviting or possible.

### Conclusion

The conceptual and methodological transformations occurring in research on teaching and teacher education have opened significant avenues for increasing our understanding of these endeavors and for invigorating the conduct of research and practice in these domains. Recognition of the central relevance of personal and local dimensions in teaching and teacher development and of collaboration in research are especially worthwhile features of this movement.

in this discussion, however, we have focused on the challenges that are inherent in new modes of inquiry, with special reference to teacher-research relationships. The analysis suggests that there are basic questions of power and rewards that shape the dynamics of collaboration in research. These factors have a particular impact on teachers, in large measure because (a) they are the targets of inquiry (and thus are vulnerable), and (b) they are absorbed in quite demanding tasks with few rewards for contributions to the general knowledge about teaching (and thus less engaged in the power and politics of inquiry).

We are not arguing that teachers cannot learn from an outside and more general perspective on their local practice. Nor are we ignoring the



risks researchers face in collaborative research projects which typically take a great deal of time vis-a-vis the traditional tenure clock and can evaporate if teachers feel data should not be used. Our intent, rather, is to stimulate thinking about the thorny and often neglected issues that especially teachers face in the modern approaches to classroom research. These issues are not insurmountable. Nevertheless, they demand careful attention and openness if we are to lessen the risks teachers necessarily assume when they choose to be a part of the study of teaching and teacher education.

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# Curriculum Issues and the Postsecondary Preparation of Educators

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Linda S. Behar-Horenstein



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# PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

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# Editor's Introduction

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*Linda S. Behar-Horenstein*

This special issue of the *Peabody Journal of Education* is devoted to an exploration of how curriculum issues influence the roles and responsibilities of educators at the postsecondary level. The articles focus on how societal needs and the increasing diversity of students at all academic levels are likely to be reflected in the university programs of preparation for educational personnel. The authors, recognized scholars in their respective disciplines, provide the reader with thoughtful research and critical commentary concerning the curriculum issues that impact the professional preparation of teachers, administrators, and curriculum specialists. They discuss the multiplicity of reform agendas advocated for by culturally and linguistically diverse populations, business groups, and legislative bodies. In consideration of these issues, the authors critically examine how the mission of colleges and universities is moving into an era of transition and uncertainty.

In the first article, Ivor Goodson and Chris Fliesser explore the impediments and inequalities which have typically characterized relationships between university researchers and teachers. Through case study methodology, they show how these differences can enrich research initiatives and be used to attenuate the collaborative nature of interactions. Their study highlights how researchers and teachers working collaboratively may uncover the complexities of learning and teaching in ways that further understanding and foster reflexivity in confronting social actions.

Next, Linda S. Behar-Horenstein presents an overview of the changing approaches to the postsecondary preparation of school principals. She explores how state certification standards drive the university curriculum and discusses the role that principal academies play in promoting the professional development of practicing principals. Arguing that the professional preparation of principals is in need of restructuring, Behar-Horenstein offers a change-oriented leadership model, driven by a com-

petency-based conceptual curricular framework to guide the restructuring process. To promote effective school leadership, Behar-Horenstein recommends that professional preparation programs for aspiring principals place a greater emphasis on the processes related to curriculum, instruction, and teaching.

In the third article, Andy Hargreaves and Noreen Jacka explore how moral, emotional, and political dimensions influence teachers' emerging identities. Drawing upon the case of a beginning teacher, the authors analyze the experience of a teacher who had successfully acquired innovative methods of instruction and remained committed to those principles as she began to teach. Observing the disparity between the teacher's practicum and subsequent entry into the classroom, the authors suggest that we need to rethink how we prepare teachers. They recommend that teachers should be trained in a variety of instructional methods, supported by critical reflection about the contexts and purposes of their use. Second, they contest the use of professional development schools as stimulating solutions to the problems of teacher education. Finally the authors claim that efforts to reform teacher education will remain futile until there are fundamental changes in the cultures and contexts of schooling that beginning teachers have to encounter.

Do teacher education programs adequately address multicultural education? In this article, Wanda Fox and Geneva Gay argue that teacher education should be deliberately designed to bridge the growing social, ethnic, racial, and cultural gaps between students and teachers. They suggest that the knowledge and skills for working with multicultural content and multiculturally diverse student populations should be an integral aspect of all teacher education programs. However, despite the fact that teachers play a crucial role in determining successful student outcomes, systematic, comprehensive and carefully planned encounters with multiculturalism throughout the totality of teacher education preparation programs remain the exception. To address this dilemma, Fox and Gay propose a strategy for multiculturalizing teacher education that is responsive to the varying levels of beliefs, knowledge, will, and skills in cultural diversity that students hold.

Next, Frank Pajares and John K. Bengston evaluate an assumption common to teacher education programs, that when preservice teachers' subject matter is enhanced by a formal psychological understanding of learners that superior instruction results. Analyzing preservice language arts teachers' (N=113) responses to a middle school student's request for feedback about his poem indicated that formalist thinking predominated over instructional feedback which was designed to increase literary skills. The authors contend that if claims that preservice teachers' beliefs are resistant to change are accu-

rate, then there is reason to be concerned with teacher preparation programs that foster a formalistic understanding of psychology.

In the sixth article, Elliot W. Eisner argues that the kind of education that teachers receive demonstrates little affinity with visions of what constitutes competence in teaching. He claims that the agenda for genuine educational reform and significant teacher preparation will necessitate relinquishing old habits and traditional expectations and cultivating an openness to new ways of doing the familiar. Since the major locus of teacher education resides in schools, rather than the university, schools must model the professional norms that support educational criticism and provide a structure that encourages interaction among teachers. Eisner suggests that improving schools, teaching, and learning will require attention to the ecology of schooling.

Next, Hazel A. Jones contends that teacher education programs must enable early childhood personnel to understand how culture and language influence child development. She advocates for the unification of teacher education in early childhood and early childhood special education as a means for diminishing the segregation of programs for young children at risk or with disabilities. She also emphasizes the need for early childhood professionals to work collaboratively with professionals, agencies, and families in inclusive settings. Jones suggests that the plurality of young children's needs will require that early childhood professionals develop an understanding of the curriculum knowledge base and the ability to individualize and modify instruction.

Are we preparing our teachers with the skills they will need in the changing secondary schools? How should teacher education programs be changed to ensure that secondary educators are able to prepare students for their futures in community, work, and postsecondary learning? In this article, Jeanne B. Repetto explores how secondary transition initiatives for individuals with disabilities have influenced the implementation of secondary education curriculum and the preparation of secondary educators. To prepare all high school students for their futures, she argues that secondary educators should acquire a knowledge base in vocational values and domains, technological skills, systems change, and developmental skills.

In the ninth article, Mary Howard-Hamilton, Silvia Echevarria Rafuls, and Stephanie G. Puleo challenge the traditional epistemologies of our educational system. They present a framework to promote collaboration between educators, mental health practitioners, and administrators that relies upon the inclusion and empowerment of families. The authors suggest that the mental health professional will be a key participant in this endeavor, and called upon to act as a liaison between families and educa-



tional systems. Howard-Hamilton, Rafuls, and Puleo present an overview of the type of professional preparation that will be needed to assist practitioners in making the transition from traditional therapeutic models to effective treatment modalities for culturally diverse populations.

Peter Hlebowitsh discusses the fundamental assessment problems facing the curriculum in higher education and argues that methods of assessment based in pragmatism are integrally related to methods of curriculum development. He suggests that moving the role of assessment away from student comparisons into the function of program improvement can be aided by the development of locally devised assessments. Hlebowitsh claims that nonstandardized quantitative and qualitative group assessment—such as students' folders, projects, conversations, and demonstrations—which holds the greatest potential for insight on curriculum effects, should form the contents of locally devised assessments.

How can educators respond to public perceptions that educators are not succeeding in their charge to implement school reform and improvement? In this last article, James L. Doud describes a curriculum model for site-based school evaluation as a means to increase stakeholder involvement and authenticate the legitimacy of schools. The author outlines a systemic self-evaluation plan that will require participants to develop considerable interaction skills, facilitation skills, and consensual identification of desired learner results. By placing responsibility for school improvement planning and accountability at each local site, Doud believes that this model offers promise for the appropriate redress of local, state, and national educational concerns.

The authors propose a diverse platform of restructuring initiatives. Where should colleges and universities begin to focus their efforts? How should the components of this systemic change agenda be prioritized? Perhaps a primary consideration will require that postsecondary educators engage in dialogue and consensus building activities directed at identifying which changes faculty will commit to working towards. The most formidable challenge facing educators may be moving beyond dialogue and modeling the successful implementation of a change initiative.

The collective voice of these authors reveals that each builds upon the propositions and insights offered by the other authors. Hopefully, the topics brought to our attention will catalyze the kind of dialogue that is needed to address the uncertainty that accompanies the transitions emerging at postsecondary institutions. As universities and colleges continue to evaluate the congruity between the utility of the professional preparation they provide and the needs of society and all students, there is little doubt that work presented in this issue will crystallize important discussions.



# Negotiating Fair Trade: Towards Collaborative Relationships Between Researchers and Teachers in College Settings

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*Ivor Goodson*  
*Chris Fliesser*

## Introduction

During the 1950s and 1960s, research on education was often a positivist enterprise, dominated by quantitative research methods, focusing on the process-product model (Dunkin & Biddle, 1974). For practitioners, it has been argued, this had unfortunate consequences:

As education professors attempted to establish academic credentials and forge academic careers their research became more and more methodologically sophisticated and thereby less and less accessible to practitioners. (Johnson, 1989, p. 87).

Classroom teachers (insiders) involved in research projects usually played the role of “subjects” being observed and studied by university academics (outsiders).

In the past 20 years, a range of scholars including symbolic interactionists, ethnomethodologists, ethnographers, and sociologists of knowledge have begun studying schooling by focusing more on the subjective

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perceptions and constructions of reality of teachers (see Goodson & Walker, 1991). This increasing interest in qualitative methodologies has developed a view of schools as complex organizations and teaching as a complex activity (Lieberman, 1986). Some of the university researchers of teaching began viewing teachers as participants in the research as opposed to subjects being studied, or as Ward and Tikunoff (1982) stated, a "working with posture rather than working on." Involving teachers as partners in research on schooling is the essence of collaborative research (Lieberman, 1986; Tikunoff & Ward, 1983). Exploring the potential of collaborative research should not be seen as challenging the validity of more conventional university based scholarship, often of a disciplinary kind. Rather, we would argue that by exploring the theory-practice interface new directions (for all kinds of research) and new validities will be established.

Feldman (1993) contends that the relationships between teachers and researchers are collaborative in only the generic sense of the term (people who labour together) and do not meet the specifications of what he calls "equitable collaborations." If the relationship between university professors and teachers is to be equitable, the goals of both parties in the research must be met.

Therefore, an equitable collaboration is one in which the following are equally applied for all the actors: work with parity; assume equal responsibility for problem identification, data collection, analysis, and report-writing; share the same set of goals; and assure needs are met (respect, payment for services, kind and caring treatment). (Feldman, 1993, p. 343)

Collaboration by this view is a process that works to "empower" teachers. Idealistically, it pursues a nonhierarchical form of power wherein academics and teachers negotiate and live in equitable working relationships. Negotiating equitable relationships is problematic in most collaborative research projects because the participants themselves enter the relationship as unequal partners. Thiessen (1991) describes three types of inequality: social status and influence, expertise, and position. There are other impediments to equitable collaboration: the differences between university interests and teacher interests, associated with different structural locations; differences in job descriptions; hierarchical and bureaucratic relationships; the way teacher voices are represented in reports where the academic's voice drowns out the teacher's voice; and, where the relationship between school teacher and outsider researcher has grown into dependency, a form of mutual confirmation being pur-

sued (often indicated by phrases like “am I giving you what you want”). Outsider researchers may be unwilling to give up their power base, which is based on the notion of their having “specialized knowledge.”

In this article, we take the view that these impediments and inequalities might be viewed as differences which can enrich research projects and the collaborative nature of the interaction; they should not be viewed as insurmountable problems which cannot be overcome. The trick is to turn differences in voice, vision, and validity into advantages.

### Fair Trade: En Route to Equitable Collaboration

Cultivating collaborative relationships is incremental in nature. The concept of equitable collaboration is useful as a long-term goal of some research projects. However, it is unlikely that a group of strangers who may have little understanding of each other’s worlds can share the kind of ideal relationship implicit in Feldman’s definition of collaboration from the start of the project.

In order for a working relationship to develop into a collaborative one, all parties must have mutual respect and trust, which is built upon understanding the complexities and intricacies of each other’s worlds and roles (outsiders/insiders). This deep understanding may be acquired over time, during which research roles can be negotiated and renegotiated so that they become more equitable and collaborative. The reality may well be that only some outsider/insider relationships will evolve during the course of the research project into equitable collaborations, but it is worth exploring this process in order to determine how it can be sponsored. We are looking then at the process of “becoming collaborative,” of becoming more equitable in our work.

An appropriate starting point for negotiations between outsiders and insiders may be the notion of a “fair trade.”<sup>1</sup> Outsider and insider can negotiate their roles and relationships by answering two starting questions: At this point in time, what I am willing to offer to the research project? (e.g., time, skills, resources); what do I expect to get out of my involvement in this research project? (e.g., professional development, published articles, tenure). Both should have the opportunity to honestly disclose what they are bringing to the bargaining table and what they expect to take away. Further negotiations can take place during the course of the project as participants’ interests change and, more importantly, if and when mutual trust and respect develop.

<sup>1</sup>The notion of a “fair trade” was initially and tentatively conceptualized by Ivor Goodson (1991).

In this article, drawing on our project experience, we try to answer the following questions. How did we negotiate roles and relationships between participants in our research projects so that all partners perceive themselves as getting a fair trade? Did we move towards more collaborative working relationships? What are some of the issues and complexities involved in the dynamic process of conducting a research project in college settings?

### Background to the Research Project

In 1988, as part of the requirement for a Masters of Education, Chris Fliesser, a professor at Fanshawe Community College, completed a thesis entitled *The Induction of Technical Vocational Teachers in a Community College Setting* (Fliesser, 1988). This qualitative study illuminated issues related to the first 1 to 3 years of teaching in a community college from the subjective perceptions and constructions of four new technical-vocational teachers. After presenting interpretations of personal accounts, he put forth a number of recommendations describing ways in which the colleges and similar institutions could assist new teachers when making the transition from the shop floor to the classroom. In the summer after he graduated, Fliesser was encouraged by his thesis advisor, Ivor Goodson, to develop and submit a proposal for a research project which would set up a pilot induction program for new community college teachers. The proposal resulted in a grant from the Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities for a 2-year project.

During the summer of 1989, seven newly hired full-time community college teachers agreed to participate in a 2-year pilot induction program. Ivor Goodson and Ardra Cole, another university professor (both of them outsiders), would be involved in mapping out the contextual elements in the college setting, as well as in documenting and evaluating the induction program itself, over a 2-year period. (This aspect was developed in collaboration with Ardra Cole; see Goodson & Cole, 1994.) They would complete life histories of each new teacher (Goodson, 1984), direct bi-annual reflective sessions for the new teachers and analyze tapes from bi-weekly sharing sessions as well as the journal Fliesser kept. Fliesser was to develop and deliver the induction program (a key "insider" role but somewhat short of full insider participation in classroom life). As part of this role, he was to undertake classroom observations, facilitate bi-weekly sharing sessions, be available for individual consultation, attend project meetings, provide some workshops, and keep a detailed journal. At the end of the 2-year induction program, in the sum-



mer of 1991, the three members of the research team began analyzing the data and writing up a final report.

### Negotiating a Fair Trade

The expertise each brought to the project was different. Ardra Cole was a researcher having a wide range of experience working with new teachers both in the elementary and secondary setting. Ivor Goodson had experience in using and developing qualitative research methods and had done work studying and writing about teachers' careers and lives. Fliesser was familiar with the college setting and had some experience with the research methods used as well as experience working with new teachers. The new teachers brought with them their rich and varied backgrounds from their occupational fields and were very enthusiastic about being involved in the research project.

Cole, Goodson, and Fliesser had similar, as well as different, reasons for studying new teachers. All were interested in helping this particular group of teachers make the transition from their working worlds in diverse disciplines to becoming teachers. We all hoped that the college would set up a permanent program which would help future teachers. However, Cole and Goodson were mainly interested in adding to the growing literature on new teachers; Cole adding to the induction literature, and Goodson the literature on teachers' careers and lives. Fliesser was mainly interested in the induction program itself and to a lesser degree the research. The new teachers were interested in getting assistance during the first few years, as well as setting up a permanent induction program.

The difference in status, position, expertise, and interests were all possible impediments to developing equitable relationships. How did we negotiate our roles in the beginning of the project? Goodson and Fliesser had known each other for 2 years. The relationship was evolving from one of student-teacher to a more collegial one, and therefore we trusted and generally respected one another and knew each others' strengths and limitations. When the research proposal was developed, we both worked on it. We also decided who should be hired as the other researcher. After a few meetings among the three team members, we felt that all of us knew what expertise we were willing to lend to the project and in turn what we would get out of the project for our efforts. Decisions were made by consensus, although formally, for the record, Goodson held the position of principal investigator, Cole the position of co-investigator, and Fliesser the position of coordinator of the induction

program. The new teachers in the study had the status of probationary teachers.

The new teachers in the study were what Houser (1990) calls "minimally informed participants." They were new teachers, who on the urging of the president at the college, participated in the study. Most of them participated because they believed it would help them keep their jobs and that they would learn from the activities planned during the project. At the beginning of the research project Goodson, Cole, and Fliesser met with the group of new teachers. It was at that meeting that we informally negotiated a "trade." The participants were willing to give some of their time to the project. In return, they would get a induction program which might help them become better teachers. They were willing to be the "guinea pigs," as one participant put it, so that new teachers in the future would benefit from a permanent induction program. As we shall see, at the beginning stages of the project the participants did not have equal status with the research team, but as the project progressed they owned a louder and louder voice in how the project proceeded.

### Fliesser's Role Within the Project

Some factors which created tension, or at least were potential sources of conflict, were related to the roles and relationships we negotiated. Fliesser's location within the project and his unique role in it; the question of what the research would give to the participants as part of the fair trade; and Fliesser's changing perceptions and interests as a result of his involvement in this research project were areas of tension. In the following pages he describes these issues as well as how we attempted to resolve them through mutual negotiation. Fliesser was the epicentre of these negotiations, and hence his personal reflections provide particularly valuable insights.

### *Fliesser's Reflections*

I was the one who had to be there to observe new faculty, facilitate their professional development, reinforce them, and support them. It was a role I had freely negotiated. Cole and Goodson, on the other hand, would watch us, observe us, and evaluate us. I recall feeling like I was on the front line, that, technically, I was part of the research team, but I had the difficult job of "doing it now and analyzing it later." I did not realize at the time when we were negotiating our roles how two-sided my position was. I was alone facing the day-to-day pressure of trying to juggle all the pieces to make the induction program work. This journal entry

shows some of my anxiety which I felt at the beginning of the 2-year program:

I feel somewhat squeezed because I have so much work to do to get this program going . . . yet once again I feel I have very little support (from the research team). All of the day-to-day arrangements are falling on my shoulders. . . . Can I pull it off and still do the other things I have to do? (Journal entry, Sept. 1, 1989)

I recall meeting with Goodson and Cole and telling them how I felt. They were sympathetic to my feelings, but there was little they could do to help me. The following events precipitated my changing some of my attitudes and perceptions: having an office at the university where I spent at least one day a week; the continuing discourse I had with Goodson and our growing friendship; the meetings and conversations I had with Cole as well as professors at the Faculty of Education; and my turning 40 years old. In this section I will describe: how critical reflection began to inform more of my day-to-day actions; how I became more interested in more direct participation in academic (university) life; and finally, how my perceptions of my work within my institution changed. Most of these changes in attitudes and perceptions translated into direct action in the induction program and this points out the importance of renegotiating roles throughout the course of a research project.

When the research project started, I believed that the success of the induction program would be measured by the increase in skills of new teachers, and I, not the researchers at the university, would be the one to help the teachers acquire these skills. The research component of the project was simply the vehicle to get funds, while playing a part in the criticism and construction of professional knowledge was of minor importance in my view. I believed the project was all about action, about helping new teachers, about measurable results, and that these actions were only marginally related to reflection or to developing educational theories.

All of us spend some time reflecting about our lives, but few of us have or take the time to reflect in a regular systematic way. At the beginning of the project I did not see the value of keeping a journal to aide reflection.

It's Saturday evening. Again one day after our Friday session. I'm really finding it difficult to sit down and journal. Maybe I should be more succinct. . . . (Oct. 14, 1989)

. . . . This is a pain . . . I can see why people quit writing in diaries (Oct. 10, 1990).



In the course of being involved in this research project, I moved from what Van Manen (1977) calls the technical level of reflections into more critical reflection. I also began reflecting in a more systematic and formal way: I now keep a personal-professional journal (Holly, 1987). I began to realize that critical reflection (of which keeping a journal was one method I could use) was an excellent way of informing my day-to-day actions.

It has taken me 2 years to get to the point where I believe writing a journal is important enough to deserve at least a commitment of 30 minutes a day and at least an hour on Sundays. Why do I believe this is important now? First, I believe my life is getting busier and busier. Unless I reflect on this busyness "it" will give my life direction instead of me. Second, maybe my life is important enough to write about. Maybe my journey of becoming a more reflective person is significant to others that follow. (April 25, 1991)

Adding to the critical literature on teacher development was important to both Cole and Goodson, but it was of little significance to me at the start of the project. I had a limited understanding of the specialized knowledge and theories related to teacher development. They had expertise in constructing the professional knowledge about teachers careers and lives.

However, during the course of the research project I, too, became interested in being a part of the discourse in which Goodson and Cole were involved. I realized that there was value in reflecting and writing about important issues and sharing these thoughts with others. I wanted to write a few articles and present a few papers. I began to gain confidence that I had something to offer from my practitioner's perspective.

As both Goodson and Cole became aware of my growing interest in participating more extensively in the academic (university) life, they helped me to realize my goal. In essence, we renegotiated our roles, and I became an equal partner. They let me "in" rather than shut me "out." The three of us are now analyzing and working on a number of papers and articles related to this project.

The following are three fairly lengthy quotes from my journal that outline some changes in my attitudes and perceptions about my working life, and my life within academic institutions. We will see why they changed and how they impacted on the project.

At various times between Thursday and today (after Ivor and I had lunch) I have from time to time reflected about my life, life of acade-



mia, working life in general. In the past few years I have defined my own job. "You define your own space and then you spend some time protecting it." (Ivor) I have in fact defined my own space at Fanshawe College. I remember when I first started my job as curriculum consultant (5 years ago). I felt like I had to be at the college from 8 to 5. I had to appear to be working hard and look like an administrator. After all, in the academic world in order to advance and change the place you had to take on a position of power. Over the course of the past few years I began to realize that I did not need real power (administrative position) to impact and change an institution. I am also coming to the realization that institutions can't be changed but their inner workings can be exposed or manipulated. People with real power are too busy to be able to be involved with the many interesting things I was doing. (April 25, 1991)

In reflecting on my career I believe that for a while, about 10 years ago until 2 years ago, I did give up "the fight" and I allowed the status quo to engulf me. I felt I needed to be one of the people that had real power and status in order to get on to the gravy train. Now that I better understand how the gravy train works, I can be myself, I can begin to critically look at the train, the people on it, and the regions it passes through. In fact I can unpack and expose, I can assume a "subversive" posture, one that I feel much more comfortable with. (April 17, 1991)

In one way I feel blessed that I met Ivor, who over the course of a few years exposed this weakness in institutions as well as rekindled the fire in me which is to critically study the status quo. On the other hand I feel sad that my naive and ideal view of institutions is shattered. No longer can I go about my merry way helping people. I now must uncover, expose in some cases and play the hard ball politics which are at the essence of institutional life. 'Life was simpler then. . . .' However, I never want to go back to the good old days. I now have much greater control of my life. I work harder than I ever have, not working on others' agendas, but my own. (ibid.)

### The Teacher's Position

The "broker" in developing links between the research project and the teachers was Fliesser. Hence, the changes in attitude and perception he records influenced the direction of the induction programme. This role was as outsider (researcher) and insider (coordinator and classroom reader). In a way he led "negotiations" on behalf of the teachers; he was their "union representative" in defining "the terms of trade." This daily

contact with them and the trust he engendered ensured the process of negotiation represented many of the teachers' interests. In effect, he arbitrated over these interests.

This is, of course, not full face-to-face negotiation or collaboration. We judged that such a process, if engaged in by all members of the research team with all participating teachers, would have been too disparate and time consuming. The project would have been mainly about "defining collaboration" not about action.

By placing Fliesser at the centre as the broker, we sought to ensure a balance between defining action and collaboration whilst still articulately representing teachers' interests and concerns. These were many examples of how this worked. For instance, after our first group reflective session, the new teachers decided that they wanted a series of workshops during the 2nd year of the program. The one workshop everyone wanted was entitled: "The Micro-politics of Fanshawe College: How things really get done around here." During the course of the 2nd year of the project, the new teachers and Fliesser spent countless hours discussing the micro-politics of academic life within their institution. Some of these discussions spun out of the new teachers' frustrations with institutional life, and many of the discussions were sparked by the increasing awareness of how to get things accomplished in an institution, to "uncover, expose, and in some cases play hard ball politics." It became obvious that teachers had to step out of their classrooms from time to time and make their voices heard. Teachers not only required classroom teaching skills, but they had to be able to manoeuvre in the political backwaters of the institution in skillful and informed ways. By the end of the induction program all of the new teachers knew about "micro-politics," and that they had to get good at playing politics in order to get the things that they and their students required.

The way in which teachers developed their collective micropolitical awareness during the project shows how theory and practice were mediated as the project progressed. Crucial in the mediation, we believe, was that we did not confront theory and practice starkly—with university outsiders and college insiders staring across the contextual variables of their worlds. Rather the discussion was conducted and translated by Fliesser, who drew from both the worlds of theory and practice in initiating a discourse which above all made sense in terms of insider perceptions and needs. Above all, it was this factor which softened the often sharp confrontation between university theory and college practice. The definition of a fair trade emerged out of "insider" discussions in their home territory, and was then played back as a series of inquiries and demands to the university researchers.

## Conclusion

Our portrayal captures some of the aspects of our collaborative discussions, our negotiated “trade.” In these sections we see how the role of change agent within a research project and within an institution plays out. The role that Fliesser played resembles that of a “broker” who is at the “sharp end” of program delivery, but also prompted and pushed by the findings and falterings of the outsider researchers. Most importantly, his role shows how the negotiations over “trade” took place—how the project teachers began to express their own emerging needs and how, albeit in limited ways, the project team responded. Caught between insider and outsider worlds, Fliesser mediated between these worlds, and in doing so elucidated some of the tensions and resolutions at work when developing collaborative trades.

Drawing from some of our experience, the following guidelines might form the basis from which to negotiate “fair trade” and enhance more collaborative relationships during the research process:

1. Negotiate a fair trade by addressing these two questions: At this point in time, what am I willing to offer to the research project? (time, skills etc.); At this point in time what do I expect to get out of my involvement in this research project? (professional development, publish articles, tenure).
2. Make a commitment to forming an equitable working relationship with all members of the project once there is sufficient trust and understanding amongst researchers and teachers.
3. Consider the impediments to equity in research projects, such as: the differences between university researcher interests and teacher interests (expectations); differences in job descriptions; hierarchical teacher-student relationships; the way teacher voices are represented in reports where the impediments voice drowns out the teacher’s voice; where the relationship between school teacher and researcher has grown into dependency, usually the school teacher needing confirmation from the researcher; differences in interests, social status, job description, expertise; everyone having access to the same data during the course of the project; and researchers not willing to give up their power base, which is based upon them having specialized knowledge, to teachers.
4. Negotiate and renegotiate roles at various times throughout the dynamic process of a research project, keeping in mind that participants’ interests and needs change. Project members should be able to renegotiate their roles when they feel it necessary.
5. Time and energy should be committed to developing strong, trusting, and equitable relationships.

6. As part of the research design, develop an evaluation strategy to determine how the relationship between researchers and teachers influences the research process.

This case study is one project as seen through the eyes of a teacher, and only certain elements may be applicable to other projects. However, one major theme holds true for most research projects studying the complexities of teaching: Researchers and teachers working collaboratively may uncover the complexities of learning and teaching in ways that further their mutual understandings and develop their reflexivity in confronting social action.

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# Promoting Effective School Leadership: A Change-Oriented Model for the Preparation of Principals

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Changes in the professional preparation of aspiring principals reflect an increased responsiveness to the work that emerging school principals are expected to perform. Currently, models of training at the university level suggest that there is a movement away from the managerial, authoritarian, and top down leadership styles that are typically associated with the science of administration (Lumdsen, 1993; Milstein, 1993; Thompson, 1991; Thomson, 1992, 1993). The transition towards collegial and empowering forms of leadership has been catalyzed by a reconceptualization of the principal's role, debates about the congruence between theory and practice, and efforts to link training experiences with school-based practice. Attempts to ensure quality and cohesion within professional preparation programs have been authenticated by the identification of strategies to assist future leaders in acquiring domain specific skills, (e.g., a knowledge base grounded in research and interpersonal skills) (Thompson, 1991; Thomson, 1992, 1993). Efforts to align university training and actual practice are reflected by an emphasis on the development of group processing skills, collaborative leadership styles, and communication skills (Worner, 1994), participatory decision making and consensus building (Thurston, Clift, & Schacht, 1993), reflective thinking (Gordon & Moles, 1994), and mentoring (Luebkekmann & Clemens, 1994; Prestine & Le Grand, 1991; Stakenas, 1994; Synder, 1994; Worner, 1994).

Transitions in the professional preparation of prospective principals coincide with program changes at more global levels. First, many post-secondary educational administration programs previously accentuated

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planning, facilities, buses, and budgets. Second, newly reconstituted departments have been renamed as departments of educational leadership or educational leadership and policy. Third, redesigned programs have been formulated to promote a holistic approach to preparing building principals. Although the reform of principal preparation programs has been an issue of considerable scrutiny since 1987, restructuring initiatives have been essentially limited to the refinement of existing program components (Thurston et al., 1993). Thurston et al. concluded that the absence of change-oriented leadership models has resulted in an inertia of professional preparation and continuing professional development.

In contrast, research findings, the empowerment of local schools, and public demands for accountability have served as motivators for current change initiatives. For example, recent studies demonstrated that principals have a strong impact on students' academic accomplishment (Heck, 1992; Krug, 1993; Rosenholtz, 1989). Similarly, changes in the governance of schools exemplified by the school-based management model have led to the increased scrutiny of principals' supervision and their impact on student achievement (Association for Supervision and Staff Development, 1994). However, important issues such as defining *effective instructional leadership* and identifying the curricula and experiences that are likely to engender the acquisition of essential skills for effective leaders have received relatively little attention.

In this article, four issues will be considered. A discussion of the emergent changes in the professional preparation of aspiring principals is followed by an overview of how state certification standards may influence course offerings and program design within departments of educational administration, educational leadership, or educational leadership and policy. Next, the role that principal academies can play in promoting the professional development of practicing principals is explored. Finally, future directions for principal training are suggested. In this section, within the context of a change-oriented leadership model, a competency based conceptual curricular framework is proposed to guide the restructuring of professional preparation programs for prospective principals.

I argue that programs must be redesigned, rather than merely refined. For example, the use of performance-based competencies and an adherence to concepts integral to the cognitive apprenticeship model are recommended as primary components in programs for prospective principals (Prestine & Le Grand, 1991). I also advocate that program redesign embrace the following components: (a) a focus on cognitive and metacognitive processes; (b) the generation of knowledge that promotes the development of a reflective practitioner; (c) instructional methods that emulate modeling, coaching, and scaffolding; (d) group discussion activities

that encourage students to link their experiences to conceptual knowledge; and (e) learning activities that challenge students to use problem-solving skills and demonstrate their understanding of theoretical knowledge. Further, there needs to be a greater emphasis on the curriculum, instruction, and teaching processes rather than the administrative and managerial functions of schools in programs that are designed to prepare aspiring principals.

I propose that preparation programs for principals should be reconceptualized and perhaps redesigned. Program design should be supported by a vision that centers on developing leaders who are prepared to deal with change processes and the challenges associated with leading schools comprised of diverse student populations. Implementing the requisite change is likely to be a formidable task. Perhaps one of the biggest challenges facing institutions engaged in redeveloping a curriculum for prospective principals lies in the nature of organizational structures, cultural norms, and personal belief systems that preclude the emergence of a new vision of training. When a discipline is experiencing foundational shifts in the way that the specialty trains future leaders, an inherent tension emerges. Professors and educators charged with the responsibility of overseeing program development need to be aware of and sensitive to issues that impact relationships between diverse student populations and school personnel. Equally, if not more important, is that they need to consider how to address veteran and long-standing attitudes and practices of individuals who hold ideas that are not responsive to reflection and self-renewal.

### Changes in the Professional Preparation of Principals

Major stakeholders involved in the National Alliance for Restructuring Graduate Education Administration Programs<sup>1</sup> recently described changes in the professional preparation for principals (Beckman, 1994; Gordon & Moles, 1994; Irvin & McDaniel, 1994; Luebkekmann & Clemens, 1994; Parson, 1994; Smith, 1994; Stakenas, 1994; Synder, 1994; Ward, 1994; Worner, 1994). Components characterizing emergent changes in the curriculum for prospective principals were sharing and open dialogue (Smith, 1994), clinical faculty (Beckman, 1994), individualized learning plans (Irvin & McDaniel, 1994; Smith, 1994; Synder, 1994; Stakenas, 1994; Worner, 1994),

<sup>1</sup>Universities participating in the alliance are Brigham Young, East Tennessee State, Florida State, and Virginia Tech. The alliance identified several objectives which focused on changing programs of principal preparation, assessing the applicability of the NASSP training material, and disseminating their findings among other universities to encourage departments to consider revising their programs.



mentoring (Luebkekmann & Clemens, 1994; Stakenas, 1994; Synder, 1994; Worner, 1994), and a performance-based learning model (Stakenas, 1994). However, several authors reported that work is still needed to revise the curricular and instructional aspects of programs (Stakenas, 1994; Ward, 1994). Relatively absent in the literature is discussion about how to weave practice-based considerations that are impinging on all aspects of education. To address critical contemporary educational challenges, the training of prospective principals could include the provision of leadership for: (a) teaching increasingly diverse school age populations, (b) facilitating the instructional changes that accompany mainstreaming, and (c) overseeing full service schools.

At national and local levels, there has been substantial discussion about the need for quality preparation that will ensure that future principals acquire the skills integral to effective instructional leadership. However, how to integrate curriculum and training experiences with actual school-based practice has seldom been discussed in the research. Evidence to suggest that current restructuring efforts (such as those described by the Alliance) will enable prospective principals to provide leadership in these critical areas has not been forthcoming. Similarly, little information is available to suggest that aspiring principals are being tooled with a working knowledge of important curriculum processes exemplified by the behaviors and tasks related to curriculum design, curriculum implementation, and curriculum evaluation.

The work of the National Alliance for Restructuring Graduate Education Administration Programs, National Association for Secondary School Principals (NASSP), and the Danforth Foundation indicates that change in postsecondary educational programs is occurring. Consequently, the bureaucratic structure and routinization within educational administration program models is beginning to lessen while methods of training that focus on individualized learning needs continue to evolve. Practices associated with the functionalist models have tended to trivialize the preparation of principals. It now seems rather apparent that the scientific models of administration are inadequate to guide the preparation of 21st century principals. How are other departments of educational leadership responding to the contemporary social concerns that are influencing the nature of school's work? If we could take a snapshot of all the university programs that prepare aspiring principals, what would we conclude about the quality of preparation? Would we see that professors are involved in strategic program restructuring?

Some researchers have examined the quality of training that universities provide prospective principals. For example, Smith (1989) described the limitations related to licensure-driven preparation programs. He criticized

state-controlled, university-based, and licensure-driven programs for their behavioral and technical emphasis despite the fact that these programs promoted the successful completion of sufficient credits. Smith concluded that licensure-driven programs were inadequate for training principals because they lacked an integration of theory and practice and failed to provide a holistic view of leadership. He advocated professional preparation that relied on the development of proficiencies, used a seminar approach, and utilized visiting clinical faculty. Smith also recommended that students have field-based experiences in which they could observe the multiplicity of events that impinge upon the daily practice of a school principal.

Daresh (1988) described the importance of developing effective collaborations between universities and local schools. He supported the integration of clinical approaches to learning, a focus on academic preparation, field-based programs, and the synthesis of learning through preservice mentoring, personal reflection, development of a personal educational platform, understanding interpersonal styles, and personal professional development as exemplified by professional formation (Glatthorn, 1987). Professors who engage in program design must struggle with a bewildering array of program components. They must select among a list of competing priorities, such as acquiring skills within the leadership, instruction, and curriculum domains or developing skills in the interpersonal domain, and determine which knowledge is most important for students' development. The challenge for professors engaged in program development rests in providing a balance between field-based administrative experiences and coursework that emphasizes knowledge base information so that students can link theory with actual practice. Another complicating factor is that program development is not always conceptualized solely at the level at which it is likely to be implemented. University and college programs of study, as well as the articulation of certification standards, may be influenced by state mandated policies.

### Certification Standards, Courses, and Program Design

Individual state governments can influence the establishment of certification standards and the formulation of course and program related requirements at the college and departmental level through legislative actions. In this section, an in-depth look at the similarities and differences in the certification process of Florida and Illinois, two of the most populous states in the nation, is offered (Jenkins & Behar, 1994). A familiarity with the laws pertinent to certification procedures can help explain how state-level policies affect the design of college and departmental programs. Federal

constitutional law vests states with the authority to establish parameters for certification requirements. Under the auspices of the state department of education or its delegate, a common process is established and monitored to identify specific criteria, expectations, outcomes, and provide a measure of accountability for the process of obtaining licensure. A comparison of the standards between Florida and Illinois reveals notable trends in the commonalities and differences for obtaining the principal certificate.

The state of Florida has a two-tiered level certification process. Established by the State Department of Education, standards for principal certification in Florida are also governed by the Florida Educational Management Council. To become a principal, students must sustain two levels of preparation. To achieve level one certification, students are required to complete 8 to 10 courses and pass the Florida Educational Leadership Examination (FELE).

Table 1 lists the course requirements for level one certification by content area (administration, curriculum, computer, research, or foundations) at eight selected state universities in Florida. For the purpose of this discussion, the area of administration was comprised of course titles that incorporated subject matter related phrases such as educational leadership, administration, organization, supervision, systems, personnel, or management, school law and finance, communications or community relations in education, contemporary issues in educational leadership, and administration of human resources or human resource development. A overview of Table 1 reveals that all of the universities require at least five to six courses in the area of administration, while the program at the University of Northern Florida requires seven administrative courses. The University of Central Florida requires eight courses in administration. All of the universities require at least one course in curriculum. A research course is required by 25% of the universities, while 75% of the universities require coursework in computers. The University of Western Florida requires a course in foundations and only two universities (Florida International University and the University of Western Florida) require a course in the principalship. The University of Central Florida has the only program in which students are required to participate in a field-based internship to obtain level one certification.

Successful completion of level two obligates prospective principals to complete an on-the-job training component and demonstrate the 19 state adopted principal competencies. The competencies are associated with the domains of purpose and direction, cognitive skills, consensus management, quality enhancement, organization, and communication. Depending upon their current position and experience, aspiring principals may satisfy the on-the-job requirement in one of three ways. They may



Table 1

*Summary of Required Courses for Level 1 Principal Certification by Content Area in Selected Florida Universities\**

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*Florida International University\*\**

Administration = 6; Curriculum = 1; Computers = 1; Research = O;  
Foundations = O

*Florida State University\*\*\**

Administration = 6; Curriculum = 1; Computers = 1; Research = O;  
Foundations = O

*University of Central Florida\*\*\**

Administration = 8 (includes supervised practice and internship);  
Curriculum = 2; Computers = O; Research = O; Foundations = O

*University of Florida\*\*\**

Administration = 6; Curriculum = 1; Computers = 1; Research = O;  
Foundations = O

*University of Miami\*\*\**

Administration = 6; Curriculum = 1; Computers = 1; Research = O;  
Foundations = O

*University of North Florida\*\*\**

Administration = 7 Curriculum = 1; Computers = 1; Research = O;  
Foundations = O

*University of Southern Florida\*\*\**

Administration = 5; Curriculum = 1; Computers = 1; Research = 1;  
Foundations = O

*University of Western Florida\*\**

Administration = 6; Curriculum = 1; Computers = O; Research = 1;  
Foundations = 2

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Notes: \* = These programs require the successful completion of six semester hours of graduate credit in research, foundations, curriculum and instruction in one of the following areas: early childhood/primary education, exceptional student education, middle school education, and secondary school education.

\*\* = includes a course on the principalship.

\*\*\* = does not include a course on the principalship.



serve 2 years as an assistant principal, complete a half year internship with an assistant principal, or participate in a year-long internship under the supervision of a principal. In addition to completing a predefined core of courses, students must also take two elective foundations or research courses in either elementary, middle, secondary, or special education. Overall, students must complete an academic program comprised of 30 semester hours. With the exception of their elective courses, students are given no choice in selecting courses for level one certification.

After students complete the required coursework and pass the FELE, they are eligible to enter their local school district administrative training pools. Under the authority of the Florida Council on Educational Management, local school districts are authorized to adopt and implement an objectives-based process for the screening, selection, and appointment of principals (Florida State Department of Education, 1993). However, individual counties can establish their own admission process for aspiring principals. If a principal wants to take a position in another school that is located in a district other than the one that in which individual is currently employed, finding a position may be difficult. Currently there is no reciprocity clause that applies uniformly to all 67 school districts in Florida, although many districts are adding such a clause.<sup>2</sup> In order to become a principal in Florida,<sup>3</sup> an individual who holds a license in another state and subsequently relocates to Florida must pass the FELE, obtain the level one certification, and then complete the on the job training component required for level two certification.

Table 2

*Course Requirements for an Illinois Principals' Certificate*

<b>Area A (3 courses)</b> School Administration Two Elective courses	<b>Area B (4 courses)</b> A course in Curriculum & Instruction Educational Psychology Statistical methods School Supervision
<b>Area C (2 courses)</b> Philosophy of Education Elective Course	<b>Area D (1 course)</b> Practicum in School Administration

<sup>2</sup>Fay Cake, Director of Human Resources, Alachua County School District (personal communication, February 25, 1994).

<sup>3</sup>Fay Cake, Director of Human Resources, Alachua County School District (personal communication, February 25, 1994).

In the State of Illinois, universities and colleges play a major role in the certification process. They are authorized to provide documentation validating that students have completed the requirements. The method of accountability consists of transcript assessment and verification. As shown in Table 2, students must complete work in four areas, provide proof of 2 years of full-time teaching, pass the State of Illinois and U.S. Constitution examinations, and pass a state-administered examination in general administration. Proof of completed course work is then forwarded by the university certification official to the state department of education. To obtain administrative certification, students must complete a 30 semester hour academic program. After passing the administrative examination, students may apply for certification. Upon receipt of the certificate, prospective principals may make application to, or interview for, any position opening in the state that requires individuals to hold a type 75 certificate.

A comparison of the requirements for principal certification in Florida and Illinois demonstrates that students in Illinois have greater latitude in selecting their courses than do Florida students. Although Illinois students must take 10 courses they are able to self-select three courses. An analysis of course requirements by content areas shows that students must take two courses in administration (school supervision and school administration) and foundations (educational philosophy and educational psychology), one course in research (statistical methods) and a course in curriculum (curriculum and instruction). While a practicum in the school setting is also required, a course in the principalship is not required.

Florida's certification standards for the principal are governed by two legislative bodies, the state and the Florida Council for Educational Management, as well as local school districts. This two-tiered certification process reflects an adherence to a bureaucratic management structure that limits the authority of universities. The governance of state-level politics goes well beyond the powers implied by legislative actions and is manifest in the nature of current certification standards. The state bureaucracy also influences program design, course offerings, and ultimately student enrollments. In contrast, Illinois has a one-tier system that is monitored largely by universities.

### The Principal Academy

Preparation for the aspiring principal is distinguished from professional development for the practicing principal. How do current principals learn about new developments in their profession? How do principals acquire skills that coincide with the emergent changes in teaching, learning, instruction, curriculum, staff development, and

school leadership? In this section, the role that the principal academy plays in addressing the specific needs of inservice principals is explored.

To provide continuing professional development of inservice principals, some school districts are subsidizing training for principals. Sometimes principals are given stipends to cover the tuition costs of courses. Training must be provided at the district level, for example at a state academy, such as the Florida Academy for School Leaders, or at colleges and universities. This academy was created to provide inservice training for school managers and to upgrade the quality of management at all levels of the public school system in the state. By law, Florida principals are required to renew their certificates every 5 years, complete the equivalent of six semester hours, or obtain 120 service points. One service point equals one contact hour of training. Principals are offered courses that allow them to update their skills in evaluating the curriculum, coaching teachers, and teacher evaluation.

In 1985, the State of Illinois sponsored a bill that required the development of an administrator's academy. As a result of this legislative act, practicing principals are required to attend the academy workshop for 1 to 2 days every other year. The Illinois Administrators' Academy offers a statewide leadership training program (Krug, 1993). Key components of the program include an emphasis on theory, individualization, and aspects of *cognitive apprenticeship*. Based on a framework summarized by Prestine and Le Grand (1991), the cognitive apprenticeship concentrates on teaching the processes that experts use to handle complex tasks. These processes are externalizing the cognitive and metacognitive processes that experts usually carry out internally, framing and situating knowledge into contexts of practice to exemplify and demonstrate how experts solve problems, and developing self-correction and self-monitoring skills through expert and novice dialogic efforts to problem solve context-based situations. Each administrator who enrolls in this course of study is paired with a leadership analyst who shares his/her administrative experiences.

The role of the analyst, while similar to that of a mentor, is primarily analytic. One of the analyst's first tasks is to determine the administrator's unique situational needs. To accomplish this task, administrators complete an informal process of self-assessment. Next, they are observed in their actual work settings by the leadership analyst. Analysts observe administrators while they lead group meetings and post-observation conferences with teachers. They also conduct structured interviews with students and staff and collect representative documents that highlight the nature of administrators' writings in order to gather qualitative information about the administrator. The assessment component provides administrators with an opportunity to evaluate and reflect about their leadership skills within their own context.



### Future Directions for Principal Training

Developing a model curriculum for training principals for the 21st century requires a reconceptualized view of the preparation that is most likely to benefit future school leaders. According to Sacken (1994), the professionalization of educational administration has moved the training of principals away from core elements of schooling, such as teaching and learning. Despite a knowledge surge in the fields of learning, pedagogy, teaching, instruction, and curriculum, some educational administration programs have maintained their orientation to the technologies of managerial practice. For example, in Florida the titles of the required courses suggest that universities tend to emphasize the administrative and managerial aspects of leadership. Students are required to take 63% - 75% of their courses in the administration content area in preparation for the FELE, while only two of the eight universities require a course in the principalship (see Appendix A). In Illinois, although students are required to take 20% of their coursework in both the administration and foundations content areas, they can elect to take an additional 30% of their work from course titles in these areas.

Exploring issues about the development of professional preparation programs and the identification of competencies raises important questions, such as what should constitute the essential skills base for principals? and what courses and experiences should universities seek to provide prospective principals? In a study designed to identify the skills that administrators are likely to need in the year 2000, Lester (1993) interviewed 80 practicing administrators. The administrator group was comprised of superintendents and assistant superintendents, high school, middle/junior, and elementary principals, and assistant high school and junior high principals. The findings showed that each administrator group believed that aspiring principals should develop interpersonal skills and participate in an internship. Most of the administrators recommended that preservice principals take courses in finance and school law, while about half of those interviewed recommended course work in computers.

Other researchers have made inquiry into the essential skills base for principals. Thurston et al. (1993) recommended that professional preparation programs should prepare leaders who are knowledgeable about child development and cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as the social and academic aspects of schooling. They suggested that prospective principals participate in administrative internships and work with stakeholders, including teachers, teacher educators, community leaders, and politicians who are engaged in school improvement efforts. They also urged that improved communication (writing, listening, speaking, thinking, and the ability to be understood by the audience that they are addressing) become an



objective of professional preparation. Finally, Thurston et al. (1993) proposed that leadership curricula should be grounded in research-based knowledge designed to provide future principals with sufficient methodological expertise to conceptualize research questions, collect and analyze data using quantitative and qualitative techniques, and select methodological techniques and designs that demonstrate a sensitivity and awareness to the type of data and the context where information is being gathered. They recommended that students acquire a fundamental understanding of law and finance during graduate study in order to participate in the examination of issues related to access, equity, fairness, and productivity.

To engage in a reconsideration and analysis of institutionalized training requires the skillful leadership of department chairpersons. Krug (1993) concluded that research has confirmed that instructional leadership development programs grounded in theory, assessment practices, and situated learning provide a solid model for effective training of school leaders. I suggest that individuals engaged in program redesign consider the development of a competency-based program that is grounded in a change-oriented model comprised of the following components: curriculum, instruction, change, quality, diversity, evaluation, and integrating theory into practice. Toward this end, it is recommended that a change-oriented model comprised of five domains: (a) interpersonal communication, (b) curriculum pedagogy (Behar, 1994), (c) administrative leadership, (d) effective instructional leadership, and (e) staff development be used to guide this process (see Figure 1). This orientation requires the elimination of micro-management hierarchical structures, state bureaucracies that restrict university program development and redesign, and the use of school district pools. The proposed model advocates the use of clinical faculty to train leaders and the establishment of a flexible statewide framework that enables universities to offer different courses while still addressing critical domain areas. Using performance-based competencies that reflect critical dimensions is also recommended. An explication of the aforementioned domains and selected examples of related of competencies follows.

### *Interpersonal Communication*

This domain requires the development of group processing and communication skills techniques such as reflective listening and training reflective practitioners. Prospective principals should: (a) develop a capacity for empathy, (b) be able to create an environment that fosters understanding and appreciation for diverse viewpoints, and (c) provide opportunities that encourage all individuals to express their views during group decision-making activities.

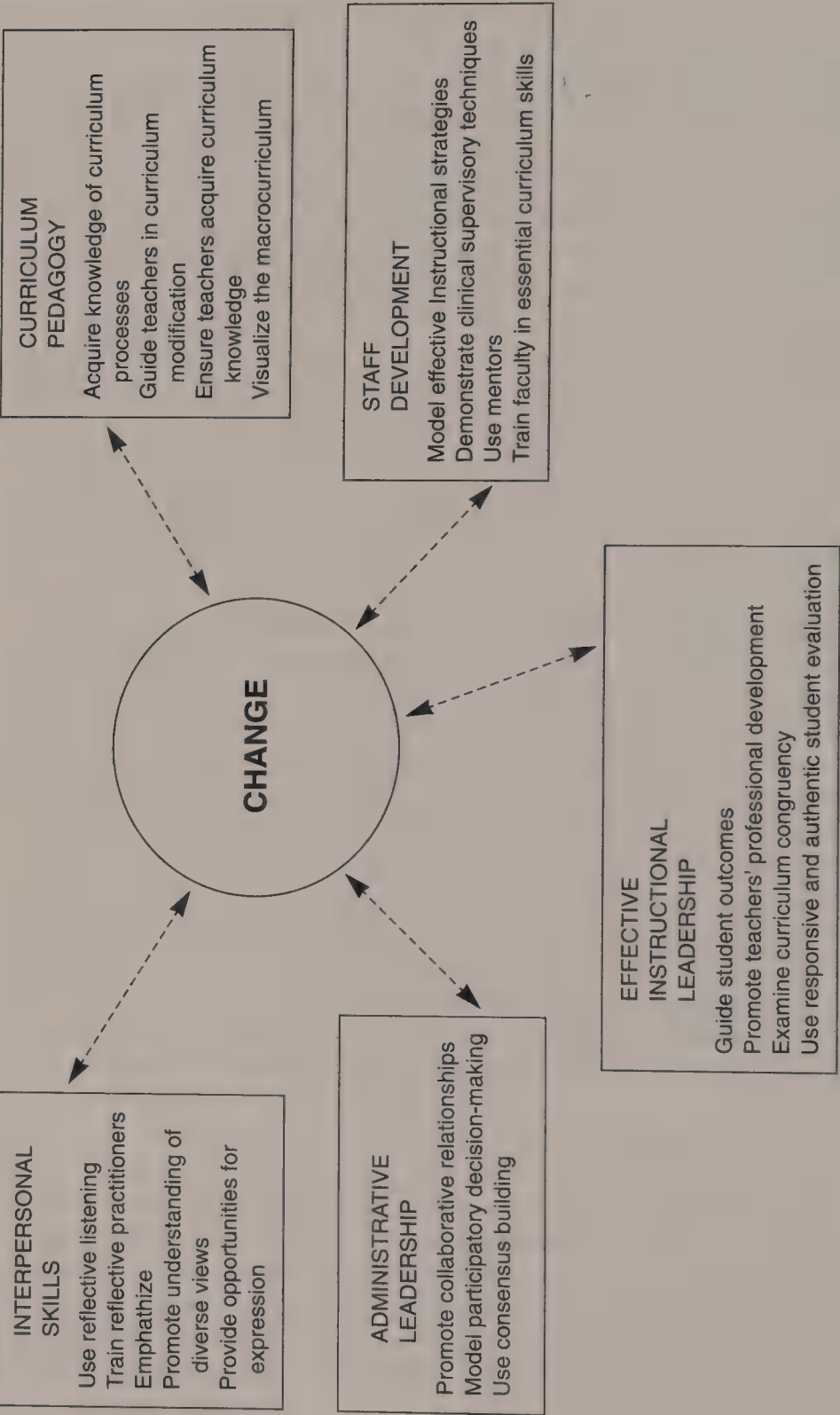


Figure 1. A change-oriented model for preparing prospective principals.

### *Curriculum Pedagogy*

Principals need a knowledge of curriculum processes in order to respond effectively to the changes occurring in today's classrooms. They need to help teachers modify the curriculum for students' whose learning needs may not be addressed by textbooks and other instructional materials. Principals should be skilled in empowering teachers. Assuring that teachers acquire the principles of curriculum knowledge exemplified behaviors and tasks related to the important curriculum domains such as design, evaluation, and development (Behar, 1994) will enable principals to effectively lead this charge. Acquiring curriculum knowledge will promote teachers' willingness and ability to engage in the decision-making processes as well as modifying the curriculum for students.

Principals also need to understand the macrocurriculum, a view that emphasizes the relationship between separate subjects and the entire curriculum. They should develop a visual representation of the curricular composition that emerges when one looks at a school curriculum holistically rather than segmentally. Understanding how specific grade level instruction and learning activities fit into the total school curriculum helps teachers appreciate how their work forms the basis for students' subsequent learning and synthesis of knowledge.

The field of curriculum guides school-based processes such as learning, teaching, and instruction. As a result, prospective principals should acquire knowledge related to the important content areas in the field of curriculum and related curriculum practices that represent the precise tasks and behaviors that teachers perform in classrooms. Two primary roles are served by providing principals with an understanding of a curriculum knowledge base. First, acquiring the fundamental skills that are needed to develop quality lessons promotes successful student outcomes. Second, becoming familiar with a knowledge base of curriculum practices assists them in analyzing the instructional difficulties that teachers may experience while teaching groups of heterogeneous learners (see Behar-Horenstein, 1994). One critical dimension of curriculum pedagogy requires that preservice principals demonstrate expertise in using important curriculum processes.

*Curriculum processes.* Krug (1993) suggests that managing curriculum and instruction is one of the essential areas that compromises behaviors in which principals engage. Heck, Larsen, and Marcoulides (1990) also found that effective principals are directly involved in decisions about the curriculum and instructional strategies. A broad base of curriculum-related knowledge permits principals to offer the resources that teachers and staff members need to effectively implement a school's mission. Prospective principals should also have practice in applying theoretical

knowledge. For example, they should be able to construct a curriculum from the inception. Appropriate competencies related to constructing curriculum include writing an operationalized curriculum that reflects an understanding of a curriculum rationale, educational philosophy, learning theory, instructional strategies and curriculum evaluation, while demonstrating a conceptual understanding of the principles related to development and design models. Prospective principals should be able to modify curriculum according to students' varied learning styles, ability levels, and instructional preferences (see Behar-Horenstein, 1994).

*Administrative leadership.* This domain emphasizes the importance of training leaders who are able to forge collaborative working relationships, engage in participatory decision making, and lead by consensus. Examples of administrative leadership include demonstrating expertise in planning for quality, and integrating theory into practice.

*Planning for quality.* Prospective principals should have an opportunity to observe school improvement efforts that take place in school advisory committees and local school councils by participating in school-based administrative internships. Further, they should have an opportunity to determine the congruence between the taught curriculum and the curriculum that is promoted in mission statements and curriculum policy manuals. Using the school/district's mission statement and departmental curriculum guidelines as the basis for comparison, prospective principals should also engage in class activities in which they conduct an audit of a local school curriculum (English, 1987).

*Integrating theory into practice.* Prospective principals need to have an opportunity to work either with principals who lead full service schools or in schools that are effectively mainstreaming students. Students should be required to: (a) participate in field-based internships experiences; (b) observe the building principal confer with parents and students; (c) engage in teacher evaluation; (d) conduct staff meetings; (e) oversee testing procedures; (f) observe district-wide administrative meetings; and (g) handle situations that address finance, legal, instructional, curriculum, supervisory, and disciplinary issues. Providing students with opportunities to experience the kinds of activities that are impinging upon the daily lives of principals is an important component in their professional development.

### *Effective Instructional Leadership*

Integral activities in this domain would require that prospective principals understand the leadership roles they will assume such as: (a) guiding successful student outcomes, (b) engaging in teacher evaluation, (c) promoting teachers' professional development, (d) examining the con-



gruency between the taught and tested curriculum, and (e) advocating for responsive and authentic forms of student evaluation. Examples of critical dimensions in this domain include the demonstration of expertise in instructional processes, meeting diverse needs of students, and conducting comprehensive evaluations.

### *Instructional Processes*

An essential function of instructional leadership is to supervise teaching (Krug, 1993). In order to promote effective teaching, principals should encourage innovative teaching, model an array of instructional strategies, help teachers expand their ability to implement a variety of instructional methods, and provide opportunities for teachers to acquire the syntax and process components related to various models within the information-processing, personal, social, and behavioral-systems families identified by Joyce, Weil, and Showers (1992). Prospective principals can be effective resources for their faculty if they model the selection and implementation of appropriate representative instructional strategies. Teachers need to see such practices in action, rather than just read and talk about them. For example, principals should make recommendations to teachers about the appropriate use of specific models in various teaching contexts. They should help teachers develop the ability to use alternative instructional strategies. The instructional models serve as examples of effective teaching modalities for teachers who seek to augment or remediate their instructional skills.

*Meeting diverse needs of students.* The principal plays a central role in creating an atmosphere in which learning activities can be made relevant to students' worlds. They should observe and participate in faculty meetings and special education hearings, develop curriculum guidelines, write learning objectives for groups of students in different grade levels and across content areas, develop individualized learning plans (IEPs), identify instructional adaptations that integrate various learning styles, and address the cultural and linguistic diversity of student populations. To understand the nature of these proceedings, prospective principals should receive training in the legislation and required procedures that are related to both special and regular education administration.

*Conducting comprehensive evaluation.* The principal assumes a leadership role in monitoring students' progress. Which aspects of schooling are evaluated, how the evaluation processes are carried out, and how the results are interpreted convey important information about the nature of schooling (Maehr, Midgley, & Urban, 1992). Evaluation activities that focus on determining the effectiveness of classroom curriculum or stu-

dent achievement, assessing teacher's instructional practices, or analyzing how textbook and supplementary materials affect student outcomes require that principals have the necessary technical and methodological skills to oversee and interpret evaluation outcomes. Guidance of these processes requires that principals know how to use and interpret data and report outcomes from multiple assessment forms such as standardized testing, portfolios, observations, and anecdotal reports. Effective assessment of student performance depends upon defining realistic goals, selecting appropriate assessment devices, and using assessment results to make decisions about the effectiveness of instruction, (e.g., whether or not to modify the curriculum and instruction).

Prospective principals should take courses in research methodologies and evaluation in which they are challenged to formulate studies that would require them to analyze student achievement, investigate the effectiveness of school curriculum using process and product-oriented techniques, and conduct mock teacher evaluation conferences. They should become skilled in using a variety of supervisory techniques including behavioral measures such as the Florida Measurement Performance Scale (FMPS), or the management by objectives approach (MBO), and less technical approaches exemplified by evaluation portfolios, clinical supervision, and artistic evaluation such as connoisseurship and criticism (Sergiovanni, 1988).

### *Staff Development*

This domain focuses on providing future principals with the skills they will need to model effective instructional strategies, use clinical forms of supervision and advocate for the use of mentors. The staff development component stresses the importance of empowering teachers and providing them with knowledge about essential curriculum skills (Behar, 1994). Because the perspectives that students bring to the classroom are multiple, it is important that teachers present a variety of opportunities in which learning may take place. Carefully selecting among the appropriate teaching models and developing appropriate learning activities is a critical to responding effectively to students' learning styles and thinking styles. Quality leadership must be provided to ensure that instruction is responsive to students' learning needs.

Conscious decision making will lead to teacher empowerment and allow them to exhibit greater decision-making responsibilities when implementing the curriculum. As local school reform initiatives continue to invite teachers into a dialogue about school reform, it is increasingly important that principals provide leadership to ensure that teachers acquire a working knowledge of curriculum pedagogy, curriculum tools, instructional knowledge,

and interpersonal skills. Assisting teachers with the acquisition of these skills will promote teachers' involvement in discussions about the most effective ways to promote student learning. One critical dimension of staff development includes demonstrating expertise in guiding change.

*Guiding change.* The principal assumes a primary role in promoting continued self-renewal for the instructional staff. To provide effective leadership for change, prospective principals; should: (a) acquire research-based knowledge about change models; (b) develop a knowledge base of the significant finding by prominent researchers in the area of change; (c) identify tenets of effective change; (d) observe change activities occurring at local schools engaged in school improvement processes; (e) identify an aspect of professional growth that they want to work towards; (f) participate in interpersonal change through reflective activities during the course of their program of study, and give illustrative examples of school-based situations; and (g) be able to articulate how they would lead school staff engaged in processes of instructional, curriculum, and cultural change.

To facilitate students' successful attainment of these competencies, requirements within administration programs should be made explicit. Upon matriculation into the program of study, students should be given information about the actual requirements and related competencies. It is my contention that factors which are most likely to foster demonstration of competency-based criteria include: (a) individualized student learning plans; (b) focused interviews, assessment center activities, case study-analysis, and in-basket problems; (c) writing activities in which students are engaged in reflective thinking; (d) opportunities to synthesize information; (e) oral presentations in which students are required to persuade others of the validity of their positions; and (f) field-based internships in which students have opportunities to observe personnel in key positions, and assume responsibilities associated with the principalship. Skilled and knowledgeable educators who can serve as a mentor, coach, teacher, and evaluator should guide the prospective principal through this process.

## Conclusion

I believe that the route to certification should permit some degree of flexibility in planning students' programs of study. However, it is acknowledged that changes in the state policy may be needed to facilitate program redesign. Several propositions related to program development for prospective principals have been offered. For example, I have suggested that individual learning plans, designed by students in cooperation with their major professor, replace programs of study typically defined at the depart-



ment level. Also, it was recommended that an evaluation system that relied upon the demonstration of performance competencies be implemented.

Further, aspiring principals should be able to select among a range of courses particular to their interests while still complying with state certification requirements. However, it is important to recognize that programmatic decisions should be exercised with foresight to ensure that the design of courses reflects a sensitivity to subject matter, learner needs, and societal concerns. To illustrate, it is understood that focusing on the methodology and trends related to specific subject disciplines would constitute a central component in a general course in classroom curriculum, while helping students' acquire the skills integral to writing a developmentally age-appropriate curriculum would be a critical outcome in a course on curriculum development. Once again, I want to emphasize that learning how to adapt the curriculum for students with diverse learning styles and special needs should be considered integral to coursework in curriculum design and in implementing school-based curriculum.

I have also discussed the important leadership role that universities assume in training future principals. Their vision for preparing prospective principals must include a carefully conceived balance of knowledge and interpersonal skills that will enable them to effectively guide change, explore innovative ways to cope with the challenges posed by our changing society, and support individuals who are reluctant to move toward less traditional models of schooling. Perhaps the tasks facing departments of educational administration, educational leadership, and educational leadership and policy seem formidable. However, the results that may emerge from redesigned programs of principals' preparation programs will yield benefits for students and educators alike. I have recommended that effective professional preparation for principals can be derived by components represented within a change-oriented model. Further, it has been proposed that this model should comprised by activities specific to the domains of interpersonal communication, curriculum pedagogy, effective instructional leadership, administrative leadership, and staff development.

It is important to reiterate that the quality of training advised integrates the use of performance competencies and adheres to the concepts advocated by the cognitive apprenticeship models. While scholars (Daresh, 1988; Glatthorn, 1987; Heck et al., 1990; Krug, 1993; Maehr et al., 1992; Prestine & Le Grand, 1991; Sacken, 1994; Smith, 1989; Thompson, 1991; Thomson, 1992, 1993; Thurston et al., 1993) have highlighted important issues related to the training of principals, previous researchers have not provided an in-depth examination of issues related to the integration of interpersonal skills, curriculum pedagogy, or effective instructional leadership. Placing a greater emphasis on these domains will



empower principals and promote the development of effective leadership skills for other school-based instructional personnel.

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Appendix A

*Required courses for the Florida Educational Leadership Examination  
(Level 1 Certification) by Selected Universities in Florida*

**Florida International University**

School Personnel Management  
Leadership in Education  
Communication in Educational Leadership  
School Law  
School Finance  
Curriculum Development  
Microcomputer Applications for Administration  
The Principal

**Florida State University**

Educational Management Development  
Educational Leadership  
Personnel Administration in Education  
Legal Aspects of Public School Administration  
School Finance  
Basic Concepts in Curriculum Planning and Organization  
Information Management Technology in Education  
Community Relations in Education

**University of Central Florida**

Organization and Administration of Schools  
Educational Supervision Practices I  
Educational Supervision Practices II  
Curriculum Theory and Organizations  
Legal Aspects of School Operations  
Educational Finance Affairs  
Curriculum Inquiry  
Educational Systems Plant Management  
Contemporary Issues of Educational Leadership  
Graduate Internship

**University of Florida**

Educational organization and administration  
Educational leadership: The individual  
Communications in educational leadership  
Administration of school personnel  
Public school law  
Public school finance  
The school curriculum  
Utilization of computers in educational leadership

# PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

## *Curriculum Issues and the Postsecondary Preparation of Educators*

### **University of Miami**

Education Law

Fundamentals of Educational Administration

School Level Finance

Computer Applications for Administration

Communication/Leadership of Task Groups

Conceptual Bases of Educational Administration

Curriculum Planning

Administration of Human Resources

### **University of Northern Florida**

Instructional Leadership

Introduction to Educational Leadership

Educational Technology: Applications for School Managers

Human Resource Development in Education

Educational Leadership and Management

School/Community Relations

Education and the law

School Finance

A, B, D, E Curriculum Development, Implementation, and Evaluation

### **University of Southern Florida**

Principles of Educational Supervision

Principles of Educational Administration

Educational Leadership

School Law

School Finance

Foundations of Measurement

Micro computers in School Administration

Foundations of Curriculum and Instruction

### **University of Western Florida**

Leadership in Education: Theory & Practices

Introduction to Applied Educational Research Statistics

Educational Organization and Administration

Human Relations in Education

Curriculum Issues in Student Development and Learning

Administration of School Personnel

Law and Education

Introduction to School Finance

Principal

Social, Historical, Philosophical Foundations of Education: Policy and Program Analysis



# Induction or Seduction? Postmodern Patterns of Preparing to Teach

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Andy Hargreaves  
Noreen Jacka

## Induction

*Induction (from inducere—"to lead in, introduce")*

*"To introduce or initiate—especially into something demanding secret or special knowledge"*

(Webster's dictionary)

Becoming a teacher and beginning to teach have long been and continue to be problematic for those who want to teach and for those whose task it is to assist and prepare them. Schoolteaching remains notoriously hard to learn. The skills of teaching must be acquired at the same time as they are being performed (Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1991). And this performance is typically surrounded with deep anxieties about control, authority, and identity.

Preparing teachers is emotionally and technically taxing work. Those who do it receive few thanks for their pains. School practice aside, teachers tend to see their formal preparation for the profession as having been

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impractical and irrelevant. The effects of most teacher preparation programs on the fundamental approaches and orientations of those who undergo them appear to be temporary or non-existent as teachers submit to the demands of the immediate school context, or fall back on the primitive images of teaching they acquired when they were young. This is the traditional problem of teacher preparation: that of it being a stressful but ineffective interlude in the shift from being a moderately successful and generally conformist student, to being an institutionally compliant and pedagogically conservative teacher (Lacey, 1977).

In recent years, sterling efforts have been made to ease the entry into teaching. Induction schemes have been devised which allow new teachers to take on their responsibilities more gradually, with supervision and support (Andrews, 1987; Cole & Watson, 1991). Mentors have been assigned to beginning teachers, to guide them through the first few difficult steps of their now professional life (Little, 1990; McInyre, Hagger, & Wilkin, 1993), and professional development schools are emerging everywhere as places where student teachers can be exposed to both exemplary classroom practice and the support of committed colleagues, as a context for learning their craft (Darling-Hammond, 1994).

In part, the purpose of this article is to review the major arguments about the trials and tribulations of learning to teach, and why it is that new teachers seem to abandon so quickly the principles and practices to which they were exposed in their formal preparation. But beyond this, we want to explore a somewhat different set of issues. Drawing on a case study of one beginning teacher, we want to ask what it might mean if new teachers *do* successfully acquire innovative methods of instruction, and continue to remain committed to them as they begin to teach. As we get better at preparing new teachers in innovative classroom practices (and not just the theory of them), what might it mean should our wishes come true? Should our seeming success be celebrated as the culmination of a long struggle to make teacher education more effective? Or should we be as skeptical of it as we would be of failure? Our contribution to that skepticism will be to suggest that short-term *induction* into teaching, can actually become *seduction* into particular kinds of teaching, leading people astray from the wider purposes that teaching might otherwise serve and towards the brink of frustration and disillusionment as their newly acquired methods fail to mesh with the unchanged realities of schooling that await them in their first appointments.

In line with the dictionary definition of the term, induction into teaching is sometimes seen as induction into secret or special knowledge. There is a sophisticated knowledge base of teaching, it is claimed, and expert teachers possess it and are able to apply it (Shulman, 1986, 1987).

This knowledge can be codified and professional standards can be defined in relation to it. Expert teachers possess "special knowledge." Novices lack it. One purpose of initial and continuing teacher education is to help them acquire and apply it (Berliner, 1988; Clark, in press).

Critics claim that expert/novice distinctions simplify the ways that professional knowledge differs among teachers. They also ignore extensive areas of teaching competence that have little to do with technical knowledge as such. Reynolds (1992), for instance, points out that although more experienced teachers *may* be more expert in teaching, "experience does not always mean expertise" (p. 3). Indeed we actually "know very little about the differences between effective beginning teachers and effective experienced teachers." Little (1990) has remarked that there is a lack of consensus on "the existence of an agreed-upon body of knowledge to guide practice." Teaching styles and teaching methods are ideologically contested. Their appropriateness also varies according to contextual differences in subject matter, student groups, and so on. There is no singular scale of knowledge and competence on which teachers can be arranged. Expert/novice distinctions between experienced and beginning teachers are therefore not simply technical distinctions. They are also moral and ideological ones that are often bound up in attempts to legitimate particular kinds of teaching and to further projects of professionalizing teaching and teacher education on the basis of them (Labaree, 1992).

Becoming a teacher, therefore, means more than acquiring technical knowledge and expertise. It means becoming a teacher *morally*, through one's commitment to the children one teaches and to the wider social purposes for which that teaching is done (Fullan, 1993; Sockett, 1987). It means becoming a teacher *emotionally* (Hargreaves, 1995a); through caring for and engaging passionately with others. This approach is particularly central for many women who teach (Noddings, 1992) (women, of course, form the majority). Approaching teaching emotionally is also important for many teachers who belong to particular ethnic minorities (Henry, 1992). Becoming a teacher also means becoming a teacher *politically* by having to negotiate and adjust to the continuing constraints of schooling (Schempp, Sparkes, & Templin, 1993).

If they are not consciously addressed, these moral, emotional, and political dimensions of teaching still exert their effects on teachers' emerging identities, but more by default than design. Thus, induction into teaching for many teachers currently means not just applying new knowledge and skill. It also entails the following processes:

- *Biographical extension.* Induction into teaching is never induction into "secret knowledge" in the pure sense. New teachers already know,



or think they know, much of what teaching entails, even before they start to practise it. Lortie (1975) estimated that the average student has spent 13,000 hours observing his or her classroom teachers by the time he or she graduates from high school., and by that time, a substantial amount of socialization has already occurred. In a now memorable phrase among teacher educators, he referred to this as the long "apprenticeship of observation."

Other aspects of previous biography and wider life experience are also immensely influential on new teachers' orientations to their work. This is especially apparent among more mature entrants to teaching who—through their previous occupations, relationships, and other experiences—develop powerful images and metaphors which guide their purposes as teachers, and affect how they approach and manage the practical challenges of the work (Bullough et al., 1991; Stoddart, 1991). These metaphors can motivate teachers to be drawn towards teaching, but also often restrict their conceptions of how that teaching might be done.

- *Archetypal confirmation.* Beyond biography, new teachers are also influenced by deep seated archetypes of teaching that pervade the wider culture. Waller (1932) spoke of the teacher stereotype as "a thin but impenetrable veil that comes between the teacher and all human beings." He noted that

the teacher must always take very seriously the social system designed for the edification and control of children. He must speak seriously and even prayerfully of examinations, grades, credits, promotions, demerits, scoldings, school rituals, making good, etc. And it is difficult for the teacher to take such things seriously and yet keep them from entering his soul. (p. 60)

While such stereotypes may seem outdated, Sugrue (in press) has described how beginning teachers in Ireland are still influenced by dominant archetypes of the Irish schoolmaster which include "images of teaching as transmission of a predetermined curriculum that was teacher driven (and) which demanded obedience and passivity from pupils."

Waller (1932) noted that "stereotypes are predominantly visual." They are "pictures in our heads" that govern how we interact with others. In their analysis of children's and student teachers' drawings of teachers, Weber and Mitchell (in press) have found that traditional archetypes re-



main pervasive in many people's images of teachers with blackboards, pointers, and didactic postures appearing in many of the pictures that were drawn. Anachronistic though such archetypes of teaching might seem, they remain a pervasive cultural influence on new teachers' images of teaching and on the kinds of teachers they feel they can become.

- *Social recruitment.* The biographical influences on beginning teachers are not altogether idiosyncratic. Many teachers share biographies in common. Their social and educational backgrounds and their patterns of recruitment are similar. Lortie's (1975) classic study of schoolteachers found that women teachers were most likely to be recruited from white-collar families with men teachers being proportionately more likely to come from blue-collar homes, for example.

Such differences are significant. Metz (1990) has shown that the social class and gender backgrounds of teachers influence their approach to such matters as pedagogy and discipline. For example, male teachers from working class backgrounds were more likely to take confrontational approaches to discipline, because they perceived misbehavior as challenges to their own personal authority. In Sweden, Lindblad (1993) has found that teachers typically come from lower-middle class homes and have been "good students" in school. In this way, teaching attracts people from specific social classes who have experienced success within existing models of teaching and learning. This leads them to reproduce the patterns of teaching and learning that once worked for them. Induction into teaching may in this sense amount to induction into versions of teaching that are in tune with teachers' own social class and schooling experiences and that thereby help reproduce existing social arrangements in society. The underrepresentation of visible minorities in teaching adds yet another layer to this simultaneous pattern of professional and social differentiation (Stoddart, 1991).

- *Micropolitical accommodation.* Schools are not just places of teaching and learning. They are places of politics, too. There are differences of power between teachers and students, between teachers and administrators, and among teachers themselves. Becoming a teacher means having to come to terms with these power relations of schooling. Schempp et al. (1993) found that some of the micropolitical issues confronted by beginning teachers were: the low status of university preparation among experienced teachers, which often led beginning teachers to suppress and devalue their own preparation; having to walk a thin line between alienating their experienced colleagues and injecting their own brand of pedagogy; the necessity of complying with the cultural norms of the school, often by remaining silent; and

having to face uncertain economic and employment conditions that tended "to continue to pressure new teachers to forsake their ideals and education and accept the conditions and standards of the schools as they presently existed" (p. 469). Sometimes, the micropolitical influences on beginning teachers are more subtle. For example, Waite (1995) has found that in conferences between beginning teachers and their supervisors, supervisors tend to initiate and close interaction, take up more of the talk, control the topic, sanction particular interpretations of events, and so forth.

The fact, at the elementary level in particular, teaching is mainly women's work in an occupation administered mostly by men adds important gender dimensions to the micropolitics of schooling (Acker, 1992). Ben-Peretz's (in press) study of Israeli women teachers, for example, reveals how they are frequently reluctant to engage directly with the masculine and calculative world of school micropolitics, with deleterious consequences for the conditions they can negotiate for their own classroom teaching. Young women who commence teaching may therefore be quadruply disadvantaged in the school's micropolitical arena—by age, experience, status, and gender.

### *Summary*

The intersection of all these influences helps make the induction of beginning teachers into teaching part of their integration into existing cultures and structures of schooling. Such patterns in turn help reproduce structures of social inequality in society (Britzman, 1991; Liston & Zeichner, 1991). This process of integration is not uncontested. Many teachers continue to struggle against it and new programs of induction and reflection are being created to counteract it. Indeed some researchers have found beginning teachers who have praise for and feel positively influenced by their teacher preparation (e.g., Grossman, 1990). But the continuing problem of teacher education in most places appears to be one of induction or socialization into unchanged structures and practices of teaching that are often continuous with teachers' biographical experiences and with the prevailing cultural archetypes of teaching that shape new teachers' images of their work.

So what happens when we *can* get beginning teachers to develop new images and metaphors for their work that break the existing archetypes of teaching? How does this affect their immediate practice, their professional identities, their long-term prospects of success? The following case describes a teacher's experience of a teacher preparation program which

appeared to influence the metaphors and images she developed to guide her teaching, in ways that supported and encouraged innovative classroom practice. However, we suggest that what we may be witnessing in this case is not more effective *induction* into teaching in general, but subtle *seduction* into particular, short-term versions of it.

## Case Study

### *Methodology*

This case study provides a brief portrait of a first-year teacher during her first 5 months of teaching (see Jacka, 1994, for a more extensive analysis). Paula was a beginning elementary school teacher who had spent much of her time in her one-year teacher preparation program with an expert in cooperative learning. The data concerning Paula's case were collected by one of us through five semi-structured interviews and 25 participant observations (beginning in the 3rd week) through her first 5 months of teaching. Observations were also made of a parent's night and a field visit to a skating arena. In addition, an interview was conducted with Paula's principal. All interviews were transcribed and copies given to Paula for her own information as well as to provide her with an opportunity to respond as she saw fit. Copies of expanded field notes of the observations were given to Paula during the next visit, so that they could be checked for factual details.

### *Background and Preparation*

At the time of the initial interview, Paula was a new teacher in her mid-20s, living in a suburb of a large Canadian city with her parents, about to begin her teaching career in a neighboring district. She had completed her professional education at a nearby faculty of education the previous year and, in addition, was completing her thesis for her master's degree in psychology.

Although one of her parents is a school administrator, teaching was not Paula's first career choice, having gone through business and psychology courses at university. During her undergraduate years, Paula thought about working with children in schools as a psychologist or psychometrist and with that goal in mind, she entered a graduate program in psychology after completing her undergraduate degree. She wanted eventually to become a school psychologist. This would allow her to combine a love of children with her interest in psychology.



After doing some supply teaching, however, Paula felt that other teachers would find her to be more credible as a school psychologist if she were to "get into the school system first as a teacher and then start working with special needs kids as a special educator versus being hired by a board as a psychologist." To this end, she had taken the first part of a special education course during her year of teacher education and the other half during her master's program.

Paula "had a wonderful year" during her professional education at the faculty of education, at which she took the junior and intermediate option. Although she had done a lot of supply teaching and already felt comfortable in the classroom, "the experience I got at the faculty last year was amazing." She attributed most of her positive experience at the faculty to her major instructor, who used a cooperative learning approach throughout the year. As Paula noted:

We learned what cooperative learning was by doing it and a lot of what we learned, was learning by doing. That was really important, because it gave us a perspective of what it's really going to be like [as a teacher].

Her major instructor taught the core courses using an integrated approach, so that Paula did not distinguish between the various foundation courses when thinking of them. Her particular program contained more practice teaching time than others, and Paula was in her practice teaching school 2 days a week throughout the year, as well as during three teaching blocks of 3 weeks each. She believed that her year at the faculty had prepared her well for her first teaching position.

Paula believed that her background would be advantageous during her first teaching position, because her previous supply teaching had allowed her to see "different classroom setups . . . [and] different routines that teachers have established." Since she was going to be teaching grade 4, Paula thought that her previous supply teaching, especially at the intermediate level, would be helpful in that

I might have a better feel of where they [the students] are socially . . . what's cool, what they're thinking, how they're going to act in a certain situation, how they're going to act for supply teachers [and] things like that. . . . I just sort of have a feel of where kids are . . . not perfectly, but I think a little bit more because of that [supply] experience.

### *Images of Teaching*

The transcript of Paula's first interview suggested five images of teaching which she held, had articulated, and was attempting to live out in



her classroom. When these were fed back to Paula, she confirmed their accuracy. The images were of cooperation and coherence, support, respect, teaching, and learning as hard work and involvement. We will concentrate on just two images here: those of cooperation and cohesion, and support.

*Cooperation and cohesion.* The first, and most important image to Paula, was of the teacher as the creator of cooperation and cohesion in the classroom setting. Paula very much wanted to design a classroom environment in which both she and the students would cooperate together in the business of learning. From this cooperation would emerge a class which would operate together as an entity, although Paul neither expected nor desired that all of her students should be alike. What she hoped for was that her students would appreciate their differences while maintaining an appreciation of the group, as well as feeling themselves to be part of a team.

Paula's image of cooperation and cohesion seemed to come from three sources. The first was her experience as a student moving to a new school in a new area, finding it difficult to fit in, and not being part of a group. Later, she commented that "one of the best parts of my life in school was finally getting involved with the social aspect, and being in the in-crowd and doing those kinds of things as well as worrying about school." Biographically, Paula knew what it was like to be both an outsider and an insider in school, which helped frame her belief that a sense of belonging to a group is extremely important to students.

The second influence was her major instructor at the faculty of education, who had inspired her with visions of cooperative learning, and whose judgment she valued. The third influence was Paula's practice teaching school which placed great emphasis on team planning and cooperation. Numerous times she discussed how much she had enjoyed working with other teachers in this school, developing units and lessons together. Paula valued working cooperatively instead of having continually to "reinvent the wheel" when preparing for class, and she eagerly looked forward to repeating that kind of experience in her first year of teaching.

*Support.* A second important image was that of the teacher as giver and receiver of support. Paula had felt nurtured, cared for, and supported by her fellow teachers during her practice teaching year. This support had been extremely necessary to her. Because of this experience, she saw teachers as belonging to a community which cared for and supported one another, in addition to caring for and supporting students.

Paula looked forward to receiving support from colleagues and administration in her new position. She talked with fondness about the ad-

ministration in her new position. She talked with fondness about the friends she had made at the faculty of education with whom she planned to remain in contact. The help of professional friends was important in Paula's image of herself as a teacher. These friends also included the parent who is a school administrator, who "is there for me as a support [i.e., as a parent], and there for me as a teacher, too, and as a colleague as well."

The recognition of her own need for support influenced Paula's thinking about the needs of her students in this respect, too. Paula's picture of the ideal teacher included "just being there for all the different needs of the student, from the academic to the social . . . and having a little bit of an influence on everything for every student." For Paula, therefore, images of support included both receiving as well as giving. In order to support her students, it was necessary for her to receive support from others. This second image of teaching as support also appeared to have crystallized during Paula's experiences at the faculty of education, including, once again, her practice teaching school.

### *Summary*

Paula's images of teaching appear to derive from three main sources: her individual personality and disposition; her biography, in particular the influence of her parent and her experiences at school as a student; and her experiences at the faculty of education within her course program and her practicum experience. Teachers' images are often seen to be largely rooted in their personal biographies more than their formal preparation (Clandinin, 1986). Paula was different. Her experience of teacher preparation contributed strongly to the images of teaching she formed.

What is therefore at variance here with much of the teacher education literature is the positive influence of the course program and practicum experience of the faculty of education on developing alternative images and experiences of teaching, as opposed to those which prevail in many parts of the profession, and in archetypal portrayals of it. So what impact did these alternative images of cooperation and support, that were in many respects fostered by the teacher preparation program, have on Paula's own practice?

### *Images in Action*

As a "junior" grade level teacher, Paula was assigned to teach in one of several portables, hers being located in direct view of the principal's of-

fice. The portables were slightly smaller than regular classrooms, restricting somewhat the flexibility of furniture arrangements.

In order to live out the image of cooperation and cohesion in her class, Paula planned to include numerous cooperative activities in the early weeks with her students. In fact, one of the class routines which Paula hoped to establish early in September was "team building, team cohesion, and getting the class together and discussing. I just think that's really important." She talked about getting her students to come up with the rules for the class, and being involved in such class routines as the seating arrangements, because she wished them "to make decisions and . . . become responsible." Paula pictured her students "feel[ing] that we're a class together, that we're a team," as she contemplated meeting them on the first day of school.

Paula planned to arrange the furniture in her classroom to accommodate a community circle where the students would gather each morning to start the day and share experiences. The community circle would be an important part of the day for Paula's class and would include not only the plans for the day but also "a discussion time . . . kind of a rap session . . . if we're there 5 minutes or 20 minutes, I'm not going to be sticky about time, because I think it's . . . really important."

For the first day of school, Paula had arranged her students' tables and chairs into groupings of five or six around the perimeter of the room. In the middle, she had left space for the community circle, in which the students would gather at the beginning of the day, as well as for group activities at other times.

By the time Paula was ready for her class of 31, ethnically varied Grade 4 students, the room was stamped with indications of herself as a person and a teacher. One bulletin board displayed posters with sayings such as "I believe in you," "I trust in you," "I know you can handle life's situation," and "You are listened to; you are cared for; and you are very important to me." On another, four "bear" posters called attention to various attributes Paula wished to encourage with her class: "attention and listening," "appreciation," "the right to pass," and "no names, no gossip."

The commonly cited "reality shocks" of teaching came early for Paula. During the second interview, she recounted how she "went home crying on Friday afternoon" of the first week of school. There were three reasons for "not enjoying her first week at all." The first was her difficulty with classroom management in which

the kids were all over the place. I couldn't get into any kind of routines with them. I couldn't do things like get them to listen. Probably having the whole group listening at once was the most trouble I had.



Second were the unrealistic academic expectations she had held for her class: "They're a lot lower than I expected in general . . . it's hard to bring myself down to that level without getting really frustrated personally." The third reason was her difficulty in dealing with the class as a whole: "I'm finding it difficult having to repeat instructions three and four times to individual kids because they weren't listening or because they didn't understand. . . . It was just overwhelming." These three themes recurred throughout much of Paula's initial experiences as a teacher. Already, Paula's images of cooperation and cohesion and of support were being put to the test.

Rather than continuing to endure such frustration, however, Paula turned to her own support network for help. This included a special education resource teacher with whom she had become friendly during the previous year. She was advised "how to devise a behavior modification program [and] I put my kids on a behavior modification program that Monday when I got back."

Although her image of support was left intact, those of cooperation and cohesion were severely tried: "I totally disagree with behavior modification, but I felt I had to do something because it [my classroom management] wasn't working and I couldn't function that way in the classroom." The exigencies of classroom life were already colliding with Paula's images as a cooperative teacher.

Paula did, however, involve her students in the decision to try something different with them and "discussed with the kids the different rules that they should have, and what they thought the consequences should be when rules are broken and things like that. We brainstormed together." But she retained for herself the final authority about what was to be done, devising the rules and coming up with "five of them, and a reward system, and a sort of punishment system as well." Continuing her attempt to foster feelings of cooperation and cohesion, her behavior modification plan provided for rewards and punishment on a group basis, so that "the groups that are cooperating and following the rules get stars. At the end of the day, the groups with the most stars are the ones that receive a prize." Paula supplied the prizes herself. She also sought cooperation from the parents of her students in her plan to negotiate better behavior. By the 3rd week, there were clear signs that students were learning the new rule system: "The kids seem to know what the rules are, what the routines are, and so on."

Unfortunately, Paula's difficulty in dealing with the whole class at once proved more stubborn. "I'm still having problems getting everybody listening at once when I'm trying to give a lesson." Once again, drawing on her image of cooperation and cohesion, she engaged the whole class in seeking a solution to the problem:



Yesterday, I had to stop and spend all period talking and brainstorming again on ideas, and I approached it from the idea that "you guys [her students] are not going to listen; there's nothing I can do to get you to listen, so how are you going to help? Give me some ideas about how I can give a lesson with people talking, because now I'm going to have to adapt [my behavior]."

At this point, she continued to experience frustration with those students who "don't listen, and 2 seconds after I give instructions, they're asking me what to do . . . and I don't know how to get through to them. They've got to pay attention." Because of her inexperience, Paula was not able to judge the relative abilities and behavior of this particular grade 4 class compared to those of other grade 4 classes. This inexperience meant that she would have to rely on trial-and-error learning unless she sought help.

In Paula's practice teaching sessions, she had always "had someone else in the class with me. There's always been an educational assistant there, or another teacher, or somebody." Here she was alone. Being totally responsible for everything in her classroom proved to be very difficult for Paula. "I'm finding that hard to deal with. I've gotten to the point where I tell kids, 'Put your hand down; I don't have time to help you.' I just can't get around to people who need assistance."

In time, Paula was able to do more than one thing at a time, such as walking around the room as she talked, stopping to pat someone on the head as a reminder of appropriate behavior, without saying anything. However, by October, Paula's main concern was still the difficulty of thinking about and managing so many things at once as she was teaching: "It's hard to concentrate on three different things at once." Consequently, she had decided to

focus on one thing at a time. . . . Right now, I'm looking at my teaching methodology and how I teach a class. . . . Maybe I'm spending too much time at the front and so. . . . I moved over to the side where the table is and I do a lot of my instruction from that area now.

She had also begun to discover that when she discussed work with her class as a whole, they began to get restless and started talking to one another.

So as a discipline . . . what I'm doing is trying to move around so that I can get to all the tables [of students] and I hope that just my presence will quieten them down. . . . It's also because I would like to see what

they're doing in their math notebooks. I haven't collected them for a long time, so I don't know how they're correcting them. I don't know exactly what they're doing.

Paula was now experiencing constant fatigue, a long drive to work, lack of time to be alone (which she resented), excessive demands of marking and preparation, and a general sapping of energy. She worried about students with special needs for whom she could not program properly because of lack of time and energy. "It's a crazy life," she exclaimed. In order to remain committed to her images, Paula found that she needed time alone, and up to this point, she had been unable to find the necessary time. With the Thanksgiving weekend coming up, she had decided "to spend at least one and a half days. . . . on my own. . . . to be. . . . all by myself and do whatever, whether I immerse myself in a book, I'm putting that time aside just for me, because I need that." Being with people all day, every day, drained Paula's energy and began to affect her attitudes.

In mid-October, as Paula continued to juggle with her management strategies and furniture arrangements, her principal came to observe and conduct an informal evaluation of her. This evaluation exposed her practice of talking over students' voices while trying to give instructions (although Paula herself felt her performance had improved considerably in this area from the beginning of the year). The evaluation also revealed shortcomings in Paula's own evaluations of students' work. Paula felt that she had been unable to evaluate her students' work thoroughly because of time and exhaustion.

Paula's continual exhaustion and lack of time were now translating themselves into specific classroom problems. She explained to her principal that

I was so stressed out after the first 6 weeks that I took a break and decided that I was going to have myself as a priority that week. . . . Some things are going to suffer because sometimes I've got to put myself as a priority or I'm not going to survive.

Survival, as a goal in itself, was becoming ever more salient.

Support would really have helped Paula through some of these difficulties. Before her teaching assignment, Paula had hoped that

maybe one day if I'm stuck and really don't know where to go next, I can knock on the teacher's door next door, and she'll say, "Here, this is something I used once and it worked well; why don't you try it."

In addition, Paula had looked forward to becoming an integral part of the whole staff. From her visits to the school during the previous spring, she believed them to be sociable, approachable, and interested in her participation at the school.

The reality was different. Special education support to help her work with students outside the middle range came much too late. The communal planning she hoped for did not exist. The prevailing practice at the school was that teachers prepared for themselves. "I have to start from scratch with all my units." She was isolated in her portable from other staff, which isolated her from important communications and from sources of informal advice. However, not just physical isolation but a more pervasive culture of individualism among teachers in her school (Hargreaves, 1994) seemed to make such advice a scarce commodity.

Nobody offers anything. If I have questions or concerns, I have to ask, but I don't often know the question to ask. Nobody comes to me with suggestions. You can't blame them, I guess. They're worried about their own stuff.

Regrettably, however, staff were all too ready to communicate with Paula if her students and their behavior created problems for them.

The administration's approach to Paula and all new teachers was one of general offers of help and benign non-interference unless problems became manifestly apparent. Routine observation, evaluation, and review were not seen as part of the role. The result was that by mid-October the vice-principal had failed to deliver on his repeated promise to visit Paula's classroom. Moreover, a generally critical evaluation from the principal at that time came as a surprise because the expected criteria for it had not been communicated beforehand. Assertively, Paula sought other sources of support beyond her immediate colleagues and the administration. She requested a mentor, only to be told there was no central-board policy on mentoring. She also requested a board consultant to visit her class, which led to extremely positive feedback and long-awaited moral support. In general, however, active and consistent support was seriously wanting in the culture and administration of the school where Paula began her teaching.

Notwithstanding these serious shortfalls of support, by January, drawing on her own resources, having recouped some time for herself, and with dogged perseverance and problem-solving, Paula had made great strides in her classroom management. She had tightened up her routines and her expectations for her students were apparently being accepted happily by them. Paula's vacation had provided her with much-needed

time alone for her to regain the inner strength of will which was necessary to continue attempting to live out her images of teaching in her classroom. In addition, in her time alone, she had been able to reflect on different ways of dealing with the frustrations which she still faced. Paula's deep reserve of personal resources seemed to be central to sustaining her through her first months of teaching.

### *Summary*

Paula's image of cooperation and cohesion influenced her lesson planning before school began as well as throughout the study, as she arranged activities which caused her students to work in groups of varying kinds. In this way, she hoped to create a more cohesive class with students who cooperated with one another to complete tasks. She constantly involved her students in seeking solutions to class problems, finding their solutions at times too creative to be useful, and at other times quite workable.

This image influenced Paula's disciplinary practices because she believed that to separate misbehaving students from their group until they could demonstrate more appropriate behaviour would be a strong deterrent to further misbehaviour. It also influenced her placement of furniture into groups before the start of school. Even during the year when she had decided that those groupings were not working satisfactorily, Paula continued to think of ways in which that image could be adjusted in some way that she could still accept. By the end of the study, her original furniture groupings had re-emerged.

Cooperative learning was a key part of Paula's teacher preparation. She believed that in general, her faculty of education experience had prepared her well for teaching. She had few complaints, save that she could have been prepared with better "political skills" to negotiate the complexities of her new school environment. Even so, the realities of teaching remained a powerful shock for her and without remarkable determination, inner strength, and drive, it is not clear that she would have survived through her first year.

### *Interpretation and Implications*

Despite (and perhaps because of) Paula's own perceptions of the positive nature of her training, there is a disparity here between teacher preparation and the working realities of teaching that seems to us disturbing. One area of concern is the orientation of beginning teachers to classroom organization and instruction. Useful and helpful though coop-



erative learning may be as a method by which to organize classroom learning activities, it is only one of a number of strategies which effective teachers can use to accomplish their goals. For Paula, however, the strategy appeared to be the goal itself, and during the first few weeks when it did not work as she hoped, she reluctantly adopted the behaviour modification plans to which she was philosophically opposed. Changing from one strategy to another to reach a well-defined goal is one thing, but when the strategy itself has become bound up with the goal, changing it is much more difficult. In Paula's case, change on this scale in ways that threatened her goals was especially stressful, involving a partial loss of identity for her.

However, even as a goal, it is not clear on what rationally justifiable grounds Paula had decided that co-operative learning techniques were those she wanted to use in her classroom. In many respects, her undoubted admiration for her major instructor appeared to be a "compelling" force in her choice. Even if "good teaching" may be exemplified in the use of cooperative learning techniques, Paula did not, or perhaps was not able to, articulate the "foundation of adequately grounded premises" (Shulman, 1987, p. 13) on which they rested. The purposes of cooperative learning were presumed in the image that underpinned them, not decided upon and reviewed by justification of a rational nature.

Beyond the course work of her preparation, Paula's practicum—conducted in-depth in one school—provided her with an experience congruent with the pedagogical orientation of her major instructor at the faculty of education. Her preparatory teaching experiences at the school, which were organized around the principles of cooperative learning, certainly provided her with the knowledge necessary to put those practices into place in her own classroom. What was problematic, however, was that Paula's first teaching experience was in a school where the teaching culture and the administrative philosophy were decidedly different from those of her practice teaching school. Her new school certainly did not exemplify cooperative practices in the classroom. Nor was it especially supportive collegially.

Paula was ill-equipped for teaching in the kind of school where she had to take her first position, a school that is not untypical in instructional and collegial terms of elementary schools more generally. She was faced with the daunting task of attempting to reconcile her practice teaching images, experiences, and achievements with strikingly discordant classroom and school realities.

The disparity between Paula's practicum and her subsequent entry into teaching proper does not only occasion disappointment and despon-

dency about the continuing culture of teaching that beginning teachers must confront. It also raises questions about the nature and purpose of the practicum, given the present realities that many new teachers will face later. Might preparing teachers in exemplary practices within exemplary practicum settings merely set them up for disillusionment and disappointment later? Certainly, Paula seemed to experience more disillusionment than necessary in her first few teaching months, because the gap between her practicum and her first position had been so great.

### Seduction

*seduction* (from *seducere*—"to lead aside")

"The act of leading aside to wrong acts or beliefs"

"Something that entices or influences by attraction or charm"

(Webster Dictionary)

What Paula experienced in becoming a teacher, particularly through the course work and practicum of her teacher preparation, was not just a process of *induction* into teaching, but one of *seduction* as well. She was led aside to acts or beliefs concerning cooperative learning that were not always appropriate for the classroom settings and management challenges that she faced. Indeed, her beliefs, and the images with which they were associated, seemed not to be grounded clearly in rational justifications that had evolved from deliberation and reflection. Instead, they appeared to come from her own biography; from the attraction, charm, and enticement of her program preparation; and from the specially selected school environment in which she had enjoyed her practicum experience.

If this case has more applicability, the postmodern problem of teacher preparation may no longer be entirely one of straight socialization or induction in the conventional and long understood sense. Rather, initial teacher education may increasingly be a process of soft seduction into images and practices of teaching that prepare new teachers neither to adjust to the unchanged realities of the schools in which they will begin their paid teaching careers, nor to develop the intellectual understanding and political skills which would enable them to critique and challenge those realities.

Baumann (1992) argues that seduction may now be taking the place of rational legitimation and overt repression as the paramount vehicle of systemic control and social integration in society. The growing influence of the market, the rise of consumer choice, and the possibility that large segments of the population can participate in consumer relations means

that much social control is now exercised through the politics of choice and through appeal to emotionality, aesthetics, and other subtle sensibilities in the structuring of such choices. The intellectual skills of rational argument, persuasion, and critique necessary for control by legitimation and justification are giving way to more relational skills of cooperation and interaction that engage the emotions and arouse human sensibilities. Seduction of this sort enhances consumer participation and consumer interests, whether people are seduced into selling or purchasing concrete products, seduced into marketing or selecting schools of choice, or seduced into cooperative, even "charming" forms of pedagogical engagement with children in classrooms and with students in teacher preparation.

Baudrillard (1983) argues that "we truly live in an era of seduction." "The world is no longer driven by power, but fascination, no longer by production, but seduction" (p. 174). He warns us (if a little melodramatically) that:

This soft strategy will spread, socially and historically. The masses will be psychologized in order to be seduced; they will be rigged up with desires in order to be distracted. . . . Having replaced the world of surveillance, (seduction) characterizes the vulnerability of both individuals and masses to soft injunctions. Distilled . . . throughout all personal and social relations, the seductive shadow of this discourse hovers today over the desert of social relations. (p. 175)

As teacher educators begin to emphasize more cooperative methods of classroom instruction, integrate these effectively into extended practicums, and locate them supportively in high-powered professional development schools—will this signal the achievement of long-awaited success or effectiveness in the teacher education enterprise? In our view, while these kinds of initiatives are trying to build much-needed bridges between theory and practice, and while they are trying to avoid the fate of narrow utilitarianism that is befalling teacher education in some countries, they may be in danger of preparing beginning teachers through *seduction*. Short-term success in and positive evaluations of innovative teacher education practices and high-profile professional development schools may actually seduce new teachers toward the brink of subsequent frustration and disillusionment when they must ultimately confront the unchanged cultures and contexts of conventional schooling, ill-prepared either to adapt to or to critique and transform these contexts.

Notwithstanding short-term satisfaction and success, preparation by enticement, charm, and general seduction in what one of us has elsewhere called the safely simulated worlds of professional development



schools with their exemplary practices and extra supports (Hargreaves, 1995b) may ultimately prove *ineffective* by failing to address the continuing contexts and cultures of schooling, and *immoral* by insulating beginning teachers from rational reflection on their goals and strategies.

None of this is to argue against having supportive settings in which beginning teachers can develop their craft. Our argument, rather, is with the seductive way through which these practices can be acquired and with the potentially seductive nature of the practicum settings in which teachers learn to practise them.

We believe there are at least three implications of our analysis here, for rethinking teacher education. First, it is important that teacher education emphasizes and prepares new teachers in a *range* of instructional methods, actively encourages critical reflection on the contexts and purposes of their use, and establishes that particular instructional methods can be useful *means* for achieving greater educational goals, but are not sufficient as *ends* in themselves.

Second, amid the headlong rush that many are making towards creating professional development schools as stimulating solutions to the problems of teacher education, we should ask whether they may actually be serving as simulated sites of short-term seduction. Might such schools become Disneyworlds of professional development, preparing teachers poorly in psychic and strategic terms for the everyday school settings that will subsequently await them? Enchantment and inspiration are no substitutes for real-world preparation and transformation. Those committed to the professional development school movement perhaps need to pause and ask themselves some searching questions around these sorts of issues.

Third, it is clear that teacher education reform will continue to be a frustrating and futile endeavour until there is fundamental change in the cultures and contexts of schooling that beginning teachers have to encounter. As long as new teachers entering their first positions have to confront conditions of physical isolation, teacher cultures of non-interference and individualism, absence of administrative or collegial support, and school staffs who are unreceptive to the new methods that beginning teachers can bring, then no amount of tinkering with teacher preparation is likely to work.

Perhaps teacher education faculties are starting in the wrong place. Perhaps they are focusing too much on how to change teacher preparation, and only attending to wider agendas of school improvement and continued professional development later, if at all. Perhaps a better beginning question behind teacher education reform would be "what unique and distinctive role can faculties of education play to help trans-



form the conditions and cultures of schooling in general (and not just a few professional development schools in particular)?”—for these are the very cultures and conditions that currently defeat so many new teachers and the efforts of those who are trying hard to prepare them better. If this is, indeed, the proper question for faculties of education, then teacher preparation specifically, rather than teacher development and school development more widely, may be neither the most promising nor the most propitious place to begin answering it!

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# Integrating Multicultural and Curriculum Principles in Teacher Education

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Questions about the place and nature of multiculturalism in teacher education continue to be contentious and problematic. Several recent developments make them at once more puzzling and imperative. One of these is the ethnic demographics of students in K-12 schools and enrollments in teacher education programs. While public school students are becoming more ethnically, racially, and linguistically diverse, prospective teachers continue to be predominately middle class, English speaking, European Americans. Another development that is bringing more attention to multicultural education is the fact that research and scholarship demonstrating the interactive relationship among ethnicity, culture, and school achievement is becoming more definitive. A third contributing factor is that teacher education accreditation agencies are increasing their stipulations that multiculturalism be a central part of professional preparation.

Our intent is to contribute to answering these questions and reducing these contentions by proposing a strategy for multiculturalizing teacher education. We will examine three issues related to achieving this goal: (a) Why it is important for future teachers to develop multicultural perspectives and competencies; (b) how general principles of multicultural education and curriculum design can be integrated into teacher preparation programs; and (c) how this integration can be accomplished so that prospective teachers will be empowered, not unduly intimidated, to continue their profession growth in multiculturalism. Our discussions are

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grounded in the belief that teacher educators should apply the same criteria and principles for creating multicultural curricula as they employ in other areas of specialization. We also believe that multiculturalism in teacher education is an imperative, not a choice. No area or individual involved in the program can be exempted, if we are to adequately prepare teachers for working with today's students. Because everyone needs it, multicultural education should be a persistent and pervasive thread throughout the professional preparation of teachers and other school leaders.

### Curriculum Conceptions

We want to challenge and dispel a common misconception about curriculum and multiculturalism in higher education, including teacher preparation. Typically, course content and curriculum are used as if they were synonymous. Although a popular notion, this perception is far afield from how specialists define curriculum. While no single definition is endorsed by everyone, many curricularists agree that curriculum is *a purposeful and intentional plan* designed to effect changes in students' behavior, or achieve learning. It is the *plan for instruction* rather than the act of instruction itself. It operates on varying levels of complexity and formality. Curriculum can be as simple as a single lesson plan, or as complex as all of the components of an entire program of studies. It can be as informal as mental thoughts about how to conduct a lesson that crystallize just prior to the beginning of class. Or, it can be as formal as everything anticipated for all parts of an institution that are carefully crafted in written form.

Whether as lesson, unit, course, or program, all curricula are composed of the same basic components. These are rationale, goals and objectives, content, learning activities or experiences, and evaluation. All must be included for an instructional plan to be considered a curriculum; however, they do not have to be given the same emphasis. These may be supplemented by timelines, scope and sequence charts, and materials and resources. Actual curriculum designs vary according to: which components are given priority, the relationship established among them, the basis on which decisions about them are made, and the overall purposes to be served (Taba, 1962). For example, education decisions that emphasize scientific rationality, empirical inquiry, and monoculturalism generate very different curricula than those which prioritize knowledge construction, social consciousness, and cultural diversity.

There also is general agreement among specialists in the field that curriculum designs tend to reflect one of three major conceptualizations

about the purposes, structures, processes, and functions of schooling. Miller and Sellar (1985) summarize these as *transmission*, *transaction*, and *transformation*. *Transmissive* curriculum emphasizes transferring or conveying knowledge, facts, and other types of information from the "collective heritage" of society and humankind to students. It is content-focused, teacher-dominated, and tends to place students in a passive posture. It also assumes a high degree of congruence between the perspectives, experiences, and referent orientations of students and teachers. For the most part, students are expected to memorize the information provided to them, without ever questioning its merit, accuracy, or validity. A *transactive* curriculum makes provisions for interactive engagements among teachers, students, and the content or issues examined. It assumes that students bring some perspectives and experiences to instructional interactions that are—although different from those of the teachers—of merit and influence in affecting learning outcomes. It provides more opportunities for students to actively engage with issues and with each other through such instructional techniques as cooperative learning, inquiry, problem solving, and critical thinking.

*Transformative* curriculum emphasizes the evolving, social, cultural, personal, powerful, and contextual nature of knowledge and the knowing process. It concedes that students are active participants in the process of constructing knowledge and that each one may learn something quite different from similar experiences. Three essential attributes of their engagement in the learning process are: critical interrogations of existing realities; self-reflections; and pushing the boundaries of existing knowledge in search of new social, personal, and intellectual possibilities. Individual and cultural differences, multiple interpretations, and alternative ways of learning are accommodated and facilitated in the instructional plans. Transformative curriculum assumes that teaching, learning, and knowledge are always particularistic (as opposed to transmissive and transactive notions which suggest that there is such a thing as generalized knowledge) because they are inseparable from social and historical contexts. It also makes evident to students the power and political potentials of knowledge—what they are, who has them, how they are obtained, how they are used, and to what ends. Thus, the educational process is considered a means for cultivating personal, social, and political empowerment. McCaleb (1994) summarizes these key principles as follows: (a) teaching and learning always occur in socio-historical and community contexts; (b) learning begins with students' existing knowledge base; (c) students' new skills and interests develop out of the need to know; and (d) teaching and learning are, at once, individual, personalized, collaborative, and transformative experiences.

These conceptualizations of curriculum in general have some parallels in multicultural education. They are usually referred to as *inclusion or additive* (analogous to transmission), *infusion* (similar to transaction), and *reconstruction and/or transformation*. (Banks, 1993; Nieto 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1994). They move progressively from merely adding bits and pieces of fragmented information about cultural diversity to highly selective aspects of curricula, to the more systematic pluralizing of the major parts of teaching and learning, to changing all parts of the educational process to make them responsive to cultural diversity. Even though reconstructive and transformative multicultural education is the ideal, and there is a tendency for teacher educators to advocate for these approaches, we take a somewhat more pragmatic position. We think that there is a legitimate place for transmissive, transactive, and transformative multiculturalism in teacher education. To focus on one of these to the exclusion of the others creates unrealistic expectations and inappropriate preparation for prospective teachers. For example, in our haste to get everyone to be “transformative” in their advocacy of multicultural education, we may impose our own a priori notions of what this should be, and thereby violate the features of *transformation*, which validate the “personal story” and the “uniqueness of self-discovery.”

Multicultural reforms in teacher education should be *developmentally appropriate* to those for whom they are intended. Interventions designed only for reconstruction and transformation may be too advanced for beginning teachers. This can cause so much frustration and intimidation that the teachers withdraw from investing in multicultural education for self-protection. If the reforms are limited to inclusion, transmission, and transaction, they may not be sufficient for teachers to develop enough confidence and competence to make the changes needed in their own classroom teaching. Therefore, a combination of these approaches seems to be the most appropriate thing to do. By so doing, the varying developmental levels of students in relation to multiculturalism can be accommodated, and the curricular reforms reflecting it can become increasingly more sophisticated to parallel the intellectual and pedagogical maturity that occurs as students matriculate through the preparation programs. Prospective teachers should emerge from these approaches with attitudes and knowledge about the merits of cultural diversity that are fundamental to multicultural education, and the will and skills to translate these into curriculum and instruction actions for the classroom. Thus, they will have both *advocacy* and *agency* in multiculturalism.

We will use the general curriculum components to organize our discussion about incorporating multiculturalism into teacher education *at the program level*. The wide variety of curriculum possibilities at the other



levels are far too numerous and contextually specific to be dealt with here. By concentrating at the program level we will be able to suggest some basic principles and concepts for implementing multiculturalism into the curriculum of teacher education that apply across areas of specialization and institutions.

### Rationale for Multicultural Teacher Education

There are several reasons why multiculturalism should be a fundamental component of all parts of teacher education programs. Some are ideological and ethical; others are pragmatic and pedagogical. These comprise the key information for a multicultural curriculum rationale.

A curriculum rationale is a philosophical statement that makes explicit the values which underlie a program of studies (or any other form of curriculum). It provides justifications, parameters, and guidelines for making decisions about all of the other components of the curriculum. It outlines the general purposes of education and the goals to be achieved. Posner and Rudnitsky (1994) suggest that, in order to be complete and useful, a curriculum rationale should explain the values and instructional intentions of the planner at least in relation to the learner, the society, and the subject matter. In other words, it should establish the broad contours of the what, why, how, and the anticipated effects of the curriculum. However, these explanations are ideological, not methodological.

Typically, four kinds of arguments are given for why multicultural education should be an essential part of the professional preparation of teachers, and the education of students. They begin with ideological explanations to the effect that multicultural education: is essential for the educational experiences of all children in all subjects and school settings, is a condition for achieving equity of learning opportunities and excellence of achievement outcome for all students, and is a "basic" of democratic citizenship and social justice for a pluralistic society (Gay, 1994b; Nieto, 1992). It accepts cultural diversity as a reality, as well as a source of strength, vitality, and enrichment for both individuals and society. Pai (1990) explains further that cultural pluralism forms the basis "from which America can become a cohesive society enriched by shared, widely divergent ethnic experiences" (p. 91). Pai (1990) also believes in the

equality of opportunity for all people, respect for human dignity, and the conviction that no single pattern of living is good for everyone . . . [and that] Human life becomes much more interesting, stimulating, and even exciting when there are many varied ways of thinking, feeling, expressing, acting, and viewing the world. (pp. 91, 97)



The cultural conditioning of students and teachers is a major determinant of how they act and react in instructional situations. Because they often do not share the same background experiences, ethnic identities, and frames of reference, these *incompatibilities* can become major obstacles to teaching and learning effectiveness in pluralistic classrooms. To avoid these pitfalls, prospective teachers should understand the cultural characteristics of different ethnic, racial, and social groups, and how these affect the educational process. Understanding variations in values, communication, relational learning, and problem-solving styles are particularly important for teaching culturally diverse students. The extent to which teachers know, appreciate, and are able to “bridge” these cultural differences in classroom instruction will directly affect educational opportunities and outcomes for students from marginal groups, such as ethnic minorities, children of poverty, and females.

Multicultural education suggests that all students need to have access to more accurate and complete renditions of the human legacy and the U. S. story. This is necessary for social and cultural equality. To achieve these goals, school curricula should be revised to include the contributions of a wide variety of ethnic and cultural groups, and help students to understand that the macroculture of the U. S. is, by nature, a composite or mosaic of these many microcultures and ethnic groups. This is part of their right of citizenship, given that education is supposed to be preparation for membership in society, and U. S. society is culturally pluralistic.

In addition to providing students with new information about their cultural heritages, multicultural education should teach them to critically analyze the beliefs and actions that have been practiced toward cultural diversity, and develop skills to combat the unequal distribution of power among dominate and subordinate groups in the United States. Multiculturalism also is inherently important to the search for truth, since different people provide different perspectives on, interpretations of, and claims to truth. Individuals who have to live in the midst of these pluralities are better able to do so if they understand them. Thus, multicultural education enriches the intellectual skills, enhances the socio-emotional well-being of individuals, and contributes toward achieving the principles of freedom, equality, justice, and dignity for all U. S. citizens.

Along with its ideological and ethical orientations, multicultural education includes some important methodological ideas. Because it accepts culture as an essential filter through which individuals make sense and assign meaning to life experiences, then effective education for students from different ethnic, social, and racial groups requires *culturally responsive, or culturally congruent teaching*. This type of instruction involves incorporating elements of microcultures, along with the macroculture,

into teaching processes as a means of improving the academic success of all students. In order to do this, teachers need to know how to translate general educational ideas, concepts, and techniques into the cultural experiences and frameworks of different groups. While the general goals and expectations for high quality education remain the same for all students, the strategies for achieving them vary according to specific populations. This means incorporating multicultural materials, methods, examples, structures, climates, and relationships into the design, implementation, and assessment of teaching and learning (Au, 1993; Gay, 1994b; Hollins, King, & Hayman 1994; Ladson-Billings 1994). For example, at the level of actions and operations, motivation to read means something quite different for Filipino students than it does for Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, or Navajos. Yet, if teachers know how to motivate students from each of these groups, this will lead to greater achievement for them in the mastery of reading.

Teachers cannot be held accountable for (a) implementing multicultural education in K-12 education, and (b) working well with culturally different students if they have not been prepared to do so. The notion that a teacher who can teach any student well can teach all kinds of students equally well is very suspect. Cultural diversity is too much of a mediating variable for us to place too much trust in this assumption. The growing social, ethnic, racial, and cultural gaps that exist between students and teachers makes it less likely that they will share common frames of reference and background experiences. Teacher education should be deliberately designed to bridge these gaps by including knowledge and skills for working with multicultural content, and ethnically, culturally, socially, and racially diverse student populations.

More and more state departments of education and accreditation agencies are recognizing these needs by enacting regulations to ensure that preparation for cultural diversity is forthcoming. Several of the recent standards for teacher certification issued by the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC) and the National Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) include references to multicultural education. At least 13 of the 20 NCATE and 3 of the 10 INTASC standards make specific references to the curricula of teacher education providing knowledge, appreciation, experiences with, and skills for working with multicultural issues and students (INTASC, 1992, 1994; NCATE, 1994). For instance, NCATE standards stipulate that multicultural and global perspectives must be incorporated into the overall framework, general studies, integrative studies, learning experiences, classroom instruction, and the field experiences of teacher education programs. Because of the desire to maintain their accreditation, these

stipulations may cause colleges of education to multiculturalize teacher education more quickly than they would have otherwise and for other reasons. Even though these responses may initially be limited to inclusion and transmission actions they are nonetheless important in the total schema of reforming teacher education for cultural diversity. As the reform initiatives develop, more comprehensiveness will emerge in the curriculum offered to teachers-in-training to prepare them to work with culturally different students in pedagogically responsive, responsive, and relevant ways.

### Multicultural Goals and Objectives for Teacher Education

The kinds of multicultural competencies teachers need to acquire through pre-service preparation are implied in the above rationale. They include a combination of knowledge, attitudes, and skills that parallel the goals and objectives intended for use with students in K-12 classrooms. Gay's (1994a) review of the scholarship in the field revealed seven commonly accepted goals of multicultural education. Some of these are more naturally amendable to inclusive and transmissive curricular designs, while the focus of others is transactive, reconstructive, and/or transformative. A well-balanced multicultural teacher education curriculum should incorporate all of them.

The first goal of multicultural education is to develop literacy about ethnic and cultural diversity. Its emphasis is primarily inclusion and *transmission* since the intent is for individuals to acquire some basic knowledge about the cultural characteristics, historical experiences, and contemporary socio-political issues and perspectives of different ethnic and cultural groups in the United States. It includes understanding how cultural characteristics are manifested in expressive behaviors, how these affect people's behaviors in different environmental and interactional settings, the potential for conflict when different cultural systems exist in classrooms, and how these conflicts can be resolved. Spring (1995) adds that it is essential for teachers in multicultural societies to understand cultural intersections, cultural differences, cultural domination, and cultural frames of references. This knowledge is a necessary foundation for teachers to be able to work effectively with culturally different students in instructional situations (Hollins et al., 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Pai, 1990).

A second goal of multicultural education deals with the personal development of diverse students. It includes the specific components of developing self-understanding, positive self-concepts, and pride in one's own ethnic identity. Because the underlying queries of this goal are "Who am I?" and "How did I come to be who I am?" it is essentially a



*transactive* challenge. Many specialists in cultural diversity suggest that self-understanding and appreciation are necessary conditions to understanding and appreciating others from different ethnic and racial groups. This means that teacher education curricula should help prospective teachers develop a conscious awareness of mainstream, Eurocentric culture (since most teacher education students are European Americans), along with an understanding of other cultural groups. We should not assume that membership in cultural and ethnic groups ensures self-understanding; rather this knowledge and awareness should be taught deliberately, using self-analysis and self-reflective learning techniques. These can help teachers better understand why they believe and behave as they do in instructional interactions.

The third goal of multicultural education closely related to self-understanding is personal empowerment. It includes developing decision-making abilities, social action skills, leadership capabilities, and a moral commitment to act upon one's beliefs about the value of cultural diversity, and the right of all human to freedom, dignity, and equality (Banks, 1990). Empowerment encompasses far more than mastery of knowledge and adaptation to the existing social order. Instead, students are actively involved in change processes that require the application of knowledge and actions in participatory, dialogic, critical thinking, problem-solving, personal, and social engagements. Within the context of teacher preparation, this goal means that prospective teachers will: (a) critically examine current pedagogical practices and assumptions about education for and about cultural diversity; (b) improve their ability to modify different aspects of instruction to reflect cultural diversity; and (c) increase their feelings of confidence in relating to and working with students from different ethnic, social, cultural, and racial backgrounds. As their professional skill levels increase they will become more personally confident in their ability to be advocates of multicultural education for various contexts and constituent groups.

Virtually all proponents agree that clarifying attitudes and values about cultural diversity is a fundamental goal of multicultural education. It is equally appropriate for students enrolled in teacher education programs, as for K-12 classrooms. Implicit in this fourth goal is the belief that many attitudes exist which are not conducive to positive inter-ethnic and intercultural relations, and that these need to be revised. The fact that ethnocentrism, cultural hegemony, ethnic prejudices, and racism continue to flourish in U. S. society attest to the importance of this goal. If teachers are to be adequately prepared to help students analyze, clarify, and modify their racial and ethnic attitudes, then they need to be very clear about their own, as well as conversant about how these attitudes are formed, validated, and expressed in others. These kinds of in-



sights will be invaluable tools in assisting them in helping students critically examine their ethnic beliefs and, on occasion, replace them. Therefore, the achievement of this goal will require students to participate in personal *transactive, deconstructive, reconstructive, and transformative* intellectual, affective, and ethical engagements.

A fifth commonly accepted goal of multicultural education deals with helping students develop social skills for functioning in culturally pluralistic settings. It is not sufficient for students to have only accurate knowledge and positive attitudes about diverse ethnic and cultural groups; they also must become bicultural at the level of behavior and action. Multicultural teacher education curriculum can expedite these needs for teachers-in-training by developing skills in cross-cultural communication, interpersonal relations, perspective taking, contextual analysis, and culturally responsive teaching. The inherent nature of these skill-based goals and objectives demands curricular and instructional actions that are *transactive, deconstructive, and transformative*, since their mastery may require that individuals adopt new frameworks and standards of behaviors quite different from ones previously held.

The sixth and seventh generally accepted goals of multicultural education are methodological and deal with improving the quality of learning opportunities students receive and their level of academic performance. One of these focuses specifically on basic literacy skills such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and subject matter content. The other is more general, with the intent of achieving educational equity and excellence for students from diverse ethnic, social, and cultural groups. A crucial indicator of this is *comparability of quality in opportunities and outcomes*. Translated to the arena of teacher preparation, these goals means that prospective teachers should develop pedagogical skills in *cultural context, or culturally responsive teaching*. The essence of this is knowing how to use teaching strategies that are congruent with the cultural characteristics (such as learning styles, communication patterns, participation structures, and rules of self-presentation) of various ethnic groups. In order to do this well, some current assumptions about what constitutes good teaching may need to be critically examined, some new paradigms adopted, and some entirely new approaches instituted. Consequently, the achievement of these goals depend heavily upon *deconstructive, reconstructive, and transformative* intellectual processing.

### Multicultural Content

The magnitude and range of the goals and objectives discussed above for multiculturalism in teacher preparation require different kinds of

content for their achievement. Of necessity the content must be interdisciplinary, multiethnic, multi-sensory, cut across the three domains of learning, encompass varying degrees of complexity, and include a combination of "insider" and "outsider" perspectives and experiences. In *Dreamkeepers*, Ladson-Billing (1994) provides stellar examples of the effects of using a *synergy of content* in developing teaching effectiveness with culturally different students. Even though her study deals with teaching African Americans, the implications of the findings are applicable to other ethnic groups as well. Within the broad categories of theory, praxis, and personal story, there are some specific types of content that are essential for inclusion in the curricula for teacher preparation.

Obviously, content derived from research and scholarship on ethnic and cultural diversity needs to be included in the curriculum. The information produced by sociolinguists, ethnographers, cultural anthropologists, and social psychologists is especially insightful concerning the expressive and dynamic dimensions of cultural characteristics, and the interactions between culture, ethnicity, and education. These should be complemented by experiential explanations and self-descriptions generated by individual authors from within various ethnic groups. The literary heritages—including poetry, essays, biographies, autobiographies, novels, short stories, fiction, and song lyrics—are very useful for these purposes. This combination of scholarship, research, and literature is invaluable for creating a knowledge base about the descriptive features of the cultural characteristics, experiences, perspectives, and concerns of different groups.

A second important source of content for inclusion in teacher education programs are pedagogical writings about the conceptual, philosophical, and methodological ideas of multicultural education. Of particular relevance for these purposes are such references as *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (Banks, 1991); *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (Banks & Banks, 1993); *At the Essence of Learning* (Gay, 1994a); *Dreamkeepers* (Ladson-Billings, 1994); *Affirming Diversity* (Nieto, 1992); *Comprehensive Multicultural Education* (Bennett, 1995); *Making Choices for Multicultural Education* (Sleeter & Grant, 1994); *Teaching Diverse Populations* (Hollins et al., 1994); *Culture and Power in the Classroom* (Darder, 1991); *Empowerment through Multicultural Education* (Sleeter, 1991); *Cultural Foundations of Education* (Pai, 1990); *Culture, Style, and the Educative Process* (Shade, 1989); and the *Handbook of Research in Multicultural Education* (Banks & Banks, 1995). This is not an exhaustive list. Rather, it is merely illustrative of the types of authors and references which provide helpful explanations about what multicultural education means, why it is important, and how can it be implemented in classrooms. These refer-

ences and other similar ones make noteworthy contributions to the achievement of all the goals and objectives discussed earlier.

In order to understand, appreciate, and do cultural diversity, reading and hearing is not enough. Teachers need to see and interact with it in actualized form, both personally and professionally. Therefore, real and vicarious *experiences* with culturally diverse students, groups, and communities are critical sources of content to be included in teacher preparation programs. They also need to experience culturally responsive teaching from a variety of vantage points, including within their professional programs of studies, in K-12 classrooms, and in the form of their own attempts under the tutelage of supervisors.

The personal beliefs, perspectives, and experiences of prospective teachers are legitimate content for inclusion in multicultural curriculum for professional preparation. Because “the person” plays such a key role in the teaching process, teachers-in-training need to understand their own dispositions toward cultural and ethnic diversity, how these are developed, and how they can be compensated for or embellished and included as acceptable content for teacher education programs. All of them should be open to interrogation, analysis, reflection, and revision.

### Learning Activities and Experiences

Similar kinds of criteria as those used to identify multicultural goals and content for teacher education should be applied to the selection of learning activities and experiences. They, too, should be *developmentally appropriate* for students in different stages of intellectual and affective maturity with respect to cultural diversity in the educational process, and should be congruent with the routine experiences common to most teacher education programs. Therefore, learning experiences that are inclusive, transmissive, infusive, deconstructive, transactive, reconstructive, and transformative should be included. The purpose of all of these is for prospective teachers to learn how to enact, and gain some supervised practice in doing, *cultural context or culturally relevant and responsive teaching*. Gay (1993, p. 294) defines this as “synchronizing various cultural styles of teaching and learning and creating culturally compatible classrooms that provide genuine invitations and opportunities for all students to engage maximally in academic pursuits without any one group being unduly advantaged or penalized.”

At the inclusion level, all teacher education students should be exposed to cultural diversity in every stage of their field-based and practicum experiences, as well as using cultural diversity as the *context and illustrative text* for understanding, practicing, and demonstrating



mastery of key concepts and skills in different courses. When students do their initial classroom observations early in the programs, a predetermined portion of these should take place in ethnically and culturally pluralistic settings. At the next level of field experience, wherein prospective teachers focus on the technical pedagogical skills being demonstrated by master teachers, they should spend time observing individuals doing cultural context teaching. In the culminating field experiences, all student teachers should spend a portion of their practice teaching in pluralistic classrooms, and/or doing culturally responsive lessons and units.

Within different courses in the teacher education program, students should participate in a variety of activities to ensure that they are engaging substantively, reflectively, critically, and demonstratively with cultural diversity issues. These may include: developing essays on the purposes of schooling from a multicultural perspective for educational philosophy classes; conducting culturally sensitive diagnostic assessments of ethnically diverse students' academic and social needs in educational psychology classes; choosing culturally authentic children's books from different ethnic groups for literature-based reading instruction in the primary grades; doing community-based participant-observation reports of ethnic and cultural diversity in daily life for classes in the sociology of education; designing lessons and units on teaching multiculturalism across the curriculum for methods courses such as math, science, social studies, and language arts; conducting site-based case study analyses on the ethics and morality of how curriculum and instruction in schools are used to discriminate against, silence, and/or empower students from different ethnic groups; doing micro-teaches in multicultural pedagogy under the supervision of methods instructors; analyzing textbooks and other instructional materials for ethnic, racial, and cultural biases; creating curricular and instructional prototypes that illustrate inclusion, infusion, deconstruction, reconstruction, and transformation approaches to multiculturalism; and demonstrating different ways to match teaching styles with the learning styles of different ethnic groups. Throughout the programs of studies, there also should be many different opportunities for teachers-in-training to practice self-monitoring about the growth of both their personal and professional knowledge, attitudes, and skills in cultural diversity.

All of the multicultural learning activities designed for teacher education students should invite and challenge them to demonstrate (a) their understanding of cultural diversity within educational processes, (b) how they are using the new knowledge to re-examine and adjust their beliefs and attitudes about cultural diversity, (c) their ability to translate and apply knowledge about cultural diversity to instructional practices, and



(d) their willingness and aptitude to engage in reflective self-analysis and evaluation of their progress toward becoming multicultural teachers. In other words, these activities also should be active, experimental, experiential, varied, and persistently directed toward learning how to *know, value, appreciate, and do culturally responsive pedagogy*.

### Evaluation for Multicultural Teacher Education

The completion of the teacher education program should be contingent upon the mastery of the multicultural goals and objectives identified earlier. The indicators of this mastery can be incorporated into *performance-based* tools and techniques commonly used to determine mastery of skills in teaching. We do not believe evaluation measures that focus primarily on knowledge acquisition are appropriate indicators of teaching abilities in general, and multiculturalism in particular. Expected knowledge mastery of the areas of specialization and multiculturalism is a given. However necessary, this knowledge is merely the foundation on which more powerful *action-oriented skills* should be grounded. Therefore, the emphases in evaluating the multicultural competencies of prospective teachers should focus more on what they can do as opposed to what they know.

The most crucial evaluation measure for multicultural teacher education curriculum is the extent to which prospective teachers can demonstrate how to make teaching culturally relevant and responsive to the experiences, perspectives, and orientations of different ethnic, racial, and social groups. Ladson-Billings (1994) has developed a descriptive model of these competencies that can be used for assessment. It includes three major categories of skills—how teachers see themselves and others, the social relationships of teachers with students, and notions of knowledge. In their *perceptions of self and others*, culturally relevant teachers: (a) approach teaching as an art that reflects their inner selves rather than as a dispassionate, objectified technical craft; (b) believe all students can and will learn, rather than that some are destined to failure; (c) see themselves as members of the cultural communities that their students represent and act in ways to create bonds of kindredness and camaraderie with them; and (d) make connections routinely among students' varied local, national, racial, ethnic, cultural, social, and global identities and experiences.

In their *social relationships*, culturally responsive teachers extend these beyond the classroom and cognitive levels of interactions. They establish affective, experiential, and action connections with their students, and create partnerships in learning where they and their students share the roles, positions, privileges, and responsibilities of "learner" and "teacher."

Their classrooms are characterized by active, participatory, cooperative, collaborative, and varied teaching-learning styles. Evidence of their commitment to and value of cultural diversity are on obvious display, in the form of symbols, artifacts, materials, interpersonal styles, and references in instructional communications.

Teachers who practice culturally responsive pedagogy view *knowledge* as something that is continuously being constructed, recreated, recycled, refined, and re-interpreted. They expect themselves and their students to view all knowledge with healthy skepticism; to work consistently to expose the inherent bias of knowledge which derives from its historical and socio-cultural contextuality; and to examine all forms of knowledge (facts, opinions, feelings, ideas, concepts, principles, experiences, perspectives, generalizations) critically and reflectively. These teachers demonstrate how and explain why it is necessary to expose and challenge the structural inequalities, injustices, and disparities of outcomes that exist for ethnic, racial, and social groups in society and schools. They also model how to build conceptual and practical bridges between different cultural styles of knowledge and knowing. These teachers are adept in multicultural praxis—that is, they are very skilled at translating theoretical principles of multiculturalism into pedagogical and interpersonal practices.

The use of portfolios for teacher education students to monitor their own developmental growth toward the mastery of basic multicultural teaching competencies can be a powerful evaluation technique. Students, in consultation with their instructors, can decide what evidence about their personal and pedagogical growth in understanding, appreciating, and acting upon cultural diversity in their classroom teaching that they will include in their portfolios. These indicators should attend to all of the multicultural goals and objectives of the program, and the various level of operational complexity (inclusion, infusion, transaction, reconstruction, and transformation. The portfolios should be reviewed periodically: (a) to determine rates of growth and areas that need improvement and refinement; (b) to devise self-improvement plans; (c) to identify what kinds of interventions and growth assistance students need, how these will be acquired, and the benefits derived from them; and (d) to determine their own standards of multicultural accountability. Out of the portfolios can emerge contracts of self-growth that the students negotiate with themselves and their instructors. Their assessment can be based on how well they meet the terms specified in the contracts.

Another way to determine how well multiculturalism is being incorporated into teacher education curriculum is the frequency, regularity, and accuracy of culturally diverse examples used in the act of classroom

instruction. The illustrations used to explain abstract ideas and translate them into practical situations are very revealing about the major values and subtle messages embedded in classroom dynamics. They comprise a powerful "hidden curriculum." Teachers who routinely use a variety of examples from different ethnic groups and cultural traditions are, in effect, embedding multiculturalism into the essential core of their teaching. They are conveying, through modeling, the idea that no teaching or learning of significance can exist without dealing simultaneously with cultural diversity.

The ability of teachers to "style shift" in their instruction in order to accommodate different cultural learning styles is another important indicator of the success of multiculturalism in teacher education. Evidence of this ability being applied in practice can be gleaned from examining how teachers modify and diversify motivation techniques, classroom organizational structures, content selections, interpersonal relations with students, procedural protocols, and the environmental settings in which instruction occurs. Teachers should be able to accommodate the range of the learning style continuum from field independent or analytical on one extreme to field dependent or relational styles on the other. Shade (1989) provides some more specific characteristics of learning styles of different ethnic groups that are useful in further operationalizing this feature of cultural context teaching as a key evaluation component in multicultural teacher education curriculum.

### Conclusion

Teachers play a crucial role in determining the fate of students in the instructional process. If they are to be held accountable for creating culturally responsive and effective educational experiences for ethnically and socially diverse students, then they should be prepared to work with these populations during their pre-service preparation programs. Yet, the presence of systematic, comprehensive, and carefully planned encounters with multiculturalism throughout the totality of teacher education is the exception. In most instances, this critical issue is addressed in fragmented, isolated, and sporadic ways. As our K-12 student populations become increasingly diversified along racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic lines, the need for teachers who are well-versed and skilled in multicultural education becomes even more imperative.

Teacher education programs should be multiculturalized throughout all of their structures, content, and processes. We have suggested that a typical conceptualization of the basic components of curriculum planning be used to guide and direct initiatives to infuse multiculturalism

into teacher education. To this end we have proposed some information and ideas that should be considered in creating or selecting *multicultural rationales, goals and objectives, content, learning activities and experiences, and evaluation techniques* for teacher education programs. For purposes of this discussion, we have emphasized application of these ideas at the program level. Two key principles have governed and guided our discussions throughout. These are that multicultural curriculum designed for prospective teachers should be *developmentally appropriate*, and the most powerful measure of whether teachers are adequately prepared to work with diverse students and issues is their ability to do *cultural context or responsive teaching*.

In order to accommodate the varying levels of knowledge, will, and skills in cultural diversity held by students in teacher education programs, multicultural curriculum interventions should be designed to serve *transmission, inclusion, transaction, infusion, deconstruction, reconstruction, and transformation* functions. Within each level the primary instructional focus should be *praxis*—that is, translating knowledge about cultural diversity into pedagogical practices, and the demonstration of mastery of these skills. Teacher education curricula which have these characteristics model the messages of plurality, diversity, and alternatives in teaching-learning means to achieve common achievement outcomes for teachers-in-training that they are expected to employ with their own students. Teachers who learn as they are expected to teach are likely to be much more effective in their own classrooms, and effective teachers cultivate successful students. This must be the ultimate goal in both teacher education and classroom instruction. Otherwise, educational quality and equity for culturally diverse learners will continue to be in peril.



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# The Psychologizing of Teacher Education: Formalist Thinking and Preservice Teachers' Beliefs

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## Abstract

This study evaluates the assumption common to teacher education programs that, when preservice teachers' subject matter knowledge is enhanced by a formal psychological understanding of learners and learning, superior instruction results. Preservice language arts teachers ( $N = 113$ ) were asked to determine what they thought would constitute appropriate responses to a middle school student's request for feedback about his poem. The responses of the preservice teachers were such that formalist thinking predominated over instructional feedback intended to increase literary skills. The researchers argue that, if preservice teachers' beliefs are hardy and often prove highly resistant to change, there is reason to be concerned with the educational perspectives that a formalistic understanding of psychology helps foster.

## The Psychologizing of Teacher Education: Formalist Thinking and Preservice Teachers' Beliefs

It is not difficult to understand how psychological research and theory have come to be regarded as core components of teacher education pro-

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grams. Given the charge to have preservice teachers learn to think and behave more adaptively, the rooting of education in basic principles of learning, cognition, and development seems as logical as deriving medical practices from anatomy. It is an unquestioned assumption, then, that the perspectives these future teachers glean from psychology will subsequently inform their practice. In fact, educators have grown so accustomed to viewing teaching in psychological terms that to many it must seem strange to suggest that this is not always a serviceable way of looking at their business. The question that frames this study is whether the *generic* understandings that psychology provides—at least at the basic, undergraduate level—serve as adequate and useful frames for addressing problems in teaching.

Let us be clear, first, that the psychology whose utility we are evaluating is the formal discipline “dedicated to the quest for nomothetic theory” (Cronbach, 1975, p. 116) that purports to explain regularities in behavior and thought taken to characterize human functioning. Dennet (1987) called this the *design stance* of scientific psychology that yields descriptions of individuals and the environmental impingements they respond to at a level of abstraction that permits identifying equivalences across contexts. It is this that we mean by *formalist thinking*. The design stance differs from what Dennet called the *intentional stance*—the everyday psychological savvy that everyone can be said to acquire as they attend to the interests and behavior of persons with whom they interact. Our study does not question that effective teaching requires teachers to be psychologically attuned in this latter sense or, indeed, psychologically attuned. What we ask is whether education, or communication, is served when teachers look at their students or their practice through the formal lenses that psychology makes available.

Schutz (1970) illustrated the design stance when he wrote of the knowledge of *experts* who are at home only in a system of imposed relevances. Experts accept these imposed relevances as the only intrinsic relevances of their acting and thinking. Consequently, their field of inquiry, their area of expertise, becomes rigidly limited (and limiting). Experts define problems strictly within their imposed system of relevances, and expert advice reflects “merely the indication of suitable means for attaining pregiven ends, but not the determination of the ends themselves” (Schutz, 1970, p. 242). By contrast, *well-informed citizens* seek solutions to problems in the relevance structures most appropriate to the nature of the particular problem. Because they do not restrict their search for information to a single domain, they are better able to explore various frames of reference as they form “reasonable options.” Viewed from this perspective, this study questioned whether teacher candidates are learning



to approach teaching problems from the decontextualized and isolated domain of an expert or from the broader, contextual domain of well-informed professional educators.

Bengston (1991) demonstrated that psychology's design stance can denigrate intentionality by encouraging one to look past context. Undergraduates in an educational psychology class were asked to address the following teaching problem:

A teacher of an 8th grade "gifted" enrichment class is interested in students learning to be poetically expressive. S/he assigns them the task of composing a free verse poem. A 13-year-old boy submits the following:

When the wild west winds are blowing  
the tall trees will tremble.  
When heavy rains fall from the skies  
and a torrential downpour hits the earth,  
when the tall trees are struck with lightning  
and whole forests catch on fire,  
that is when we feel nature at its greatest.

After the teacher reads it, the student asks, "Do you like it? Is it good?" How ought the teacher to respond?

The episode is representative of the position in which teachers often find themselves when they evaluate their students' creative work.

Bengston (1991) presented the problem to college undergraduates enrolled in an educational psychology class, and so it is to be expected that they would view it through the expert's lens that formal instruction in psychology provides. As a consequence, formalist thinking and design stance considerations predominated. Most stated they would praise the poem independent of its literary merits—for example, they argued that teachers should say they like the poem because children must be motivated and their self-esteem strengthened. In general, their concern was almost exclusively with what they understood to be the psychological well-being of the child—his self-esteem; budding creativity; need for praise, encouragement, and positive reinforcement; stage of development; and so on.

It is also possible, of course, that the responses of the psychology students in Bengston (1991) may have been caused in part by their misapplication of psychology and its principles as regards language arts instruction. They may have deployed a decontextualized psychology largely because they lacked the literary grounding necessary to temper

the formalisms they espoused. After all, they knew little about teaching language arts and literature and had not been schooled in appropriate language arts "methods" courses.

Our interest in the preparation of teachers prompted us to seek out the responses of preservice language arts teachers. As part of their teacher education program, these teacher candidates receive instruction both in educational psychology and literature/language arts theory and practice. Moreover, they will become the future teachers of students such as our young poet and will face similar decisions in their professional careers. We wondered whether their training in literature and language arts methods would save them from the formalist thinking and psychologizing engaged in by the psychology students in Bengston (1991). Essentially, our study asks how literary interests are faring against formalist psychology in the struggle for the minds and professional dispositions of preservice language arts teachers.

### Methods and Data Source

We asked three teacher educators of language arts methods at two large public universities in the South and Southwest and a private university in the South to assign Bengston's (1991) teaching problem to their students as a writing assignment. Participants included 113 undergraduate preservice teachers enrolled in language arts methods classes (91 female; 22 male)—all had taken at least one psychology course, most had taken two or more. All had a grounding in literature and English composition. The assignment was made late in the semester, after students had nearly completed the language arts methods course. The problem was read out loud by the professor and also presented to the students in written form. Students had 3 days to return a typed response that they were told would not be graded. We hoped, in this way, to receive responses reflective of personal beliefs. The researchers coded and analyzed responses in keeping with case study methodology (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1989).

### Results

The instructional responses of the preservice teachers in our sample, although clearly well meaning, were primarily based on homely platitudes, facile psychologisms, and formalist perspectives—design stance considerations—rather than on sound instructional principles. Five formalisms characterized the responses of the preservice teachers, but two predominated. The one most mentioned (67%) was that *a teacher must always respond positively*, that "a teacher should always be positive about

what a child creates." Regardless of the merits of the poem, "good teachers should always find something good to say." In fact, "the most important thing a teacher could do is to be encouraging and to respond positively to the students' effort."

First and foremost, the teacher should react in a positive manner. Since the poem was intended to be poetically expressive, he should not present a negative reaction [for] the student might then acquire a fear of expressing himself in the future.

The phrase "positive feedback" was mentioned, in some context or other, by most students, who saw such feedback as essential to learning and to healthy development.

I think it is important that a teacher, mother, aide, or anyone respond positively to students. I think that positive responses are a must in the development of healthy and stable individuals.

Many preservice teachers observed that teachers have the responsibility to offer feedback that is "specific," but they generally interpreted this feedback in terms of encouragement. For example, "teachers need to give positive reinforcement and be specific so students can understand where to go next." In general, preservice teachers appeared to have difficulty differentiating between specific feedback and specific "praise." One wrote of "specific compliments."

The teacher should respond enthusiastically. Giving specific compliments such as, "I especially enjoyed the alliteration you used in the first line" helps the student know that the praise is genuine.

Some of the future teachers expressed awareness of the influence they will come to have on students and of why positive feedback is essential to how this influence will be remembered by students. One put this clearly in perspective.

As a present student and a future educator, I think that a teacher's comments should always be positive. I feel that negative comments sometimes leave lasting scars. They can affect students a lifetime.

The second most expressed formalism, clearly related to the first, was that *students should, above all, be praised and encouraged* (52%), that "any work accomplished by a student deserves praise [our emphasis]." Preser-

vice teachers generally expressed that, regardless of a poem's merits, a teacher must praise the poet.

Encouragement. Praise. Appreciation. These are the actions necessary to continue the effusion of this student's creative juices. I believe this teacher should fall down on her knees and thank Providence for this student. If this genuflection is deemed too demonstrable or obsequious, glowing praise is in order, a double-barrel of praise a la Siskel and Ebert: "Two thumbs up!"

One reason that students should be so praised is that "encouragement and positive feedback help the student continue their [sic] personal growth." Failure to praise places at risk the young writer's budding creativity and future efforts. Generally, the object of praise was identified as the poet's "effort" or "attempt" at creativity and thought.

The teacher should praise the student for correctly following the instructions and for giving the assignment a good deal of worthwhile, creative thought. Through these positive reinforcements, the student will feel as though he has accomplished the assignment to the best of his abilities and is capable of creating more in the future.

Several preservice teachers observed that, even when there is nothing "tangible" to praise, "the teacher should praise the student for following the specifications of the assignment." Others echoed the sentiment that teachers should "offer praise no matter what. There is nothing to gain by being critical."

Three additional formalisms were in evidence, though to a lesser degree. Students noted that *criticism is the enemy of creativity* (31%), that "a negative response could destroy the child's expressive process" and "may discourage the student from future open and expressive writing." "Criticism of a student never helps the child grow."

Criticism may hinder the students creativity in future projects and he may not want to participate in writing activities for fear that his work will not be regarded as good. My teacher [educator] has pressed upon us the fact that we as teachers should never criticize a student's work when it came from within.

Some students argued that criticism and negative comments should be avoided because "any negative comments may discourage the student from future open and expressive writing." Criticism, wrote one preservice teacher, would be akin to "attacking the author."



Another formalism was that teachers should not answer the young writer's questions; rather, *evaluative questions should be redirected to the student* (30%).

The teacher should redirect the student's question so that it is the student who is responding to his/her own questions. The teacher should reassure the student that it is not the teacher's opinion that is important, rather it is what the student thinks of his/her own work.

Many agreed that a teacher's evaluation of a student's poem does "not really matter. It only matters what the student thinks of his own poem." The value of the work is itself determined by whether the student himself likes his poem and thinks it is good. If the student is pleased with his poem, then "it matters little if the teacher likes it." This perspective provides students "with ownership of their own writing."

Another reason given for redirecting the question to the student was that teachers should not express personal opinions. "Teachers should respond more in a 'learning manner' rather than a 'personal manner.'"

A teacher should not tell a student her personal opinion about a poem. Children need to learn to trust themselves and be proud of themselves and not to depend on other opinions for their sense of self-worth.

One preservice teacher observed that, when teachers express personal opinions, they

take away the ownership of the student's work. As teachers we should stay away from telling students whether or not we like or dislike their work. We must act as facilitators and guide them in a way so we gather information from them in order to understand what their thinking is.

What role, then, does teachers' subject matter knowledge and literary expertise play in instruction? One preservice teacher explained.

I would premise my opinions with the warning that the student should not take my opinion as truly valuable. I would remind the student that my opinion is just that—my opinion—and the only person that really mattered was the student and how he/she felt about his/her work.

Last, some preservice language arts teachers argued that *the value of poetry cannot be judged* (27%), which we view as a literary rather than psychological formalism. "Poetry is a subjective form of art," "a subjective form of personal expression." An English major suggested that "poetry

is, unfortunately, a form that lacks correct and incorrect measurement." In poetry, as in creativity, "there is no . . . right or wrong." The "goodness of a poem is completely based on subjective opinion."

Psychological constructs were in ample evidence—positive reinforcement, self-esteem, confidence. Positive reinforcement "is the best way to develop a child's self esteem and positive self concept," "is the best way to encourage the learner," and "is what helps to keep our children in school and doing well." A typical response was that

positive feedback builds a child's confidence and self-esteem. Giving the child a sense of accomplishment through positive feedback will not only boost their confidence but also boost their ability to try harder the next time, because they are wanting to please the teacher. I believe a teacher should always have an interest in their students' work and be sincere in how they respond to each.

One preservice teacher defined the crux of the matter in terms of a well-known psychological perspective.

It seems to me that schools are sometimes insensitive and don't really understand the hierarchy of needs. I would say that as long as the student is happy with it and he knows what he wrote and why he wrote it then it is good. By encouraging a child to evaluate and appreciate their own work without relying on a teacher or adult to validate their work, a child will become self-actualized and secure with their thoughts, abilities, and creativity.

In fact, several students seemed predisposed to approach the instructional dilemma as psychologists rather than as future teachers. They worried that the poem betrayed a sign of emotional trouble in the child and that steps should be taken to explore the child's emotional stability.

The poem seems to show a lot of violence and destruction. Such strong emotion from a young student worries me. It makes me wonder about his home life. I would also look at the student's actions in class. Does he/she show a dark or violent side that matches his thoughts? If so, I would ask a counselor to speak with the student to make a professional opinion. If the student views other subjects just as dark as nature, I would really suspect a problem. Any suspicious behavior should be investigated.

One feared that "the student has a deep seeded thirst for violence and destruction."

A strong theme that emerged from the preservice teachers' responses was the sense of *duplicitous honesty* in which they would engage. That is, they were prepared to tell the young poet the "truth" only if that truth were positive and would not offend. As with specific feedback, students seemed unable to differentiate between an honest response and an honest "positive" response that would not offend. For example.

Any individual, whether a child, or even an adult asking your opinion about anything deserves honesty, but there is an extent and a manner to go about it. You are dealing with a person's feelings who apparently value your opinion greatly, so responding positively is the most important factor.

One preservice teacher observed that "the teacher's response should be truthful, yet positive." This duplicitous honestly created responses with disjointed logic.

The teacher should always respond to the student in an honest and positive manner whether the teacher agrees or disagrees. Overall, the teacher should be open, honest, and positive about students' work, and that is when students will work to their fullest potential.

We would be remiss if we did not acknowledge that, interspersed with the problematic responses we have identified, many preservice teachers also noted that they would engage in what would quite reasonably be considered sound instructional practices. For example, several wrote that they would instruct the student in various aspects of the craft of poetry—the use of imagery, the meaning of certain lines, the choice of words to convey meaning. One wrote that she would have the student read his poem aloud so that he could better appreciate rhythm and cadence. Even when this was the case, however, the imagined instructional practices took lower priority to the imagined psychological moves, and to the formalisms that resulted from them. When instruction was offered, it was usually hedged in such a way that, for example, should the poet show signs of a withering self-esteem due to the effects of having his poem criticized, instruction would be either withheld or camouflaged. Both a genuine desire to provide instruction and the sense of duplicitous honesty were evident in the following passage.

I believe that teachers should provide specific feedback. For example, I might talk to the student about why he chose certain words and how some of the images are contradictory. But you have to be very careful,

because teenagers, especially at that age, are very sensitive about their work and most respond very poorly to criticism. So you have to be careful what feedback you do give. And it is more important to love poetry than to know its technical nature.

We found that nearly 80% of the preservice teachers in our study would not answer with sincerity the poet's questions, "Do you like it? Is it good?" Of 113, 42 (37%) believed that positive feedback must take precedence over answering the questions honestly. They would say they liked the poem no matter what, praising it without regard to the poem's merits. Reasons varied, as we have illustrated. Several admitted that they would feign enthusiasm they did not have for the poem. Fifteen (13%) explicitly expressed that teachers must not answer such questions, either because of the relativism of poetic expertise or because it was only the student's own opinion that mattered. Thirty-three (29%) avoided the questions, restated them, changed them, or failed to answer them. In essence, they also did not provide an answer. Nineteen (17%) liked the poem, believed it was good, and would so tell the poet. Four (3%) would answer that they liked some parts of the poem and not others, but each made a point to note that they would be guided by the importance of "positive feedback." None would tell the child that they did not like the poem and thought it not good, although several admitted to not liking it.

### Discussion

In spite of their training in literature and language arts methods, the preservice language arts teachers in our study addressed our teaching problem much like the educational psychology students in Bengtson (1991), and this gives us cause for concern. This concern is grounded on our view of teaching as a rhetorical transaction that depends for its success on teachers having the responsibility to say what they mean and to mean what they say. We borrow this phrase from Cavell (1969), and we presume with him that the dialogue of teachers and students must have meaning to each—in the sense that it must be true, significant, and comprehensible—if there is to be the mutual trust and regard upon which the educational conversation depends (also see Eisner, 1991, for discussion of this responsibility in research and in educational practice).

When conversants require that this meaning be part of their discourse, the result is what Habermas (1979, 1984) described as the "ideal speech situation"—a conversation in which candid communication flourishes



and in which teachers use reason, scholarship, and professional expertise to help students improve whatever craft is being learned. In Habermas's ideal speech situation there are four validity claims, or criteria, for a speech act. As it is for Cavell (1969), the first validity claim is truth, in the sense that what is spoken should be factual, as best the speaker knows it to be. Those in charge of pupils have the clear responsibility to be, harkening back to Schutz (1970), well informed. The second claim, comprehensibility, requires that what is communicated be accessible to and understood by the listener. To this end, teachers have the responsibility of ascertaining what their students are capable of understanding. The third claim requires that speakers be sincere in their utterances. As a consequence of this claim, the listener learns to trust the intentions of the speaker. But trust must be reciprocal—to be sincere, speakers must also trust their listeners. Last, it must be right for speakers to perform the speech act, in the sense that their claim to the communication is justifiable. For teachers, this requires that they know and understand the nature and import of their discourse—what is usually referred to as subject-matter expertise—and that they have met the first three criteria. It is largely this last claim that makes a communicative act, to use one of Cavell's (1969) criteria, significant. When the validity claims are not realized, speech acts can and should be rejected.

The preservice teachers in our sample would not have responded to the writer's questions about his poem in the reciprocal conversational mode of Cavell (1969), the ideal speech situation of Habermas (1979, 1984), or the well-informed professional's stance of Schutz (1970) that we sketched in the introduction. Instead, their instructional strategies were guided by formalist beliefs about what they believed to be sound pedagogy—that is, by design stance considerations. As a consequence, the psychological aims of these future teachers led them to treat what the student actually said in his poem to be of little account. In effect, honest criticism and instruction were generally avoided—the instructional priority was attached to the child's feeling good about his work and himself independent of the work's merits. The instruction suggested and the perceived subjectivity and relativism of poetic expertise doomed the content of the poem to irrelevance. For these reasons, we believe that the suggested instruction was not very instructive.

It concerns us that the responses the preservice teachers gave failed to meet, in almost every sense, Cavell's and Habermas's criteria for ideal speech and that they were so deeply decontextualized. For reasons embedded in their understanding of psychology, they were not predisposed to say what they meant. As a consequence, they did not mean what they said. It is also troubling that, in citing their responses, students gave

themselves *psychological* license to avoid truth and sincerity. In general, students justified their solutions by citing what they perceived to be general, psychological principles that operate across contexts—that criticism is the enemy of creativity or that feedback should be positive. They attached priority to psychological well-being over skill development. The result was that they had lower expectations of what a 13-year-old may fairly be expected to handle and to achieve—certainly academically, as a writer, and possibly interpersonally.

Preservice teachers who would have been positive across the board tended to do so in the name of writing. However, it was psychological considerations such as enhanced self-esteem that were seen as setting the stage for authentic self-expression (which was most frequently marked as poetry's primary function). But their conception of authenticity even psychologized writing by equating "being truthful" with a procedural—content-free—sincerity. In effect, they reduced the poet's task to a version of self-expression equivalent to merely transcribing whatever one happens to think about some matter to paper. We suggest that authenticity is something that readers (teachers) have the sensibility to discern and that authentic reading serves authentic writing.

We find the preservice teachers' conception of authenticity problematic because it devalues meaning what one says both as an educational aim and as a means for achieving that aim. Like Habermas, we acknowledge that the ideal speech situation engenders its own sense of responsibility. Good manners and the everyday psychological savvy that we discussed earlier dictate that, when instructing children, honest criticism should be couched in terms that students are capable of understanding and be delivered in ways that do not cause the opposite effect we intend. Brutal honesty is seldom desirable, and this is not what either Cavell or Habermas (or we) mean by sincerity. Also, the truth must sometimes be withheld, if the speaker should judge that the listener is not, in some way, genuinely ready or able to engage in the speech act. There is nothing in these commonsense safeguards, of course, to license subterfuge, the duplicitous honesty that we observed, or, most especially, the distortion of truth in the teaching conversation.

What we are also pointing to as problematic is that, despite their avowed literary interests and training in language arts methods, the majority of the future language arts teachers in our study sought solutions to an *instructional* problem primarily by following *psychological* recipes. They let a design stance perspective save them from having to be responsive to the poem's meaning and to their pupil. Moreover, their formalistic understandings of the psychology they purported to use licensed them to proffer duplicitous and gratuitous talk as a substitute for

honest, reciprocal—ideal—conversation. In essence, psychological formalisms saved them from having to think—about the child, the poem, the instruction—and allowed them to routinize their imagined instruction. Although meant kindly, their responses are ultimately patronizing, estranging, and manipulative in their effect.

What is also at issue is whether the psychological “expertise” displayed by these future teachers (and fostered in many psychology classrooms) is *additive* to the instructional process. This is to ask whether the knowledge that preservice teachers glean from psychology aids and supplements their understanding of pedagogy. James (1958) cautioned teachers that what psychology has to offer education could be written on the palm of one’s hand. Nonetheless, he believed that “psychology ought to give the teacher radical help” (p. 22). The psychological formalisms that these preservice teachers expressed and believed to be sound psychological moves would not only fail to provide them any radical help with their future instructional practices but would, instead, hinder instruction and learning.

Clearly, then, the answer to the question with which we began our investigation is that literary interests are faring rather poorly against formalistic psychology in the struggle for the minds and professional dispositions of preservice language arts teachers. We hope, of course, the reader will agree that the problem goes beyond the teaching of any particular academic subject or discipline. What can fairly be asked is why, if psychology’s theoretical lens provides insights into learners and learning, did the preservice teachers’ training in educational psychology not save them from stereotyping and from the kinds of psychologizing reported? And how, if psychology is a friend to education, could it help create the kind of relativism that slights truth and pertinence and deems meaning what one says to be purely subjective and not the social—collaborative—achievement that it is? The answers are unlikely to lie in the suggestion that teacher candidates perceive educational psychology classes as more relevant than classes dealing with subject matter expertise. Sirotnik (1990) discovered just the opposite to be true.

We do not suggest that all psychological instruction leads to these sorts of formalist perspectives, nor that psychology itself is root cause of this phenomenon. One need only watch the evening news or tune in to any talk show to see that psychologizing has become a staple in the diet of American culture. We suspect, however, that formalist instruction and the quest for nomothetic theory are prevalent enough in psychology classes and teacher education programs to be a cause for concern. For all that psychologists deplore decontextualism, a fair amount of what is taught in psychology and education courses consists of learning how to decontext-



tualize—how to categorize behavior, personality, thinking styles, and environmental events in the abstract terms that various theoretical formulations employ or that educational research thrives on. Instruction in psychology often disregards Cronbach's (1975) caution that "we cannot store up generalizations and constructs for ultimate assembly into a network" (p. 123). As a result, students fail to appreciate that "when we give proper weight to local conditions, any generalization is a working hypothesis, not a conclusion" (p. 125).

We also do not suggest that the instructional predispositions that our preservice teachers espoused would also be espoused by experienced language arts teachers. As with the overemphasis of affective processes over cognitive processes that Weinstein (1989) discovered, these predispositions may be tempered by time and experience. But even in this respect we are discouraged by Wolfe and Gearhart's (1994) suggestion that the role of teacher as professional critic of student writing is one "not easily undertaken" (p. 427).

Although many elementary teachers are adept at connecting children, text, and topic, they often stop short of analysis. They experience literature with their students without critiquing it; they assign narrative writing without analytically responding to their students' narratives. (p. 427)

To illustrate this point, Wolfe and Gearhart describe the teaching practices of a language arts teacher who "feared that critique would discourage her young writers, explaining that *anything* the children wrote should 'be praised verbally or on paper'" (p. 436).

We also acknowledge that the formalistic responding of the preservice teachers might have been minimized if we had treated teaching writing as a *well-defined problem*. For example, we could have used a more obviously flawed poem and asked, "How can the writer be taught to employ vivid images and avoid clichés?" Or we could have provided a poorly written essay and avoided altogether the issue of artistic relativism. We suspect that even our most noninstructive respondents would then have been instructive. Does this mean, then, that we selected an ill-defined problem to prevent the instructive capabilities of our participants from surfacing? We think not. We tried to be candid about our biases, and one of them is that we do not see teaching as an actively reducible to deciding how to convey information across contexts. Teachers are responsible for making judgements about what is worth learning under circumstances in which it is not self-evident what becoming informed requires. A concern for the young poet's feelings and the difficulty of assessing his work makes the injunction to mean what one says a less obvious priority



in the circumstances of the dilemma posed by our narrative. But that constitutes an unfair bias only if one supposes that teachers (and their students and everyone else) do not regularly confront situations in which they might lose sight of their purposes and find plain speaking inconvenient for the wrong reasons.

The narratives of the preservice teachers in our study are consistent with Pajares' (1992, 1993) account of the determining role that *a priori* beliefs can play in preservice teachers' perspectives during teacher education and, subsequently, in teacher decision making. If Pajares and others are correct that the beliefs of preservice teachers are hardy and often prove highly resistant to change (e.g., Clark, 1988; Nespor, 1987), there is good reason to be concerned with the educational perspectives that a formalist, decontextualized psychological view of human functioning helps promote. Such "habits of mind," as James (1892/1985) observed, are damnably difficult to break.

In summary, we suggest that the psychologized, design stance view of well-being that preservice teachers are often exposed to in psychology classes makes light of Cavell's (1969) practical injunction to be truthful, significant, and comprehensible, and of Habermas's (1979, 1984) validity claims for an ideal speech situation. We take it as self-evident that education is ill-served by such lessons. An understanding of psychology as revealing the qualitative character of human activities without reducing them to formalist schemes would be a positive force in enabling future teachers to understand themselves in their natural and cultural contexts. This understanding could be, should be, one major distinction between a teacher educated and a teacher trained.

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# Preparing Teachers for Schools of the 21st Century

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*Elliot W. Eisner*

There are few subjects in the educational literature that have received more attention than the preparation of teachers. Virtually all of this literature is pervaded by the belief that central to the education of children is the competence of teachers, a belief that is as intuitively right as it is unsurprising. What is surprising is the inattention paid to the idea that what constitutes competence in teaching is intimately connected with the kind of education that we think students should receive. Put another way, what we want teachers to be able to do is related to the aspirations we hold for our children. And what aspirations do we hold for our children? What kind of outcomes do we seek? What kind of people do we hope they will become?

In the United States such questions do not have uniform and tidy answers. Nor is there public consensus—beyond the so-called basics—concerning priorities, direction, and manner in education. In many ways this lack of consensus is a strength rather than a weakness. Diversity in education breeds social complexity and social complexity can lead to a richness in culture that uniformity can never provide. What democratic cultures need is unity in diversity; both are necessary. In holding this view concerning the virtues of pluralism in education, I believe I am in a professional minority. There is in the United States a major effort now underway to create a national consensus on the goals and standards for American schools.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, many believe that American schools are not as

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<sup>1</sup>America 2000 represents a national effort to develop within a set of core subject fields a common array of goals and standards. Although these goals and standards are described as “voluntary,” it will be difficult for many school districts to resist embracing these as long as they want public legitimacy for their educational efforts.

good as they should be because as a nation we have not had national goals or standards for our schools. Once such goals and standards are formulated then systemic processes can be employed to achieve them. As a result, our students will become competitive with students in other countries.

This position concerning the need for common national outcomes and national means through which those outcomes can be measured has a comfortable, rational ring to it. The conventional means-ends model of educational planning seems to make all kinds of good sense. Uniform national goals and assessment reduce complexity and make monitoring and management possible—or so it is believed. At the same time, I would remind us that there is no single correct conception of the pedagogical purposes of any subject matter. History and chemistry, mathematics and the arts, geography and economics can all be taught for different purposes. And legitimately so. Furthermore, there is substantial variability regarding the characteristics of the populations the schools serve. These differences pertain to matters of ethnicity and to class differences, to differences in traditions, to differences in locale and climate, and to differences concerning the expectations that parents in particular and the community in general have for students. Historically, such diversity was considered a strength in America, not a weakness. But since schools in the United States have been judged to be weak according to international test comparisons of student performance, the tendency has been to tighten up, to reduce local discretion, and to prescribe what it is that teachers should accomplish.

My aim, however, is not to describe national reform policies in education in the United States but rather to examine the kind of education that teachers might receive to help students to deal with the vicissitudes of the century before them. I shall have three major topics. The first pertains to the uses and limits of theory, the second to the school as an educative environment for teachers, and the third to the ecological character of schools. I turn now to the uses and limits of theory.

Educators, particularly those working in universities, have traditionally felt uneasy about their status as scholars within the university community. Among the fields taught within universities, the field of education does not enjoy a high status. Partly because of this feeling of low status, educators have tried to legitimate their place in the university community by creating a respectable basis for practice. This basis is and has been a scientific one, the idea being that if educational researchers were able to emulate the work of their higher status colleagues in the natural sciences, their status would rise and teachers could distance themselves from the belief that their work was “merely” a craft. If educational researchers



could develop sophisticated scientific theories of teaching and learning, of curriculum planning and evaluation, of school organization and the design of instructional materials, it would be possible not only to produce systematic ways to increase professional effectiveness, but to achieve academic respect as well.

During the past quarter century, it has become increasingly clear that theory as a guide for teaching has its limits.<sup>2</sup> No single theory, indeed no combination of theories in the social sciences, can ever be adequate for dealing with the highly contextualized and particularistic decisions that must be made by individual teachers in specific classrooms. Theories portray idealized relationships.<sup>3</sup> These relationships are statistical relationships and are always less complex than the specific contexts and decisions teachers have to make and the particular contexts within which they must work. Furthermore, theory, by definition, is both conscious and linguistic. When someone has a theory of something, someone has a conception that can be described in propositional form. But as we have come to realize, there is much that we know how to do for which we have tacit rather than theoretical knowledge. (Polanyi, 1967) Tacit knowledge is intuitive; it is personal; it is experiential in character; it is often qualitative in form. It is a form of knowledge that often is secured in the context of action; it is knowledge that depends upon having direct experience with the phenomena, and which enables one to make effective decisions "in flight." These decisions may not have a theoretical justification but nevertheless may be educationally effective and intuitively right.

This new realization in education concerning the importance of tacit knowledge—new being a quarter of a century in length—has increasingly turned the attention of educational researchers to the use of narrative, such as teacher stories about teaching, as a way of understanding

<sup>2</sup>From my perspective a major shift has taken place in the views of many researchers concerning the sources of human understanding. Twenty years ago theory derived from the social sciences was seen as the *sine qua non* of intelligent action. Good teachers were expected to understand theories out of the social sciences as a way of directing their practice. At present, there is a growing realization that theoretical structures have their own inherent limitations and that matters of representation count in the way in which understanding is generated. This is opening up a broad and fresh conception of both cognition and action.

<sup>3</sup>The ancient roots of the distinction between the sources of knowledge and the limits of theory are found in Aristotle's distinction between the theoretical, the practical, and the productive. Theoretical knowledge was based upon relationships that existed by necessity. The practical and the productive rested upon relationships that were contingent and contextual. The modern day exposition of this view is most acutely displayed in the important work of Joseph Schwab, particularly his work on "the practical" in curriculum.

what teachers know when they act. Why narrative? Because stories get at forms of understanding that cannot be reduced to measurement or to scientific explanation.

In his writing on the meaning of meaning, Jerome Bruner (1990) makes a distinction between two ways of knowing: paradigmatic knowledge and narrative understanding. Narrative understanding is fostered through stories while paradigmatic knowledge is generated through scientific explanations. Bruner's distinction is related to the German terms *naturwissenschaften* and *geisteswissenschaften*; the former is scientific, the latter humanistic. As a result of this pluralization of knowledge, literary and artistically crafted narratives have become increasingly important both as sources of understanding teaching by researchers and as resources that teachers might use to improve their own teaching. The following books are examples of this kind of narrative approach to understanding: *Untaught Lessons* (Jackson, 1992); *Teachers as Curriculum Planners* (Connelly & Clandinen, 1988), *The Call of Stories* (Cole, 1989); *The Enlightened Eye* (Eisner, 1991), and *Transformative Curriculum* (Henderson, in press). There are scores of other books, but these are representative.

The implications of this reconceptualization of the sources of human understanding are profound. In the past, researchers aspired to develop educational theories that would prescribe teaching practices. For decades in America the aim of educational researchers and school administrators was to find the one best method (Tyack, 1974). Time and motion studies and scientific management are examples (Callahan, 1962). Another example is related to the model used in agriculture. In this model the research biologist who worked in the university produced the knowledge, an extension agent brought this knowledge to the farmer, the farmer implemented the recommendations made by the extension agent and, as a result, greater yield per acre was achieved. That model was used for years as the way to conduct and disseminate educational research. Teachers were thought to be like farmers who waited for technical input from their higher-up colleagues working in universities.

I am happy to say that we have begun to discard such naive conceptions of change. Newer and more adequate views place greater responsibility on the teacher as someone who needs to make good decisions in the context of action. These views recognize the limits of theory in guiding teaching and emphasize the importance of what some have called "insider" knowledge (Atkin, 1989).

When I speak of the limits of theory I do not want to convey the idea that theory has no place in the preparation of teachers or that traditional research forms have no place in education. This is not the case at all. What I do wish to emphasize is that theory has limitations and can never

replace sensitive, in-context judgement; theory is a tool to use, not a rule to follow. The hunt for the one best method was always a mistake. There is no single best way to teach. Furthermore, what constitutes excellence in teaching depends on some of the considerations I mentioned at the outset of my remarks, that is, on what vision of education one has and what conception of culture one wishes to realize. That is why the visions and values of the community are so important.

Thus, the first point I wish to make pertains to the relatively new realization that we are not likely to have a psychophysics of teaching. Teaching always occurs in highly contextual situations; there is not now nor will there be a replacement for the teacher who understands which course of action and which decision is most appropriate in *this* particular circumstance at *this* particular time. Put another way, artistry and intuition are enormously important aspects of all forms of teaching and teachers need the space and encouragement to use both in their work (Eisner, 1991).

The development of such insight and the cultivation of such artistry bring me to the second consideration in the preparation of teachers. How is it that one can develop artistry and insight in teachers? It is all very good to say that we should rely on stories, on narrative, on personal experience, but how should teachers be prepared and where should this preparation occur?

Teacher preparation has historically been located within normal schools and, since the turn of the century in the United States, increasingly in universities. Students who finished secondary school and wanted to be teachers went to normal schools, others went to universities and entered teacher education programs. Although we have very few normal schools left in the United States, the pattern is largely the same. Students wishing to become teachers enroll in undergraduate programs in universities, take courses in education either before or after they graduate, do student teaching, and then apply for state certification as a teacher. Teacher education is seen as the responsibility of the university. Teacher education programs are accredited by state and regional accrediting agencies and a field devoted essentially to the preparation of teachers at the pre-service level has become very strong.

The idea that teacher education is and should be primarily a function of the university is a strong and widely held belief in almost all countries. Yet, I want to argue that the major locus of teacher education is not the university—it is the primary and secondary school.

What we have tried to do in the university is to prepare young people from 19 to 21 years of age to be teachers. Teacher education programs have been and are designed to certify competence, while the state issues



the license. Once teachers begin to teach, they have an opportunity, from time to time, to have something called in-service education. In-service education usually means that someone who has a specialization in some area of education will talk to teachers about how to improve their own work. It is almost always the case that the person providing such advice has never seen the teachers to whom he or she speaks teach, a practice that is like hiring a football coach who had never seen the team play advise a team of players on how to play. What we would find strange in football we do in education.

The conception of teacher education that I am putting forward differs radically from standard pre-service or in-service education. The conception I am advancing conceives of the school itself as a major locus for the professional development of the professional staff—and this includes the principal of the school as well. For this conception to occur in practice, a number of very significant changes need to be made. Some of these changes are conceptual, others are practical. First, it must be recognized that learning to teach is a lifelong professional activity, not something that one completes in a teacher training program; teacher training programs provide an initiation into teaching, not a culmination. Second, it must be recognized that what matters most in learning to teach is the 25 years that someone spends in school as a teacher, not the year and a half that someone spends in the university learning to teach. Third, it must be recognized that in order to get better at the complex and subtle art of teaching, one needs to have constructive feedback on one's work. Fourth, it must be recognized that for useful feedback to occur, two other conditions must be present. First, there needs to be in each school a professional norm in which getting better at teaching is a part of what it means to be a teacher in that school. Second, there needs to be an organizational structure that makes it possible for other teachers to see how their colleagues teach. The reason this is important is because it is very difficult to be adequately self-reflective about one's own performance as a teacher. We are too close to ourselves to really grasp what we do when we work with students or deal with others. What I think we need to do is to create a professional climate in schools in which teachers learn how to see and critique teaching. This can be done initially through the critique of videotapes of teachers at work and later through the live observation and feedback one gets about one's own teaching from colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The use of videotapes of classroom teaching is predicated on the ability of those viewing such tapes to be able to critically describe, interpret, and appraise what they see. Such skills depend upon educational connoisseurship. It is, in my view, both possible and desirable to develop within school districts the capacity to train teachers to effectively use such tapes.



When one considers that even the best of performers—Luciano Pavarotti, for example—use coaches and critics to help them learn how they are performing, it does not seem to me to be far-fetched that schools provide a similar form of feedback to those engaged in the complex and subtle art of teaching.

To do this well, of course, will require that those who provide such feedback be perceptive about the complexities of classroom life and of teaching performance. This in itself is a formidable challenge. Yet, it is a challenge that can be addressed. What I have called *educational connoisseurship* (Eisner, 1991) in my own writing about educational research is the act of learning how to see and understand how teachers teach and what students learn in classrooms. It is an appreciative art, similar in some respects to learning how to see a football game, a polo match, a play, or how to really hear music. Connoisseurship is a learnable skill having to do with the appreciation of subtle and complex forms of performance. Connoisseurship provides the basis for what follows. What follows educational connoisseurship is what I call *educational criticism*.

When I use the term criticism I do not mean saying nasty things about how people behave. I am talking about providing constructive feedback on performance. There are critics of literature, art critics, music critics, dance critics, film critics, critics of architecture, food critics, and social critics. All of these critics are concerned with making judgments and conveying those judgements to others either through speech or text. The aim of criticism is to expand our awareness of what we might not have noticed. For teachers to become aware of how they are functioning, they need the assistance of those who are able to see and share with them what they see going on.

Incidentally, such feedback to teachers by teachers is not only useful for those who receive the feedback, it is also useful for those doing the observation. Often the teacher doing the observation learns as much about teaching as the person who receives information from the observer. Thus, the second point that I wish to make is that in conceiving of the school as the primary locus of teacher education, I am talking about a school that has professional norms that support the practice of educational criticism and that possesses an organizational structure that makes it possible for teachers to see and to talk with each other about their work.

In most cases, we have structured schools in ways that isolate teachers from other adults and which do not provide much assistance. In fact, if we wanted to design schools that made it difficult for teachers to learn about their own work, we could not do better than what we have done. The current conditions of schools will have to change in order to genuinely

prepare teachers for the coming century. This will require a major change in our conception of who is responsible for teacher education.

In talking about the importance of the school as the center for teacher education I do not mean to say that university teacher education programs have no important responsibility in this matter. They do. Universities ought to initiate prospective teachers into the leading ideas of the field of education and into the particular specialty in which they work. Universities ought to provide prospective teachers with cutting-edge visions of educational possibilities; they ought to help them imagine what is not now, but what might be. In addition, they ought to provide the initiating conditions through which prospective teachers could gain at least rudimentary skills to function in a classroom.

However, as important as the university is, it is my view that its role is secondary. Universities provide the initiating conditions, but it is the school that can and ought to provide the long-term context for the development of teaching competence and the intellectual climate for teachers to grow as reflective professionals.

I turn now to the third topic relevant to the preparation of teachers for the century before us: the ecological character of schools.

We have a tendency, those of us who specialize in some aspect of education, to see the improvement of education as belonging primarily to our specialization. If we are teacher educators, we ground the improvement of education in the improvement of teacher education. If we are curriculum specialists, we tend to argue for the importance of improved curricula as a major condition for the improvement of learning. If we are educational psychologists, we study cognitive processes and argue for the importance of understanding cognition in order to improve instruction. If we are school administrators, we talk about the importance of educational leadership. If we are evaluation specialists, we see the improvement of education as being closely tied to the sorts of assessment devices that are used in schools. In short, we think about school improvement as if our specialty were the key.

One of the things that we have learned in the past two decades is that schools are *ecological* institutions. (Eisner, 1988) By ecological institutions I mean that just as the heart within the body is influenced by the health of the lungs, the pancreas, and the liver, so too is teaching influenced by a complex of factors that collectively constitute schooling: time, space, workload, expectation, and the like. Furthermore, just as the organs of the body are influenced by the environment that the human inhabits, so too is the school influenced by its environment: the community and the culture in which it resides. Put as simply as possible, school improvement—and therefore the improvement of education for students—re-

quires attention to a complex interacting set of living relationships. Ecology is perhaps the best metaphor that I can use to characterize these living, interacting relationships. Just what are the relationships within the school that need attention if teachers in the 21st century are to be able to do the kind of job that we would want to have done?

I would like to identify five dimensions that I believe to be critically important. I will speak of each very briefly. These five dimensions are called the *intentional*, the *structural*, the *curricular*, the *pedagogical*, and the *evaluative*.

The intentional pertains to the aims to which the institution is directed. Just what is the core mission of this school? Is it to get youngsters to ingest cultural content? Is it primarily to develop an inclination or proclivity towards problem solving? Is it to nurture individual talents? Is it to socialize students into cultural norms? Is it to engender beliefs that will lead to a socially homogenous culture? Is it to enable youngsters to learn how to take responsibility for the creation of their own educational journey?

I will not specify what I believe to be most important, but what I will do is indicate that questions such as these are non-trivial and that the way they are answered has implications for the kind of educational culture that is developed within schools. Hence, the first dimension that needs attention has to do with the question: What are the major intentions of the institution or, more precisely, what are the major intentions of those who work in or support the school? In different schools there may be different intentions.

Second, intentions alone are inadequate. Schools are structures. They are organizations of time, space, and people guided by intentions. We need to understand something about the way in which schools are organized and the extent to which that organization facilitates or interferes with the realization of our intentions. For example, in most secondary schools in the United States, the subject matters students study are divided into separate courses taught by different specialists. As a result, we have a secondary school curriculum that in many ways has no sense of intellectual integration. Students study history with one teacher and then, 50 minutes later, move on to another teacher who might be teaching mathematics. 50 minutes later the student moves on to take a class in literature. That literature class—say in American literature—may be taught in a way that makes it difficult for the student to see any relationship between his or her course in literature and his or her course in American history. In short, by isolating teachers and dividing content into disciplinary categories, curricular integration is made more efficient. In addition, the teacher is assigned to a room with 28 or 30 students and is the only adult present. As a result, seldom do teachers have an oppor-



tunity to get feedback or to work cooperatively with other teachers. Ironically, teachers adjust to the physical insolation, assume it to be in the nature of things, making it even more difficult to develop a critical consciousness of their own teaching.

But structure does not pertain to time and space alone. It also includes our conception of what the role of the teacher is in a school. Our customary view of the teacher is of an adult who has responsibility for 25 to 30 students and who remains with those students from 8:00 or so in the morning until 2:30 to 3:00 in the afternoon. The classroom in which the teacher works becomes, for all practical purposes, the world in which the teacher lives his or her professional life. It is almost as if this conception of the teacher's responsibility in a school were God given. In fact, in virtually all schools there are essentially only two professional roles: teacher or school administrator.

I believe it is important to redefine the scope of professional work for a teacher: to diversify the sorts of responsibilities that a teacher can have in the course of a career, to make available to teachers opportunities to perform services, and to pursue professional visions within the school that would enhance the quality of education for the students who attend. This will mean making it possible for experienced teachers, for example: to devote one year out of five serving as mentors to beginning teachers; to work on curriculum development projects with one or two of their colleagues; and, to function as liaisons between the school and other community agencies such as nursing homes, cultural centers, museums, and hospitals. It means giving teachers the time needed to work together to plan evaluation projects and to be in touch with families who need assistance helping their own children in school. My point here is that what it means to be a teacher needs to be reconceived so that it includes far more than working alone in a classroom from 8:00 in the morning until 3:00 in the afternoon for 25 years.

In the United States, about 50% of those who enter the teaching profession leave after 5 years of teaching experience. About half of those who leave return at one time or another during the course of their professional lives. I believe that much of this attrition is due to the lack of opportunities teachers experience; the job as it is now defined is too constrained. Expanding our conception of what the work of teaching consists of is one way to keep the best and the brightest within the profession while at the same time enhancing the quality of education within the school.

In discussing the ecological character of schools, I have thus far addressed the importance of intentions and the impact of school structure on how teachers work and how students learn. What we aim to achieve



and how we organize the work place are extraordinarily important factors affecting the life of school. What also needs attention, however, is the curriculum that is offered and the way in which what students have learned is evaluated.

I have already indicated that the fragmentation of learning is a problematic consequence of how we define the school curriculum. If we want to help students see the relationship between ideas within various disciplines and their application or relevance to some problem, then curricula need to be focused upon problems that students and teachers can address, and disciplinary structures—such as biology and history, art and mathematics—need in some way to be related to the resolution of problems they care about.

Disciplinary structures are essentially conceptual devices that amplify our cognitive abilities. They are technologies of mind, as Jerome Bruner (1990) calls them, for conceptualizing, storing, and retrieving what we have learned. These tools can be related and, I would argue, need to be related to almost all complex practical problems. Each discipline provides its own perspective that can enable students to appreciate the richness of the situation and the alternative courses of action that are almost always possible in the practical domain.

Rethinking curriculum relationships among fields has important implications for the way in which teachers are prepared and for the conditions in school within which they have to work. Isolation and integration are hardly compatible. If integrated forms of learning are to be fostered among students then teachers will need to have opportunities to work collaboratively. This will require reorganizing the structure of the school day and redefining the teacher's responsibility.

Regarding the pedagogical, I have already in the earlier part of the article addressed that domain. In the interests of space I will not elaborate here.

Evaluation, the fifth and last dimension I will address, also matters. In the United States we have at long last begun to realize that much of the evaluation practices that we have employed from the early part of the century to the present have depended upon a testing methodology that has trivialized education. Objective tests have been employed which had very little predictive validity in the real world. Hence, we are now developing what we call "authentic evaluation," implying that so much of what we have done before in evaluation, largely through standardized, norm referenced, objective tests, was educationally inauthentic.

To the extent to which these new forms of assessment address forms of student performance that are directly related to the on-going tasks within the school day or to complex projects that require them to apply and integrate disciplinary ideas, they will also make new demands on the teacher's

skills. This, in turn, will require the preparation of teachers who understand the educational purposes of authentic evaluation and who have the skills needed to employ such forms of evaluation in their own classroom.

In addition, such approaches to evaluation place a greater premium on the assessment of individual outcomes than the standardized conception of outcomes that are inherently embedded in standardized measurement practices. When the major aim of the educational process is to cultivate what is personally idiosyncratic about students, teachers will need to be able to identify such uniquenesses in those they teach. This will require a kind of educational connoisseurship that is sensitive to what is subtle and significant in the student's work. It will also make it difficult to make comparisons across students; when uniquenesses is valued and when both teaching and curriculum are designed to make uniqueness not only possible but probable, assessment criteria other than comparing a student to other students or comparing a student's performance to a known criterion becomes necessary. Neither norm-referenced nor criterion-referenced evaluation will have the kind of significance that they now possess. Whether a tax paying public will accept non-comparative descriptions of student performance remains to be seen.

I wish to conclude by recapitulating the major points I have tried to make. First and primary among these is that any justified conception of teacher education must be rooted in a justified conception of the kind of education that students are to receive. Second, that the major location of teacher education is not the year and a half that a 19- or 21-year-old spends in a university teacher education program, but the 20 to 25 years that a teacher spends in a school; it is the school and the conditions that it makes available to its professional staff that ought to constitute the major resource for the professional development of teachers. Third, I have tried to make the case that the improvement of schools and hence the improvement of teaching and learning requires attention to what I have called the ecology of schooling.

Schools, we have learned in our largely failed effort at school reform, are robust institutions that are difficult to change. Piecemeal approaches to change are usually rendered feckless by virtue of those other powerful forces within the school that are not altered. Thus, educational reformers will need to understand how five major dimensions of schools interact. These dimensions are the intentional, the structural, the pedagogical, the curricular, and the evaluative. We need to formulate intentions we sincerely believe in, redesign school structures so they are consistent with the spirit of those intentions, address matters of pedagogy by creating an environment in which teachers get helpful feedback concerning their work, redesign curricula so that there is some sense of integration and

problem-centeredness to what students study, and design evaluation practices that do not trivialize what we are trying to accomplish.

The agenda for *genuine* educational reform and significant teacher preparation for the 21st century is awesome. There is much work to be done. Now is not the time for pessimism. What is pessimistic concerning school improvement is an unwillingness or inability to appreciate the complexity that actually exists. What is optimistic is the ability to face up to this complexity and to begin to work together to address the challenging future before us. To do this will require us to give up old habits and traditional expectations, but in the end it might open new vistas before us. It might give us some new seas on which to sail. Isn't that what education is about, not arriving at a destination but traveling with a new view? (Peters, 1960).

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# Issues in Early Childhood Education: Implications and Directions for Higher Education

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*Hazel A. Jones*

## Introduction

Young children are our most valuable resource, and influencing early development is a critically important activity. It is so critical that Goal One of the National Education Goals is that, by the year 2000, all children will start school ready to learn. This goal is designed to ensure access to high quality and developmentally appropriate preschool programs for all children. In addition, this goal intimates the importance of child development within the context of the family, recognizing that parents will be their child's first teacher and as such should have access to needed training and support. Finally, this first goal emphasizes the health needs of both children and parents.

Recognition of the needs of young children at risk is not new. Meeting the needs of children in poverty and their families has been the commitment of Head Start for almost 30 years. The program design provides comprehensive services including child care, education, health care, and social services for young children and their families. More recently, the 1986 passage of Public Law 99-457 Amendment to the Education of the Handicapped Act (reauthorized as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act) (IDEA) extended early intervention services to young children from birth through 5 years and their families. Part H authorizes states to address the needs of infants and toddlers with disabilities and their families. Support is provided through grants to states to implement early intervention across a number of agencies. Section 619 of IDEA

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requires states to provide public education to all eligible children ages 3 through 5 years.

Considering the issues facing young children, the current focus on early childhood could not be more appropriate and timely. The risks of social, economic, and health problems are extremely high for children living in the United States. A number of variables affect the development of young children including poverty and the concomitant effects of poor nutrition and health care, homelessness, violence, and substance abuse. These variables have a significant impact on the need for comprehensive services for young children and their families, and particular impact on the competence of early childhood education. This article describes the demographic, social, and political variables influencing the development of young children, their relationship to the need for comprehensive services, and early childhood educators who possess the competencies to serve diverse groups of young children.

### Issues Influencing Early Childhood Education

#### *Poverty*

The number of children living in poverty in the U.S. is at an all-time high. In fact, more children live in poverty than any other age group and increasing numbers of children are being born into families living in poverty. Recent reports indicate that at least one in four children under age 5 live in a family whose income is below the poverty level (Clinton, 1992). Levels of poverty for African American and Hispanic children are almost double that rate at 43% and 40% respectively (Edwards & Jones, 1992).

The undeniable realities of poverty are complex and can be devastating to the development of young children. Poverty brings the added risk of poor nutrition compounded by the lack of appropriate health care and necessary immunizations. Prenatal care is often poor or nonexistent. Incidences of HIV, AIDS, and substance abuse tend to be higher in low SES communities. Low income neighborhoods are often violent. Increasingly, poor families are headed by single mothers with little education who live in inadequate housing, or are homeless.

The number of homeless children and families in the U.S. is growing (Rossi, 1990). The number of children who are spending the night without adequate shelter or who are homeless ranges from 68,000 to 500,000 (Linehan, 1992). Over half of that group are children under the age of 5 (Klein, Bittel, & Molnar, 1993). The causes of homelessness are complex and the homeless population is a diverse group. People living on the street or in shelters include veterans, persons with mental or physical ill-

ness and disabilities, persons suffering from drug and alcohol addiction, victims of abuse (both adults and children), immigrants, and recently unemployed individuals (McCormick & Holden, 1992).

A child who is homeless is experiencing loss of more than a building. They no longer have the comfort of family routines or the support of their social network. Studies indicate the following characteristics of preschool children who are homeless: (a) more behavior problems and emotional disturbance, (b) sleeplessness, (c) poor quality relationships, and (d) significant delays in one or more areas of development (see McCormick & Holden, 1992, for a review). The future well-being of homeless children is threatened by the environmental conditions contributing to hunger, poor nutrition, health problems, anxiety, depression, and educational underachievement (Rafferty & Shinn, 1991). Conditions are compounded by the lack of, and barriers to accessing, available services, including public education.

### *Violence*

The increase of violence in the United States is appalling. This country now has the dubious honor of being the most violent in the industrialized world (Dodd, 1993, cited in NAEYC Position on Violence, 1994). On a daily basis, children in this country witness or are victims of a violent act. Violence in the media, particularly on television, has risen significantly since deregulation of the industry. The number of reported acts of abuse or neglect of children has tripled since 1980 (Children's Defense Fund, 1992). NAEYC (1994) has described a continuum of exposure to violence that ranges from watching violent incidences on television to becoming a perpetrator of violence. Levels of exposure to violence also include playing with toys that promote violence, hearing of reported acts of violence, parents' warnings regarding safety, witnessing a violent act, witnessing or experiencing domestic violence. From the affluent suburbs to the inner city, no American child is immune to violence.

The reported incidence of child abuse is also on the rise, with 2 million cases reported annually (Baer, Schenk, & Buckner, 1993). In a 1991 study, Daro and McCurdy reported the types of abuse cases to be 27% physical abuse, 15% sexual abuse, 46% neglect, and 9% emotional abuse. These cases are attributed not only to more accurate reporting but increases in abuse as a result of social and economic conditions including poverty and substance abuse (Milian-Perrone & Ferrell, 1993). Children who have been abused will exhibit a variety of behaviors and attitudes such as having little sense of personal identity, a lack of self-esteem, and difficulty developing relationships (Baer et al., 1993)

Living with violence imposes numerous risk factors upon young children. The early childhood years are important to the development of trust, autonomy, and a sense of self. This development is hindered when the child's surroundings or even his home is a place of violence. Living in a violent home or community limits a child's environmental exploration, social contacts, and relationship development. In the worst case scenarios, children living in violence are at-risk for pathological development and for committing violent acts themselves (Wallach, 1993).

### *Medically Fragile and Chronically Ill Children*

Amazing progress in medical technology is producing a new population of children entering early education programs. In the 15th Annual Report to Congress on the implementation of IDEA (U. S. Department of Education, 1993), the number of children reported as "other health impaired" increased by almost 30% over the last 4 years. These increases are due to the survival of infants born with very low birthweight and more aggressive management of children who are chronically or terminally ill and those who are victims of trauma (Lowman, 1993). Their needs may include support for use of medical technology and other services essential for survival. The diversity among this group is wide. Some medically fragile children will have severe multiple disabilities, complex medical needs, and a variety of developmental delays (Pendergast, 1995). Other children will require no special education services. Recently, concern has focused on the rates of births and outcomes for those children born to mothers with HIV and AID as well as those addicted to drugs.

*Prenatal substance abuse.* Chasnoff, Landress, and Barrett (1990) reported that approximately 400,000 children each year are born to mothers who used crack or cocaine during pregnancy. Children affected by crack and cocaine have a range of problems that vary in intensity and rate. Without early intervention, children showing the effect of crack or cocaine will experience a continuum of problems (Waller, 1993). Infants born addicted to crack are at risk for Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), apnea, sleeping disorders, and convulsion. Toddlers may exhibit hyperactivity, inability to focus, and a lack of awareness of others. As preschoolers they may be unpredictable and at times prone to aggression. Older children may continue to exhibit distractible, disruptive, and impulsive behavior.

Although it has been 20 years since the effects of prenatal alcohol abuse on unborn infants was exposed, there still appears to be a lack of awareness of these effects. Recent reports of the incidence of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) is 1 to 3 per 1,000 live births. FAS is the most



common of the known causes of mental retardation (Milian-Perrone & Ferrell, 1993).

*HIV and AIDS.* Children who are HIV positive or have AIDS are also enrolling in early childhood programs. The number of children with pediatric AIDS is expected to rise (Savage, Mayfield, & Cook, 1993). The Center for Disease Control (CDC) reported the 1991 count of children under the age of 13 with AIDS to be 3,426. While these children may or may not require special education they bring additional concerns for early childhood professionals.

Children who are medically fragile—whether due to chronic or terminal illness, use of advanced medical technology, substance addiction, or HIV and AIDS—and their families will need extensive support. In addition to the need for comprehensive early intervention, families may also require social and financial support, psychological and/or counseling services, as well as a host of medical needs. The worst case scenario for the families living with children with terminal illness, including AIDS, is that these children will die. The death of a child attending an early childhood program will affect not only the child's family but also the other children and their families, and the classroom teachers.

### *Cultural and Linguistic Diversity*

The demographic characteristics of classrooms are changing as this country becomes a more pluralistic society. Most of the children attending public school in the largest school districts in the U.S. are of color (Fuller, 1992). In the population of children under the age of 5, roughly 32% are minorities and in some states that figure rises to 50% (Arcia, Keyes, Gallagher, & Herrick, 1993). Current estimations place the number of school age children with limited English proficiency at 1.74 million (Schmidt, 1992). Estimates of birth and immigration growth rates project that by 2020 one in every 3 Americans will be of color (Hodgkinson, 1985).

While most young children experience a cultural difference when transitioning from home to school, the impact for the culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) population is significant. Because young children are still forming their own cultural behaviors and concepts, attempting to acquire a new and different set may be particularly stressful. Young children from CLD populations experience discontinuity between environments, unfamiliar procedures and materials, and inappropriate language usage in instruction (see Barrera, 1993, for review). Values and beliefs of any culture influence behavior and learning. When education programs are not sufficiently responsive to the needs of CLD children, the result may be an overreferral of children to special education.



### *Legislation Influencing Early Childhood Education*

Inclusion refers to educating students with disabilities in the mainstream of general education. Provision of specialized and related services occurs in the general education classroom and classroom instruction is adapted as needed. Advocates of inclusion assert that children with disabilities are more similar than different from their peers and that all young children benefit from learning together. The benefits of inclusive education extend to the families of all children involved (see Odom & McEvoy, 1988, and Buysse & Bailey, 1993 for reviews). These include developmental and social benefits for children with and without disabilities. Family members have reported the development of respect for individuals and differences as well as community involvement.

Recent legislation has supported the inclusion of young children with disabilities. Public Law 99-457 passed in 1986 (reauthorized as PL 101-476 the Individual with Disabilities Education Act, 1990) requires that children with disabilities ages 3 to 5 years be educated in the least restrictive environment and to the maximum extent appropriate with their typically developing peers. Part H of P.L. 99-457, in extending these services to infants and toddler with disabilities and their families, also requires that early intervention be provided in natural environments. Including children with disabilities in programs with their peers allows them the opportunity to interact with and learn from typically developing children.

Additional legislation that ensures the inclusion of young children in child care is the recently passed Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) (1990). An important component of this law is the protection of children and adults with disabilities from discrimination in places of public accommodation. Significant to early childhood education is that the places of public accommodation include child care centers and family child care homes. Although the ADA specifies exemptions for child care programs affiliated with a church or other religious organization, this law affects thousands of child care centers and family care homes throughout the United States. The law covers enrollment policies, policies related to practices and procedures, auxiliary aids and services, and physical accessibility as well as hiring practices. Enrollment of children cannot be denied on the basis of the child's disability or because the child knows or is related to a person with a disability.

### *Family Structure*

Family roles and structure—influenced by the economic, social, and political climate—are changing. The number of children living in single par-

ent families is increasing due to a rise in the incidence of separation, divorce, and never married parents. The percentage of children affected may be as high as 25%. Estimates of single parent households for African Americans and Hispanic families are 55% and 30% respectively (Edwards & Jones, 1992). In addition, adults other than a child's parents are caring for children. This is particularly significantly for African American families in that the number of grandparents raising their grandchildren increased (Edwards & Jones, 1992). More children are also living with foster and adoptive parents, extended families and other relatives, and in blended families. The number of same sex parents is also increasing. While the existence of gay and lesbian parents is not new, their visibility is. The American Bar Association reported in 1987 that there are 8 to 10 million children living in 3 million gay and lesbian families in the U.S. (Wickens, 1993).

Any of these situations may be stress producing for young children. For example, single parents tend to be more isolated from family and social support networks, which compounds the problems of raising children alone. Children whose parents are divorced may feel anger toward one or both parents, blame themselves for the divorce, or become depressed. The empirical evidence of the negative effects of stressful environmental contexts is considerable (see Pianta & Nimetz, 1992, for a review). Child care, education, and intervention programs with skilled personnel can mitigate these effects for many children.

### Implications for Early Childhood Teacher Education

The continued need for comprehensive services and programs for young children and their families is evidenced by the social, demographic, and political changes described. The success of early childhood intervention programs in the prevention of school failure for children at-risk is well documented (see Slavin, Karweit, & Wasik, 1993, for a review). While multiple variables influence the success of any program, well trained personnel are key to the success of such services.

Higher education programs educating preservice students in early childhood education have a responsibility to provide future teachers with competencies to teach a diverse group of students. In light of the issues facing young children and their families, teacher education programs must provide increased emphasis on preparing personnel (a) to work with families (b) to work with children from a variety of cultural and linguistically diverse backgrounds, and (c) to work with children with special needs. As a result, early childhood educators must also be prepared to work collaboratively with other professionals and agencies, and to work in inclusive settings.

An emerging method for preservice education of future teachers is that of collaborative early childhood and early childhood special education preservice programs that prepare early childhood professionals to work successfully with all young children. Many early childhood professionals support unification of personnel preparation programs (Burton, Hains, Hanline, McLean, & McCormick, 1992; Lowenthal, 1992; Miller, 1992). Advocates for unifying teacher education in early childhood and early childhood special education argue that continued segregation of programs perpetuates the continued segregation of young children at risk or with disabilities. Unification has the potential to improve the effectiveness of (a) advocacy efforts and delivery of services to young children and their families, and (b) graduate teachers prepared to teach children with diverse needs in inclusive settings (Burton et al., 1992).

The issue of segregated personnel preparation programs prompted discussions among numerous professional groups such as NAEYC, DEC, and the Association for Teacher Educators (ATE) to achieve consensus on a position statement to guide state certification and programs (Bredenkamp, 1992). Groups such as the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI) are also calling for the inclusion of related professional groups (e.g., American Occupational Therapy Association and American Speech and Hearing Association) (Sexton, Snyder, Sharpton, & Stricklin, 1993). ACEI also includes the need for educating administrators with a specific knowledge base on inclusive child care and education issues in both preservice and inservice leadership training. Administrators with this knowledge base are more likely to support and promote early childhood education as unique, as well as provide the context for inclusion.

Integration of training in early childhood and early childhood special education emphasizes an interdisciplinary approach to education. Collaboration of preservice faculty supports the philosophy of P.L. 99-457 and attitudes toward team building are enhanced at the outset. Meeting the complex needs of young children and their families requires future early childhood educators to be experts in the skills of communication and collaboration. There will be a myriad of social and educational services used by many families of children at risk or with disabilities. As a result, early childhood educators will be integral members of interdisciplinary teams.

Several college of education programs are reporting the success of unified and collaborative training of early childhood educators (Kemple, Hartle, Correa, & Fox, 1994; Stayton & Miller, 1992). Advantages of this approach may include (a) an economic appeal for IHEs and school dis-



tricts in use of available resources, (b) teachers prepared with the knowledge to provide education for a broad range of child abilities, (c) training in collaboration and consensus building, (d) use of interdisciplinary curriculum, and (e) increased likelihood of improved services for young children and their families.

### *Core Competency Development*

Regardless of the format that teacher education programs take, that is, traditional separate early childhood and early childhood special education or unified programs, there are several areas of training that are particularly important when considering the issues influencing child development and well being. These include collaboration with families and other professionals, ensuring that programs and practices are sensitive to and respectful of cultural diversity, and facilitation of effective practices that promote the success of all children.

The understanding of child development and learning within the context of the family is essential for early childhood educators. Working effectively and collaboratively with families requires an understanding of and respect for the differences in family structures, culture, ethnicity, and linguistic diversity. The emphasis on family involvement is seen as one of engaging families as active participants in the educational process of their children rather than merely the recipient of services (DEC, NAEYC, ATC, 1994). This role is interpreted similarly in both Goal One of the National Educational Goals and PL 99-457 Amendments to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Furthermore, it incorporates the importance of the child's extended family and other social and support networks (e.g., neighborhood, church, medical community, etc.)

Teacher education programs have two primary responsibilities in preparing teachers to meet the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students. The majority of preservice students enrolled in teacher education programs are white (92%), middle class (80%), and women (72%) having limited knowledge of the needs of minority students (Fuller, 1992). The first responsibility of teacher education programs is in preparing these students to develop an understanding of and sensitivity to the influence of culture and language on a child's learning and development. Effective teacher preparation will also include the recognition of one's own cultural background, beliefs, and values in order to understand their impact on interactions with children and families (Lynch & Hanson, 1992). The second responsibility of teacher education programs is to recruit new preservice students from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.



The preparation of teachers for inclusive environments will require an understanding of the development and needs of learners with a range of abilities. The multiplicity of needs of young children further requires that early childhood professionals be able to individualize instruction to meet the specific needs of children and their families. Developmentally appropriate practice should provide the curricular framework for meeting the needs of young children with and without disabilities. However, it is necessary that early childhood professionals be knowledgeable of adaptations to the framework that may be needed for children with diverse ability. These needs will vary depending upon the nature and severity of the child's level of development. They may be domain specific, for example, influenced by delays in motor development. Adaptations may be related to the health of the child, for example, using specific medical technology such as a SIDS monitor or trachea tube. Adaptations may also focus on the organization of the learning environment, such as providing a safe and quiet place for children to regroup or just get it together. Early childhood professionals should have the knowledge base to enable them to select age, culturally, and developmentally appropriate curriculum, intervention strategies, and classroom materials that will promote the physical, intellectual, social, adaptive, and communicative competence of all young children.

### Conclusion

The social, demographic, and political climate in the U.S. is impacting the lives of young children and their families with dramatic effects. The impact can be devastating for some children. The role that an early childhood professional plays in the life of a young child—particularly, but not limited to, those at risk or with disabilities—is an important one. Therefore, the need for highly skilled and effective early childhood professionals is crucial.

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# Curriculum Beyond School Walls: Implications of Transition Education

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*Jeanne B. Repetto*

## Introduction

Faced with a decline in market competitiveness, a more diverse workforce, and rapid technological advances, American business and industry is in the process of restructuring (Boyett & Conn, 1992; Johnston & Packer, 1987). One aspect of this restructuring is providing workers with training. Over 30 billion dollars are spent each year to provide this training (Carnevale & Gainer, 1989). This level of commitment to the training of workers indicates a belief that if lasting change is to occur, workers must take an active role in the restructuring of business and industry. Table 1 lists the skills that employers want employees to possess called Workplace Basics (Carnevale, Gainer, & Meltzer, 1990).

Table 1: Workplace Basics

1. Foundation skills (learning to learn)
2. Reading, writing, and computation competence
3. Oral and listening communication skills
4. Adaptability (creative thinking and problem solving)
5. Personal management (self-esteem, motivation/goal setting, employability/career development)
6. Group effectiveness (interpersonal skills, negotiation, and teamwork)
7. Influence (organizational effectiveness and leadership)

These skills represent a move away from a top-down approach to management toward a management style that involves all employees in

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decision making, and assures that the company remains competitive in the marketplace. This type of strategic management is summarized by Carnevale, Gainer, & Villet (1990) in the following statement:

It [strategic management] cannot occur in the rarefied atmosphere of a board room; it must instead be built on the insights and creativity of people throughout the organization. Its centerpiece must be an overarching strategic plan underpinned by the collective input of the workforce conveyed through their managers. All employees, but especially supervisors and managers, are environmental scanners. monitoring and interpreting data; managers serve to translate a diverse array of information that bubbles up around them in a coherent package of information for upper-level managers. (p. 163)

A similar study conducted by the Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS) (1991) identified a set of skills necessary to assist American firms and employers to meet world class standards and remain competitive in a world market. The purpose of the Commission was to examine workplace demands and the skills necessary for entry into the workforce. After a year of interviewing employers, managers, workers, and employees, a set of skills were identified in two area competencies and foundation skills (see Table 2). The SCANS report began with a letter addressed to parents, employers, and educators explaining the role each could play and the importance of all working together to help future workers acquire the skills.

Table 2: Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills

#### Competencies

1. Resources: Identifies, organizes, plans, and allocates resources
2. Interpersonal: Works with others
3. Information: Acquires and uses information
4. Systems: Understands complex inter-relationships
5. Technology: Works with a variety of technology

#### Foundation

1. Basic Skills: Reads, writes, performs arithmetic and mathematical operations, listens, and speaks
2. Thinking Skills: Thinks creatively, makes decisions, solves problems, visualizes, knows how to reason
3. Personal Qualities: Displays responsibility, self-esteem, sociability, self-management, integrity, and honesty

In the fall of 1994, the Citizen for the 21st Century Employment Summit was held in Gainesville, Florida. The Summit was hosted by P.K. Yonge Development and Research School and the College of Education at the University of Florida. Participants were comprised of education faculty (46.7%), business representatives (33.3%), government employees (6.7%), and secondary students (13.3%). The purpose of the Summit was to identify the educational needs of tomorrow's workers. One step in identifying these needs was to describe the ideal high school graduate applying for an entry level job in the year 2004. The graduate (named Tess) was described as possessing competencies in three areas: (a) knowledge, (b) skills, and (c) values. The following brief case study of Tess incorporates some of the skills identified by the Summit participants:

*Tess is able to understand, use, organize, and retrieve information from systems and infrastructures. She possesses knowledge in the core academics and displays the skills to be a lifelong learner. Her ability to communicate with and respect others is apparent. Tess is able to problem-solve and is both a critical and creative thinker. Finally, she displays a high level of self-knowledge, self-esteem and self-motivation.*

Perhaps a more significant outcome of the Summit is that a partnership is forming between schools, communities, and businesses to work together to prepare students for their futures. This partnership is reactive to reports such as SCANS and to various legislative mandates. One such piece of legislation in place is the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) (PL 101-476) that gives students with disabilities a statutory right to education that prepares them for adulthood by mandating transition services for students 16 years of age and older (DeStefano & Wer-muth, 1992; Wandry & Repetto, 1993). The provisions of transition services are further supported by legislation in the fields of vocational rehabilitation (PL 99-506) and vocational education (PL 101392) that assure equal access to employment and communities (Gajar, Goodman, & McAfee, 1993; Szymanski, Hanley-Maxwell, & Asselin, 1992). Recently, Congress passed the School-to-Work Opportunities Act (PL 103480) that provides career development and transition-type services to all students, not just those with disabilities (U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Labor, 1994).

This article will discuss the secondary transition initiative for individuals with disabilities, as an example of how employment skills can be incorporated into curriculum. Changes in the skills needed by educators to teach the revised curriculum will be presented along with suggestions for teacher preparation programs. Although transition services will be

discussed for students with disabilities, the curriculum and teacher competency changes have implications for all education that prepares students to meet their futures.

### Components of Transition

Secondary transition services for students with disabilities emerged in response to disturbing outcome data. Outcome research indicated that students with disabilities experienced difficulty finding and keeping employment, had poor integration into the community, and had difficulty accessing post school services and training (DeStefano & Wagner, 1993; Fardig, Algozzine, Schwartz, Hensel, & Westling, 1985; Hasazi, Gordon, & Roe, 1985). Transition services are designed to assist students with their transition from school to adult living. Transition is an outcome-based process grounded on a series of many complex decisions and services (Clark, 1992). Components common to most transition models include (a) family, agency, and school involvement; (b) formalized planning and implementation of services; (c) future planning for desired post school outcomes in the areas of community, employment, and residential; and (d) linkages with post school services (Clark & Kolstoe, 1990). Documentation indicates that providing students with disabilities with transition services positively affects their post-school outcomes (Rusch & Phelps, 1987; Warner, 1989).

Kohler (1993) reviewed and analyzed the "promising practices" in transition literature to identify the most frequently cited practices. Practices supported in more than 25% of the documents reviewed were considered to be desirable components of transition programs even though Kohler cautions that these practices must be subjected to empirical validation. Of the 21 "promising practices" identified by this study, three were cited in over 50% of the documents reviewed. These include vocational training, parent involvement, and interagency collaboration and service delivery. Additional practices listed as promising include social skills training, paid work experience, individual transition plans and planning, employability skills training and integration, least restrictive environment and mainstreaming, and community-based instruction.

Repetto, Hankins, and Schwartz (1993) conducted a consensus-building study designed to identify effective practices to maintain students with mild disabilities in school to better prepare them for postsecondary education, employment, and community life. After three rounds of consensus-building, a panel of experts in the fields of vocational, transition, and special education identified 180 effective practices broken into the domains of organization, programming, personnel, and social. Ten themes



emerged based on practices addressing similar content in and across all three domains. Common components emerging from these themes suggest that good transition and dropout prevention programs need to: be student-centered, be realistic, be flexible, hold students and teachers accountable, provide an array of support services, be tied to the real world demands, offer a setting where students feel they belong, encourage professional development, provide supportive administrators, foster intra- and interagency collaboration, and view students holistically.

A framework for identifying exemplary programs in vocational special needs education has been developed by Wermuth and Phelps (1990). This framework consists of 20 components grouped into five clusters. The five clusters are (a) program administration, (b) curriculum and instruction, (c) comprehensive support services, (d) formalized articulation and communication, and (e) occupational experience. These five areas and the practices embedded in them offer a viable framework to illustrate components of a model transition program based on the promising practices discussed in this section along with the incorporation of the necessary employment skills discussed in the introduction.

1. *Program administration.* Administration for an exemplary transition program is supportive by providing strong leadership and financial backing. Administrators work with educators to make the school climate accepting of all students. Staff development activities are provided to keep skills current. Flexibility in scheduling is offered to allow for community-based programs. Formative and summative program evaluation is conducted. Transition programming is accepted as an integral part of the district's vision for all students, not only students with disabilities. Collaboration and shared decision making are encouraged among school personnel, parents, students, business representatives, and agency personnel.

2. *Curriculum and instruction.* Curriculum is individualized to address the post-school outcomes and needs of each student. Academics and vocational curricula are integrated to assist students to learn skills in an applied manner. Instruction is offered in a variety of settings, including academic classrooms, businesses, vocational classrooms, and community sites such as stores, banks, and bus stops. Teaching methods are tailored to activities and student needs. Students are taught in both individual and group settings. Skills needed for employment, such as problem-solving and teamwork, are infused into the curriculum. Additional skills incorporated into the curriculum are daily living skills, self-advocacy skills, academic skills, and study skills.

3. *Comprehensive support services.* An array of support services are available and easily accessed by students and their families. These services are

available in both the community and school settings. The needs of each student are assessed to determine social, academic and vocational needs. Based on the identified needs services are provided that include instructional support, family counseling, career guidance and counseling, health services, and mentoring programs.

4. *Formalized articulation and communication.* Students, parents, educators, and adult service providers are involved in formalized transition planning for each student. Collaboration for service provision is fostered and supported among programs within the school district as well as with community based programs. Educators are encouraged to build partnerships with the community and businesses to provide training sites for students and to ensure that the curriculum offered is realistic and transferable to the world outside the classroom. Linkages with adult services providers are considered crucial to assist students to make a smooth transition to accessing these services after graduation.

5. *Occupational experience.* A wide range of occupational experiences is offered to students based on their individual needs and interests. These options include regular academics programs, vocational education programs, community-based training programs, and supported employment programs. Since transition is an outcome-oriented process, occupational training might be postsecondary education, postsecondary vocational training, or employment. Skills taught in programs include academics, technical skills, employability skills, and necessary work skills. Job placement and follow-up services are provided to students after graduation.

In summary, the secondary transition initiative for individuals with disabilities offers an example of how employment skills can be incorporated into curriculum. The incorporation of employment skills into secondary curriculum is beginning to restructure secondary education programs for all students. A change has already begun to take place at P.K. Yonge Development and Research School with the Citizen for the 21st Century Employment Summit. This shift is also being driven by legislation such as the School-to-Work Opportunities Act (PL 103-480) that mandates career development and transition services for all students, not only students with disabilities (U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Labor, 1994). The components of secondary transition programming for students with disabilities discussed in this section can offer guidance in developing strong secondary transition programs for all students. Perhaps the biggest aspect of secondary restructuring is the knowledge base of educators. Secondary special and regular educators, who are traditionally curriculum and teaching technique specialists, will

be asked to apply the content they teach to real world situations and to build linkages beyond their classrooms and schools to assist students to make the connection between academics and life skills. As with the transition components, an understanding of the "new" skills secondary educators will need to possess can be fostered by first reviewing the skills needed for special educators working in the area of transition.

### Transition Service Providers

In this article, transition service providers is a term that includes secondary special educators, vocational special needs educators, and transition specialists. This broad use of the term transition service provider is justified because all students with disabilities ages 16 and older must be provided with necessary transition services as indicated on their IEP (DeStefano & Wermuth, 1992). Therefore, in this section job-related skills and competencies for transition providers including special educators, vocational special needs educators, and transition specialists will be reviewed.

As the focus of secondary special education changes, the competencies necessary for secondary special education teachers need to be re-evaluated. A need exists to train secondary special education teachers to extend their instruction beyond traditional academic domains and shift instructional emphasis to include community living and vocational skills (Reith, Polsgrove, Okolo, Bahr, & Eckert, 1987). This need is emphasized by the concern over the differentiation of the role of educators at the secondary level (Clark, 1984). These concerns relate to the special educator's task of coordinating the learning of vocational competencies in both school and community settings. As the role of the secondary special education teachers changes, so do the skills needed by the educators. According to Cobb, Hasazi, Collins, and Salembier (1988), it is no longer sufficient for secondary special education teachers to know only academic subjects. Educators must also have knowledge in the areas of (a) vocational preparation values and domains, (b) technological skills, (c) systems change and developmental skills.

A national survey was recently conducted to identify the technical assistance needs of individuals providing transition services (Burac, Maddy-Bernstein, & Bullock, 1994). Participants in the survey were asked to rank order the 20 components of exemplary vocational programs serving special population developed by Wermuth and Phelps (1990) based on the level of importance these components were given in their programs. All 20 components were rated relatively high, with the top seven including (a) academic and vocational education integration



techniques, (b) staff development and training, (c) work experience opportunities, (d) curricula used, (e) individualized educational planning, (f) intra- and interagency collaboration, and (g) job placement service. The researchers conclude that there is a connection between the exemplary program components field personnel deemed most valuable and information needed to be disseminated through technical assistance. For example, personnel need to be provided with techniques for integrating academic and vocational education, and methods to facilitate intra- and interagency collaboration. This connection between program components and skills needed by transition providers demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between program components and the skills needed by individuals implementing the program's components.

Wisconsin's Designated Vocational Instruction (DVI) model features personnel that foster collaboration between vocational and special education to better serve students with disabilities in vocational education programs (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1993). Eight categories of responsibilities associated with the DVI instructor are outlined in the model, including (a) communications, (b) administrative support, (c) inservice training, (d) assessment, (e) placement, (f) vocational and postschool goal development, (g) competency-based instruction, and (h) instructional support. DVI instructors are held accountable for the skills necessary to meet their responsibilities. Additional skills that impact DVI instructor's position include time management techniques and methods to foster effective advisory committees.

The Employment Specialist Program's (Granite School District, 1994) mission is to "provide opportunities for students that support movement toward successful transition into life" (p. 1). This mission is implemented by the Employment Specialist. The following 10 components are listed in the job description for the Employment Specialist: (a) assess student's vocational interests, (b) develop individualized student plan, (c) develop job sites, (d) foster community access, (e) implement career exploration, (f) develop job readiness skills, (g) monitor student progress, (h) collaborate and maintain public relations, (i) complete necessary paperwork, and (j) provide and attend training.

Asselin and Cook (1994) reviewed identified transition specialist competencies (deFur, 1990; deFur & Taymens, in press) to compile a comprehensive list delineating the roles of the transition specialist and the vocational special needs educator. The resulting role description formed the foundation for the Vocational Special Needs/Transition Specialist graduate program at Virginia Polytechnical Institute and State University. Seven domains of competencies were identified, which included (a) consultation/communication; (b) consultation/leadership; (c) individualized



program planning; (d) vocational assessment integration; (e) job development, placement, and maintenance; (f) direct service; and (g) program evaluation. These domains will be used as a framework for describing an exemplary transition specialist who incorporates competencies from the various job descriptions discussed in this section.

1. *Consultation/communication.* Exemplary transition providers have a good working knowledge of transition theory, resources, services, and policies. Providers are able to communicate this information to an interdisciplinary audience, including educators, students, parents, business representatives, and agency personnel. Transition providers possess good written and oral communication skills. Written communication occurs in written formats such as brochures, newsletters, and personal letters. Oral communication occurs during individual interviews, committee meetings, and inservice presentations. In addition, transition providers are able to continually collect and process new information to remain current in the field of transition.

2. *Consultation/leadership.* Transition providers assume the role of leaders in the field of transition by becoming change agents to advocate for the provision of transition services. Leadership is provided by collaborating with students, parents, and multi-disciplinary personnel to problem solve and overcome barriers to service provision. In addition to overcoming barriers, transition providers facilitate the inclusion of parents, related professionals, and students in the transition planning process. The leadership role of transition providers requires them to be good communicators, change agents, and collaborators. These skills are also used when developing and implementing inservice programs and supporting interagency transition councils.

3. *Individualized program planning.* Transition providers are able to coordinate the development of individualized transition planning focused on postschool outcomes. Their ability to assess student needs, develop appropriate transition goals, coordinate services, and host interdisciplinary conferences assures students of a well-planned transition program.

4. *Vocational assessment integration.* Transition providers assist in the interpretation of vocational/transition assessment information to parents, students, educators, agency personnel, and business representatives. Students are matched with jobs and training that are appropriate for their skills and interests because transition providers are skilled at using assessment information.

5. *Job development, placement, and maintenance.* In this role transition providers go beyond the school walls to provide services. These services include developing jobs, supporting students on the job site, teaching

job-related skills, and supporting employers and co-workers. Transition providers must display both teaching and public relations skills in this role.

6. *Direct service.* Transition providers support academic educators, vocational educators, agency personnel, and employers with technical assistance such as direct instruction to students and curriculum modifications. This role allows transition providers to use the more traditional special educators' skills of instructional techniques, behavior management, assessment, curriculum modification, and counseling.

7. *Program evaluation.* This role requires transition providers to evaluate individual student programs and schoolwide programs. Program evaluation is used to assess current programs and to develop new programs to meet the needs of students. Transition providers use the analytical and communication skills in program assessment.

In summary, transition providers must possess a diverse set of skills that go far beyond the typical instructional, behavior management, and assessment competencies taught in traditional special education teacher programs. Transition providers must also demonstrate skills in leadership, public relations, change agent, collaboration, communication, and time management.

### Effective Educators

In this section, competencies of effective educators are reviewed. Good teaching practices are germane to both regular and special education (Englert, Tarrant, & Mariage, 1992; Reynolds, 1990). Therefore, good teaching practices will be discussed in this section in relationship to educators, whether special or regular.

In an early study, Barr (as cited in Lessen, & Frankiewicz, 1992) summarized 153 studies that measure teacher success. Barr's summary listed seven trait areas related to teacher performance: (a) general classroom management; (b) general instruction skill; (c) scholarship and professional preparation; (d) general personal fitness for teaching; (e) effort toward improvement; (f) interest in work, pupils, patrons, subjects taught, and so forth; and (g) ability to cooperate with others. This 1948 study combined knowledge areas (general instruction skill) with personal attributes of teachers (ability to cooperate with others).

In his text on effective teaching, Ornstein (1990) suggests a relationship between effective teachers and effective schools. This relationship is one of mutual need and support. Ornstein notes effective teachers are skilled in classroom management, direct instruction, time on task, questioning,

comprehensive instruction, level of cognitive instruction, and grouping. However, to be effective these skills must be implemented in a positive school atmosphere that includes factors such as manageable class sizes, suitable instructional materials, high expectations for students, orderly school climate, positive school spirit, and supportive principals.

Reynolds (1990) uses the term "knowledge base" to refer to constructs, principles, skills, and dispositions needed by special education teachers. This knowledge base set of topics can be divided into three main headings: (a) legal and ethical principals, (b) curriculum, and (c) educational theories and systems. Legal and ethical principals reinforce the necessity of special educators to be versed in legislation and ethical issues in order to be able to advocate for students. Curriculum knowledge base addresses the educator's ability to modify instruction to meet the individual needs of students. The knowledge base in educational theories incorporates skills needed to teach and plan instruction, including: direct instruction, effective instruction, behavioral principles, classroom management, teaching basic literacy skills, teaching for self-regulation and strategic behavior, interactive teaching for cognitive change, positive interdependence among disabled and nondisabled students, social skills, working with parents, communication and consultation, assessment, and technology. Knowledge base competencies in all three topic areas are meant to be interactive and are not viewed as isolated skills.

In a review of the process-product literature on effective teachers. Englert et al. (1992) conclude that successful teachers can manage classroom behavior, academic learning time, lessons, and seatwork. They argue that the social constructivist literature helps to build the knowledge base of effective teaching by emphasizing teacher-student interactions, the quality of instruction, and the interpretation of classroom events. Specifically, educators need to use meaningful activities to teach, dialogue with students as a learning tool, use instruction that is responsive to students, and view the classroom as a learning community.

In summary, the effective teacher literature reviewed incorporates a basic set of knowledge base skills relating to classroom management, instructional techniques, and curriculum. Different authors expand this knowledge base to include personal attributes of educators; effective school components; and student-teacher relationship, instructional quality, and interpretation of classroom events. At times, the effective teacher literature reviewed borders on addressing the need to tie instruction into the world outside the classroom, or the role of educators as leaders. However, these and other skills needed for successful implementation of secondary transition programs are lacking in the effective teacher literature reviewed.



### Implications and Suggestions

Teacher education programs must incorporate leadership, public relations, change agent, collaboration, communication, and time management skills into existing programs if future secondary special and regular educators (transition providers) are to be prepared to meet the demands of their jobs and to provide transition services to students to assist them in meeting their futures. One crucial component that should be infused into secondary special and regular teacher education programs is the philosophy that education takes place in all types of settings in and out of school, and that education should be outcome-oriented to the future needs of students in their community and work settings. Additionally, workplace skills outlined in the SCANS report and Workplace Basics need to be taught and demonstrated to future educators to foster their ability to teach these skills to their students. Finally, future educators should be taught, as business is teaching its employees, to take an active role in the development and implementation of their programs. Goodlad (1990) made the following statement when addressing the changing philosophy in education: "Programs for the education of educators must involve future teachers not only in understanding schools as they are but alternatives, the assumptions underlying alternatives, and how to effect needed changes in school organizations, pupil grouping, curriculum, and more" (p. 192).

This statement is one of the 12 postulates laid down by Goodlad as necessary to building a healthy teacher education enterprise. Other postulates address the need to educate teachers to be critical-thinkers and to be able to contribute to the culture of their school systems.

Personnel preparation programs have begun to emerge which reflect the changing role of transition providers. These programs educate teachers to function as members of teams, provide leadership, implement public relation programs, broker services within the school and community, and become creative problem-solvers. The current knowledge base is not replaced but rather expanded to include these "new" competencies. Many innovative program components being implemented in Colleges of Education across the country, such as the ones listed following, are teaching educators basic knowledge about becoming effective teachers along with the skills needed to be effective transition providers. At the same, time SCANS type skills need to be embedded across curriculum.

1. *Interdisciplinary personnel preparation.* Educators from a variety of disciplines (special education, regular education, vocational education)



and adult service providers are to attend classes together, work on joint projects, and intern at similar sites (Asselin & Cook, 1994; Repetto & Phelps, 1992).

2. *Action research projects.* Interdisciplinary teams of educators work on joint action research projects by collecting data for a needs analysis, outlining and implementing an intervention, and analyzing the results. The projects are based on real classroom, school, and community-based situations (Smith & Stodden, 1994).

3. *Internships and practicums.* Educators intern in school settings, agencies, community-based training programs, and in business settings. Educators are required to have more than one internship or practicum in order to accommodate interests in other areas, such as business settings.

4. *Technical assistance.* Future teachers help to operate an information resource center, run by the college of education, that provides up-to-date information to educators across the state. Technical assistance is provided by answering questions on the phone, giving presentations, disseminating a newsletter, attending conferences, writing reports, and conducting research.

5. *Competency Infusion.* Professors and future teachers review the curriculum and course competencies to determine ways that workplace skills can be incorporated across the curriculum (Burstein, Cabello & Hamann, 1993).

6. *Interagency advisory boards.* Colleges of education have an active interagency advisory board to guide personnel preparation programs. The advisory board members are representative of school districts, businesses, all departments in the college, adult service providers, students, and other colleges in the university.

## Conclusion

Secondary education personnel preparation programs need to take a lesson from business and industry, and take a long hard look at how they are doing business by asking some tough questions. Are we preparing our teachers to have the skills they will need in the changing secondary schools? Has the knowledge base for secondary education teachers changed? If so, what additional skills need to be taught? What skills should secondary education programs be teaching students in order to prepare them for their futures? How do we teach our future transition providers to help students learn these skills? Is the structure of doing business in secondary education changing? If so, how should personnel preparation programs change to ensure that transition providers have

the skills they need to be effective? Should secondary education prepare students for their futures in the community, work, and institutes of higher education? Are all secondary teachers transition providers? If so, how can we best educate them for this role?

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# Societal Transformation: Ecological Issues Affecting Educational, Mental Health, and Family Systems

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## Abstract

This article addresses current trends and issues impacting educators and the populations they serve. Perspectives on the major societal changes occurring are presented from a mental health and family systems framework. Implications and suggestions for approaching these ecological issues and creating new delivery systems as we encounter the 21st century are discussed.

## Societal Transformation: Ecological Issues Affecting Educational, Mental Health, and Family Systems

As we close in on the final stretch of this century and begin to peer around the corner toward a new millenium, we find ourselves in a world full of change and multiplicity, exciting in some ways, but rather treacherous in others. We see a new and contemporary world where pluralism, consumerism, increased mobility, fragmentation, democracy, and increasing access to news and information is in; and where absolute truth, stability, traditionalism, and simplicity are either questioned or simply passé. These postmodern trends present us with individual and personal concerns we have for ourselves, our families, and the families we encounter daily in our work and in our communities. The major trends and issues affecting society include violence in the community, the changing family

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structure, increasing diversity in our culture, advancing technological development, and the shifting economic and political environment.

People in today's society are plagued by a ponderous paradox (Hayes, 1994). Individuals are at a juncture in history in which they are allowed the freedom and power to choose their own future, yet they are "powerless in the face of overwhelming economic and social forces to realize that course" (Hayes, 1994, p. 1). To Hayes (1994) it appears that:

Over the past century science and technology extended the lifespan by more than a generation and yet enabled death by mass production during the Holocaust. Handguns, which were used to "tame" the West at the beginning of this century, now are used by children to kill one another in a limited understanding of the exercise of personal freedom. No less amazing than the technology of destruction that proved superior in "winning" the recent Gulf War was the technology of communication that brought death "as it happened" into the secure environment of living rooms around the world. And psychology, which promised to liberate Everyman's understanding of the mind from biological determinism, is now the province of "experts" who vie for "market share" in the "health services industry." Meanwhile, psychobabble has become the language of choice for talk show guests that "share their personal stories" in an effort to "find themselves" before a worldwide television audience. (p. 1).

Given these great paradoxes occurring in every facet of today's society, what can educators do to effect change and empower people who live in a transformative world? The problems and trends will be presented in this article along with some suggested interventions, techniques, or methods to ameliorate the issues presented. In the pages ahead, it is also important to note that there may be more questions about the future and how educators can facilitate change. Oftentimes, it is more important to be able to ask the right questions than to have answers to all of the world's problems (Hayes, 1994).

### Demographic Trends

There has been a plethora of information written about the demographic outlook of our country as we enter the next millennium. It is important to reemphasize these figures because every 30 minutes approximately 250 new persons arrive in America (Blandin, 1994). Moreover, within the same 30 minutes, more dramatic demographic and societal changes are in effect. Specifically, 27 teenage girls will give birth and 16

of them out of wedlock, 85 people will commit violent crimes, and 50 students will drop out of school (Blandin, 1994). When the numbers are calculated at the end of a year, the results are staggering: 478,000 young girls are mothers, 1.3 million youth have committed violent crimes, and 1 million students are dropouts. It is important to note also that a disproportionate number of these youth are people of color. Understanding the person who is from a different cultural background than the educator will be an increasing challenge for future professionals in the field. These societal shifts and demographic changes will reshape the way we communicate and conduct our professional activities.

The population rates in the United States will decline for Whites in the next decade, but for people of color the growth will be steady (Justiz, 1994). According to the Bureau of the Census report for 1991, there are approximately 250 million people in the United States (Justiz, 1994). Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans comprise 25%, or 61 million of the inhabitants of this country today (Justiz, 1994), and are predicted to comprise 1/3 of the American population by the year 2000. Several authors (Dana, 1993; Henry, 1990; Justiz, 1994; Levine, 1990) noted that the following demographic changes either have begun or can be expected to occur in our country by the year 2000:

- The largest group of immigrants to the United States in the last decade, 43%, were Asians. It is calculated that this group will grow to nearly 10 million by the next decade and will make up nearly 4% of the total population. Asian and Pacific Island college student enrollment will grow at a faster rate than any other ethnic group, climbing to nearly 900,000 by the year 2000, representing 7% of all students in higher education.
- The overall African American population will increase 16% and total 35 million individuals by the year 2000. Most of the growth will be in five states: 3.2 million in Texas, 2.3 million in Florida, and 2.2 million in Georgia. African American college students will be the second largest ethnic group by the year 2000.
- Hispanic or Latino level students will become the country's largest ethnic group, but concurrently will be highly educationally disadvantaged. Approximately 40% of the immigrants to the United States are Hispanic. Overall, this population is estimated to increase 21% by the year 2000.
- Overall, Native Americans and Alaskan Natives have remained the smallest racial/ethnic group, approximately 2 million. However, this

may be due to under reporting by the Census which could be as high as 50%.

These demographic trends clearly point out the need for counselors, teachers, educators, and administrators to prepare their students, institutions, and organizations for the dramatic transformation in the societal framework. Mental health issues in the next decade also will have to focus on gangs, children killing children, and the death of grandparents or parents due to violence or drugs. These risk-related issues of death will need to be presented to future educators and mental health professionals so that children are given an opportunity to deal with their anger and frustration when they see a peer or parent succumb to community violence.

A chronological age issue impacting the people we will serve is the fact that they will be living longer. Today, 47% of our population are 35 years or older, 27% are 18-34, and 26% are 17 or younger. In other words, approximately two out of every three people are 25 years of age or older. By the year 2000, the median age is expected to be 40 years. This presents the counselor with the situation of having to work with persons who may present experiences from a chronological frame of reference as well as a cultural context. It is important to note that the increase in the youthful population is drawn from non-White groups, a population that will be educationally and economically challenged due to high attrition rates in secondary school. Furthermore, the "older" generation will be taking care of the grandchildren that were born to unwed teenage mothers. By the year 2000 more than half of all children will spend part of their lives in single parent homes (either single male or female). By 2010 married couples will no longer form the majority of households, and an increasing number of unmarried women will bear children. These fluctuating and tenuous societal situations have many educators scurrying to find a quick fix to the impending problems, rather than realizing that a one-size-fits-all framework needs to be broadened.

### Family Trends and Issues

The frenetic pace of today's Western society is largely based on the value we place upon time-saving immediacy, the push for more and better, and our emphasis on what we do, rather than who we are. It is no wonder that family members are faced with frantic and frequently conflicting schedules of regimented and chaotic routine, which often creates a struggle for the semblance of a shared life. It is not uncommon for us to complain about the ever-present time crunch, tiring schedules, and the fact that despite all of this, some families are only barely making it; not to men-



tion the regrets and guilt over missed events, postponed get-togethers and shared experiences with those we care about, miscommunication, no communication, loneliness and isolation. This sense of disconnectedness is rooted in the relationship we have created with time itself. In view of our chronic condition of time-deficiency, time has become an ever-present and desired commodity. Unless we begin to look at the demands we place on ourselves and why, it is unlikely that our chronic time-deficient existence will cease to exist.

*Demographics Related to Family Issues:*

Political and economically based transitions in the past 2 decades have considerably reshaped the family landscape in this country. In particular, family form and structure have been influenced by a host of factors including the feminist movement, economic insecurity, the increase in dual-earner households, more mothers in the work force, and the rising rates of divorce, single-parent households, remarriage, and cohabitation (Skolnick, 1991). As Walsh (1993) indicates, dual-earner families in the 1990s have replaced the breadwinner/homemaker model in two-parent homes. We use the term "dual-earner" to refer to a two-parent family in which both partners participate in the job market for pay. In two-thirds of all two-parent households, both parents now work (Hayghe, 1990) and this will most likely continue to increase as women of childbearing age continue to enter the workforce. The predominance of dual-earner families has occurred both by choice and necessity. Women have wanted to work, and they have also responded to economic necessity due to declining family incomes (Hayghe, 1989). According to the 1990 U.S. Census data, over 70% percent of mothers of school children and 60% of mothers of preschool children were part of this country's workforce.

By the year 2000, remarried families are expected to predominate as the most typical family form (Glick & Lin, 1986). According to Visser and Visser (1979), 1300 new stepfamilies are formed each day in the United States. This leads to approximately one-third of the population (33%) living in some sort of stepfamily arrangement (Glick & Lin, 1986). Adoptive families led by single parents and couples are also on the rise, as are same-sex families of choice (Anderson, Piantanida, & Anderson, 1993; Laird, 1993). In addition, it is not unrealistic for parents to be burdened with concerns over the safety of their children in today's world. It is not uncommon for caretakers to have a healthy fear that their children might fall victim to societal predators like drugs, violence, prejudice, and poverty, especially in situations where the parents themselves have fallen prey to these experiences.

Why are all of these statistics and trends important? Simply stated, these are the families we live and work with, the families we need to get to know and understand, and those that we need to include in our processes of decision making and professional practices. The very definition of family has a bearing on the way family policy is constructed and thus, on those we will serve. Current family policy rewards and punishes certain kinds of family forms, as it defines and privileges particular relationships within certain groups (i.e., separating children from significant family ties by not honoring informal adoption and fostering by members of a family's fictive kinship network) (Hartman, 1993).

The aforementioned statistics on family life reflect relationships and patterns we observe in families we live and work with as they are influenced by the political, historical, and socioeconomic trends in this country. As such, we argue that it would be troublesome to serve our consumers of service in ways that decontextualize them from these realities. Doing so would constitute ineffectual policies and unethical practice. As we propose planning and interventions with families in the next millenium, we concur with Walsh (1993) that it will not be helpful to view changing family forms as symptomatic of the demise of the family, but rather keep in mind that the critical difference between well-functioning and troubled families is found not in their form, but in the quality of their relationships and their adaptive processes. It will not be useful to prejudge or stereotype families according to specific family forms as we encounter their needs in our systems of service delivery. A view of these new potentially viable models for families in the future as adaptive approaches to family life can benefit the well-being of individuals and families in ways that may lead to new growth and transformation in our society of the 21st century.

### *Suggestions and Recommendations in Working With Family Systems in the 21st Century*

The aforementioned landscape of family life in this country will affect us personally and professionally. In this section, we would like to suggest a generalized approach of collaborative effort and inclusion as educators, practitioners, and administrators in the field of education, which may help direct our thinking and shape our practices with family systems in the 21st century.

In this postmodern era of change and evolving truths, Hayes (1994) suggests that we attend to our lack of secure intellectual markers by exposing our uncertainties systematically in an effort to restructure. This is especially suitable for school personnel to consider as they reflect on

how best to serve their students throughout the many societal transformations currently taking place. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss efforts toward educational reform in this country which that process of assessment may imply. However, as we consider the role of the family and family systems in the education of our children, we need to consider the value of alternative epistemologies and practices which may be more responsive to the educational and societal needs of our students and their families today.

We would like to propose that any attempt to restructure our educational system embrace the inclusion of families as active stakeholders in this process. The two key words here are inclusion and active. Our vision of "inclusion" presents school systems with challenges related to shared authority and responsibility as educators and administrators invite families to gain greater influence in their children's education. By the same token, as "active" stakeholders, parents and caretakers will be challenged to respond to these demands in the midst of their already stressful, time-deficient schedules. Are we hereby suggesting that families take on more by assuming greater accountability and say in their children's educational process? Yes, we are; we believe it would be too risky for them not to do so. Nevertheless, we believe that "collaboration" will be another key word in this process. An emphasis on the understanding of the relational and contextual factors that are central to both family and educational systems will be essential in this process. In order to work collaboratively, we believe that it will be useful to approach families from a resource-based, constructivist perspective. By this we mean that students and their families need to be viewed with an understanding and appreciation for their resourcefulness and adaptive qualities, rather than strictly focusing on those with deficiencies and problems alone (i.e., taking a proactive rather than a reactive stance). Furthermore, a collaboratively focused effort will alleviate overburdened school personnel and would give parents back their rightful roles as both become accountable for their child's education. The implementation of these ideas into programmatic efforts will vary and will depend tremendously upon available resources. We believe the specifics will necessitate the combined thoughts and efforts of educators, administrators, mental health professionals, parents/guardians, and students (i.e., all of the stakeholders in the process of educating our children). Pragmatically, this may entail the expertise of professional consultants and mediators as an initial step. Regardless of how this is designed and implemented, we simply suggest that reformers empower families as consumers by creating opportunities that enable them to become part of the solution rather than the problem. A democratic social structure based on constructivist thought, which blends



perspectives and resources from both, seems the most viable of epistemologies in this effort.

This will require taking a systemic view of families as part of, rather than separate from, our system of service delivery. As part of the educational system, resourceful families can be utilized as consultants to school personnel and as supports to other parents. It seems clear that school systems can no longer be burdened with the full responsibility of rearing students as they have in the last few decades. We realize that our belief of a collaborative process of inclusion of families in our school systems, as we propose, challenges long-standing, traditional epistemologies of education in this country. However, with the advent of societal transformation as we have described, and deteriorating conditions in our schools as we know them today, we may have no choice but to consider alternative epistemologies. We believe that one of the key participants in this endeavor will be the mental health professional who will act as liaison between families and educational systems. In view of the changing demographics and diverse family forms in this country, it will be especially important to train culturally sensitive mental health practitioners who can competently communicate and respond to a multiplicity of needs.

### Developing Competent Mental Health Practitioners

As mentioned in the demographic trends section of this article, our country is experiencing portentous societal variation. By the year 2020 the vast majority of individuals living in this country will be from diverse ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. Mental health practitioners are attempting to make the transition in their traditional models of counseling and therapy to fulfill the needs being presented by these varying populations. Woodrow Parker (1988) accurately predicted the significant future trends and issues facing mental health practitioners in this decade as (a) developing culturally skilled practitioners, (b) using non-minority practitioners in multicultural therapeutic settings, (c) attracting more people of color into the mental health profession (d) using nontraditional methods of therapy, (e) providing culturally relevant research, and (f) confronting the political nature of the mental health profession. These six areas are still significant and the need for accomplishing the tasks should be part of the goals and objectives for every educational training program.

### *Developing Culturally Skilled Practitioners*

Parker (1988) stressed that it was important for mental health practitioners to become culturally sensitive due to the influx of people of color



into our country, specifically, the minority becoming the majority. Thus, there is the need for therapists to be able to empathize and empower their clients. The overall implication for multicultural therapy is that this country is expeditiously becoming pluralistic and that mental health practitioners need to become aware, educated, and experienced with people of color so that they will become effective coadjutors (Parker, 1988).

The recent influx of Cuban and Haitian refugees to this country provides direct evidence that the decade of mass voluntary and involuntary immigration is upon us. The people of color who enter this country will experience culture shock due not only to a cultural transition, but also to the backlash from citizens in this country who frown upon their admittance. Mental health therapists will need to acquire the knowledge and skills to help these newcomers adjust in the American society, thus thwarting disruptive emotional states (Parker, 1988).

### *Using Nonminority Practitioners in Multicultural Therapeutic Settings*

The educational statistics and trends noted at the beginning of this article indicate that schools and universities will become populated with students of color. Therefore, educating the majority in the educational training programs to "become familiar with and sensitive to the needs of the culturally different" (Parker, 1988, p. 140) should be a priority. It will become virtually impossible for the White or nonminority mental health providers to serve only the YAVIS clients (young, attractive, verbal, intelligent, successful) who are preferred among most therapists, and not the QUOIDS (quiet, ugly, old, indigent, and culturally dissimilar) (Pinderhughes, 1989). Moreover, referring clients of color to other mental health practitioners or simply refusing to become involved (Parker, 1988) is not only morally and ethically irresponsible and problematic, but also is a sign of an incompetent service deliverer or clinician (Pinderhughes, 1989). This behavior will no longer be an outlet for nonminority therapists.

### *Attracting More People of Color Into the Mental Health Profession*

There have been many roadblocks for persons of color seeking admittance into graduate programs overall. This poor record of admittance may continue into the next decade. Parker (1988) listed three reasons why this trend may continue. First, low test scores and the racial biases of many university admissions committees prohibit many applicants of color wishing to pursue a degree in the helping professions to accomplish their academic dream. Second, the salaries in the helping professions are not

keeping pace with the more financially lucrative careers in business, engineering, and computer science. Third, students of color are sought after in the nontraditional academic arenas rather than the social sciences. Howard-Hamilton, Parker, and Sayers (1994) administered a survey to African American students who successfully matriculated through a graduate counseling program at a large public university. The purpose of the survey was to assess the quality of life for these students while they were pursuing their degree.

The African American alumni echoed numerous issues and concerns regarding their graduate school experience. First, the majority of respondents noted that financial aid is the most important type of assistance needed for them to successfully pursue their educational goals. Other types of assistance they felt were needed include: faculty mentors, assistantships, student support group, career assistance, research assistance, and presentation or consultation workshop assistance.

The respondents also noted that their negative experiences were the result of loneliness, isolation, and chilly classroom atmosphere due to the paucity of faculty of color and students in the program. The results of this survey have corresponded to the material found in several recent writings (see Astone & Nunez-Wormack, 1990; Morgan, 1992; Wagener, 1991; Wheeler, 1992; Wilson, Justiz, & Bjork, 1994) on recruitment and retention of students of color.

Attracting, recruiting, retaining, and graduating students of color are not mutually exclusive goals, but indivisible intersections (Howard-Hamilton et al., 1994). Recruiting and admitting a student of color means that support should be readily available throughout the matriculation process. Unhappy alumni may not be willing to encourage others to pursue a degree at their alma mater. Moreover, the department's reputation may suffer as a result of perceived insensitive behaviors. Many students of color would like to pursue or continue their educational journey, but have been hindered by Federal, state, and institutional roadblocks. Overall the extremely urgent need to find people of color to be part of graduate school programs in counseling and psychology will cause academic departments to be as ingenious and resourceful as possible to address and ameliorate this continuing dilemma (Parker, 1988).

### *Using Nontraditional Methods of Therapy*

Sue, Ivey, and Pederson (in press) have developed a Multicultural counseling theory to address the needs and issues people of color present to mental health practitioners. There have been attempts to adapt contemporary theories to accommodate the complicated and varied needs of

people from different cultures (Pedersen, 1991). The authors believe that, given the research abilities of the scholars in the field to study the needs of various cultural groups, a theory designed specifically for people of color should be a primary research agenda.

The Multicultural Counseling and Therapy (MCT) theory is one such research breakthrough that will accommodate the needs of cultural groups (Sue et al., in press). The MCT theory presents the following guidelines for multiculturally sensitive mental health practitioners to follow. First, the MCT is a metatheory that offers a framework for understanding the multiplicity of helping models that have been developed. All theories of counseling are culture-specific and the beliefs, philosophical biases, and assumptions must be made clear and explicit. MCT combines a number of traditional theoretical perspectives with a person's culturally learned assumptions and assesses the impact these views have upon the person. Understanding the differences among cultural groups is how the MCT theory evolved and became a theory in which life experiences and cultural perspectives of the client as well as other cultures that are beneficial to the client are appreciated and valued.

Second, the MCT stresses that the mental health practitioner and client should recognize that there are multiple identities presented in the therapeutic process because identity is formed through contact with family, friends, and other outside influences. The client's cultural history and background is dynamic and ever changing. Therefore, the cultural perspectives of the client will not be tantamount at all times during the therapy process.

Third, cultural identity development is a major determinant of how the client and mental health practitioner see themselves, see others, persons of the same group, and those from the dominant group. The cultural identity stage development progresses as (a) naivete and embedded awareness of self as a cultural being, (b) encounter with the reality of cultural issues (c) naming of these cultural issues (d) reflection on the meaning of self as a cultural being, and (e) some form of internalization and multi-perspective thought about self-in-system. Cultural identity development is constantly expanded and heightened for both the counselor and the client.

Fourth, MCT effectiveness is most likely enhanced when the counselor uses modalities and defines goals consistent with the life experiences and cultural values of the client. No one helping approach or intervention strategy is equally effective across all populations and life situations. It is possible to generate new theories and strategies by starting from a cultural frame of reference. New ideas from Asian, Africa, Latin countries,



and the Native American tradition can and will expand treatment alternatives, not only for people from those cultures, but for all others as well.

Fifth, the importance of helping roles developed by many culturally different groups and societies is stressed in the MCT. The conventional roles of psychotherapy and counseling are seen as only one of many others available to the helping professional, such as community resources which can enrich therapy. Formal methods in formal settings are supplemented by informal methods and/or informal settings as counseling is applied in multicultural settings. For example, talk therapy may not be the therapy of choice. Perhaps in the community setting, the client can heal himself or herself by working with a person who is experiencing similar problems and that client can begin modeling healthier behaviors, thus vicariously assuming those behaviors as well.

Sixth and finally, the process of *conscientizacao* or the liberation of critical consciousness is a constant dimension of the helping process in MCT. The emphasis is on the importance of expanding personal, family, group, and organizational consciousness of the place of self-in-relation, family-in-relation, organization-in-relation. The MCT counselor is constantly aware of contextual issues and the relation of the client to larger systems and cultural issues. There is often a strong psychoeducational component to MCT which finds that the role of the mental health practitioner often includes teaching the client about the underlying cultural dimensions of present concerns. The MCT therapist or counselor draws on both traditional western systems of helping and new and traditional European systems. There is always a constant attempt to adapt techniques and theories respectfully to the client's cultural background and special need; there is no end to development.

### *Providing Culturally Relevant Research*

There is a tremendous need to provide unbiased research on people of color because there continues to be a resurgence of literature that discusses the lack of intellectual abilities and cognitive skills among racial/ethnic groups. It is possible for White researchers to write and report culturally sensitive material that could educate their colleagues and support people of color. This issue was debated in a special edition of *The Counseling Psychologist* on White American Researchers and Multicultural Counseling (1993). A reaction from Derald Sue (1993) warns that "if we are to move forward, both minority and majority researchers must make a genuine and concerted effort to reach out to one another for mutual understanding and cooperation" (p. 245). He went on to state that White researchers must become aware of three salient issues. First, White



researchers must become comfortable with seeing themselves as White and realize that they may have adopted some racial/cultural prejudicial beliefs from their forebears. Researchers should refer to Helms (1993) and her work on White Racial Identity Development to gain a sense of where they fall along the continuum of racial awareness in order to further their own growth.

Second, it is important for the White researcher to understand how people of color consciously or unconsciously perceive their interactions with them. In other words, the White researcher must be sensitive to the fears, apprehensions, and feelings of minority researchers to them.

Third, there is a perception among White researchers that multiculturalism is an anomaly because it is a "hot topic," or they see it as an "intellectual curiosity, or an area of exploration devoid of humanistic meaning" (Sue, 1993, p. 247). Sue's final thought in this area is that multiculturalism is the study of actual human conditions and situations, which extends beyond theoretical and abstract ideas.

It also is important for researchers of color to realize that they too have a responsibility to study, write, and report accurate information. Several ideas in should be kept in mind (Sue, 1993). First, all perspectives, including Eurocentric views, should be represented when developing scholarly pieces. Second, oftentimes, people of color can be their own worst enemies when buying into oppressive views about their racial/ethnic groups. Third, researchers of color should reach out to other racial/ethnic researchers not within their own cultural group. Tensions and isolation between and among racial/ethnic groups could be escalated when researchers of color engage in ethnocentrism.

### *Confronting the Political Nature of the Mental Health Profession*

The fusion of demographic and political shifts that is occurring in the United States likely will have an extreme impact on the mental health profession (Arredondo & D'Andrea, 1994). Additionally, the initiative to make this country economically competitive must include equal opportunity and development of the potentials of all persons in a democratic society (Perry & Schwallie-Giddis, 1993). The mental health practitioner's role throughout this process is critical.

Empowering clients to reach their fullest cognitive potential should be tantamount as a tenuous political environment impacts everyone on a continuous basis economically, socially, and spiritually. Persons who feel powerless and lack societal support could succumb to alternative methods of survival or escapism, such as violence, drugs, and physically abusive behaviors towards themselves or others. Mental health practitioners

can act as political change agents through their relationships with the people they serve, as well as through their behavior as responsible citizens exercising their right to vote.

When an act of societal injustice occurs through the media or everyday interactions with others, the voice of care and compassion should be heard representing a different view from those who are being oppressed. Mental health practitioners have the power and knowledge base to enact change in a world that will be undergoing demographic, economic, and political flux within the next decade. It is the mental health practitioner's moral responsibility to speak up for underrepresented groups. What should be voiced, how will services be provided, and how will the conservative political environment react to the needs of the oppressed are the issues and questions that service providers need to begin seriously deliberating.

### Creating New Service Delivery Systems

Recent election results illustrate an additional societal transformation presently underway. In the face of the unprecedented demographic changes occurring in our society, Americans seem to be saying that it is time for a change in political philosophy (Arredondo & D'Andrea, 1994). Taxpayers are increasingly expressing resentment regarding monies spent on social and educational programs, particularly those which seem to serve primarily members of various ethnic and minority groups. In response, elected officials are promising to cut government spending for domestic programs and are attempting to offer "quick fixes" and "simple solutions to complex questions" (p. 23).

Within the context of the current political climate, there is a loud cry for us all, particularly those of us associated with the educational enterprise in America, to do more with less. We are being required to reach more people through our services, while at the same time reducing our need for support. This message is found by many to be both discouraging and challenging. While we may find it disheartening to continue to work with diminishing support in an over-extended system, as mental health practitioners we are challenged by the opportunity to call on our skills, experiences, and philosophical grounding to create new relationships with the people we serve.

Prior to the 1980s, health care, including mental health care, in the United States was provided on a fee-for-service basis, financed by traditional indemnity insurance. While this system sometimes was criticized for excluding those who could not pay, efforts to transform the system have been driven by a desire to contain costs. In the private sector, managed care is now an unavoidable reality.

As traditional insurance coverage for mental health services gives way to managed care, providers of mental health services are being impacted. It is predicted, for example, that practitioners will need to become more holistic in scope, emphasizing interventions that will effect positive change in the health of their clients.

Mental health practitioners of all disciplines also will need to reconsider their utilization of inpatient settings to deliver services. Empirical evidence is beginning to suggest that residential treatment for alcohol and drug dependence is no more effective than outpatient treatment. Thus, employers and third-party payors are no longer willing to absorb the price for inpatient treatment for these or other disorders. Similarly, payors are favoring brief interventions over expensive long-term outpatient therapy.

With restrictions on mental health benefits, such as limitations on outpatient sessions or inpatient days, practitioners are encountering increased competition for recognition as approved providers. In short, the market for individuals in private practice is declining. In order to continue to provide services for members of the community, practitioners would be well advised not only to market themselves aggressively, but to focus their energies on creating new delivery systems.

As the customary fee-for-service system is being transformed, mental health care providers "will do well to re-focus their attention on their original foundations" (Werner & Tyler, 1993, p. 690). If dollars currently allocated for inpatient and other traditionally funded services were re-directed towards consultation and education efforts in the community, a larger portion of the community would have access to appropriate services. Therefore, we would suggest that mental health professionals attempt to strike a new balance between tertiary and primary prevention. Given their traditional emphasis on human growth and development, practitioners trained in colleges of education (in departments of counselor education, human development, and so forth) should be well-positioned in this regard.

Many of the mental health and family concerns outlined earlier are preventable problems (Conyne, 1994), and would be suitable targets for systemic, primary prevention approaches to mental health care. Addressing mental health issues from a primary prevention perspective approximates the approach taken historically within the field of public health. Key to this perspective is the notion that mental illnesses are associated with "noxious agents" that stress individuals and family systems. Noxious agents generally can be linked to "toxic environments" which seem to be inhabited disproportionately by people of lower socioeconomic status. Citing evidence as early as an 1855 report by Edward Jarvis, Albee



and Ryan-Finn (1993) maintain that "poverty and powerlessness are major causative factors" (p. 117). Thus, prevention efforts should be aimed at decreasing the impact of noxious agents either by reducing the agents themselves, or by strengthening resistance to them.

In simple terms, the purpose of primary prevention is to forestall the development of new incidences of a particular problem or problems. Conyne (1994) has outlined 10 defining qualities to be embraced by mental health practitioners who engage in primary prevention. First, primary prevention, or preventive counseling, focuses on healthy people or people at risk. People must be reached before they have developed significant dysfunction. Thus, the purpose of primary prevention is to reduce the incidence or rate of development of new dysfunction. Primary prevention also should serve to decrease risk factors and to increase protective factors. Preventive counseling is ecological and systemic and is intended to be used with groups or identified populations. It is culturally sensitive, concerned with social justice, and meant to include minority group representation. Finally, preventive counseling is collaborative and empowering, affording participants opportunities for involvement while enhancing self-efficacy.

By focusing on primary prevention, mental health practitioners will find an expanding arena for providing services. Because preventive counseling is systemic and ecological in nature, it targets groups of people in particular settings. Examples include families, schools, churches, community agencies, business and work coalitions, and civic organizations (Conyne, 1994). As Werner and Tyler (1993) note, mental health professionals "can play a large role in helping communities solve their social problems by working to create an interdependent delivery system through consultation and education" (p. 690).

Proponents of preventive mental health care point to numerous programs which appear in the literature and include strong supporting evidence. Detailed descriptions of 14 effective prevention programs, each evaluated independently, appear in the casebook *14 Ounces of Prevention* (Price, Cowen, Lorion, & Ramos-McKay, 1988), published by the American Psychological Association's Task Force on Prevention, Promotion, and Alternatives in Psychology (Albee & Ryan-Finn, 1993; Conyne, 1994). The prevention programs presented deal with target groups across the lifespan, and include assertiveness training for children, adolescent substance abuse prevention, and heart disease prevention for adults. Three more recent prevention programs dealing with adolescent AIDS prevention, life skill development, and relationship enhancement are outlined in Conyne (1994). Additional effective prevention programs have been identified annually since 1975 during the Vermont Conference



on the Primary Prevention of Psychopathology, and since 1980 for the National Mental Health Association's Lela Rowland Prevention Award (Albee & Ryan-Finn, 1993).

Critics of primary prevention frequently question the reliability and validity of research about its effectiveness. Such individuals often claim that because prevention is carried out in natural settings, it is impossible to establish clear cause-and-effect relationships between service and outcome (Albee & Ryan-Finn, 1993). These arguments seem to parallel a prevailing viewpoint which seeks to align organic causes with mental health effects. As Albee and Ryan-Finn (1993) point out, opposition to primary prevention "is strongest from those who accept a disease model of mental disorders and from individuals who oppose social change aimed at the empowerment of exploited groups" (p. 115).

As noted, mental health professionals have a responsibility to speak up for those they serve, particularly those from underrepresented groups. At this juncture, when the political climate favors funding for research on biological rather than social-environmental bases of mental illness (Albee & Ryan-Finn, 1993), and when "many in need go without services because of the ways mental health dollars are spent" (Werner & Tyler, 1993, p. 690), there is a need to speak loudly in favor of preventive services. In summary, as mental health professionals, educators, administrators, and school personnel face the many issues that loom in the near future for our consumers of service, it would seem prudent for each of us to recognize and respond to our respective call within this collaborative framework.

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# A Higher Pragmatism: Assessment in the College Curriculum

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We assess our world as we live in it. Our abilities to pass thoughtful judgments, to draw reasonable conclusions, to establish a sense of what is worthwhile, and to understand what needs to be changed (and what needs to be conserved) are, in essence, assessment abilities. To assess the world is to think actively about it, to consciously obtain and interpret information about it in a manner that leads to some value determination. To assess the world is to also problematize it, to ask questions and gather evidence with the aim of making a qualitative conclusion. In the end, the manner in which we style our assessments will affect the way that the world is actually constructed. The very act of assessing (observing, measuring, collecting, interviewing) will always alter, with varying degrees of intensity, the thing being assessed.

The formalization of assessment in the context of schooling is something that was partly brought forward by the experimental temper of various progressive educational thinkers. The pragmatic tradition that blossomed under the influence of Dewey and others helped to set the conditions for the role of assessment in the school curriculum. The early progressives who worked out of the principles of American pragmatism reminded us that thought and knowledge were only relevant as action, as working power in the conduct of the individual and the society, and that truth itself was a tentative condition, always under inspection and always being tested by the consequences that it produced under real life conditions (Childs, 1956). Similarly, they saw society as an everchanging organism that required a vigilant treatment of its problems. Thus, they had few qualms about arguing for the centrality of rationalist procedures in the quest to enrich life. The sustenance and health of the society, they

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claimed, was dependent on a commitment to understanding the problems of present living conditions and this, in turn, meant that some method of intelligence or inquiry, qualified by democratic values, had to be found as a way to regulate, understand, and ultimately ameliorate present conditions. The present, in the custom of the early pragmatists, was "holy ground," to borrow Whitehead's metaphor (1929), that gave the past relevance and that provided the working conditions for a better future.

In terms of school education, the pragmatist's argument pointed to the need to deal openly and widely with problems, to see problems not as failures but as opportunities for improvement. This open regard for improvement or growth meant that some way had to be found to discern the nature and strength of the improvement. Thus, the idea of assessment appended itself rather easily and securely to the experimental orientation of the pragmatists. Questions related to how we shall know the overall value of the school experience or the overall effect of the school on student actions were of vital importance in this progressive tradition. Data derived from such questions help put the reform wheels into motion, giving the curriculum an impetus to change in manner that represented progress. Assessment, in this manner, held the key to allowing a new generation of progressives to live by the ideal of treating the curriculum as a working hypothesis.

The notion of assessment, however, also had support among advocates who believed that the role of school was to sort and slot the student population in ways that secured good and so-called fair occupational allotments (Broadfoot, 1979). Assessment was seen by such thinkers as a tool for operationalizing a social meritocracy that upheld a general sense of social harmony. Under such conditions, assessment mechanisms were largely reducible to the use of formal quantitative instruments that emphasized cognitive understanding (mental measurements) and agreed norms of social behavior. Many of these ideas came out of the early social efficiency attitudes embodied in the work of Frederick Taylor, Franklin Bobbitt, W.W. Charters, David Snedden, Albert Finney and Edward Thorndike (Kliebard, 1986). The role of assessment here was to offer fair meritorious judgments about who is more able and less able, and who is more suitable for a particular role in life and less suitable. Standardized, norm-referenced measurements, driven by the purposes of student selection and student certification, were inherited by the school from this earlier age.

Such a view of assessment has long been criticized as taking on an agenda well beyond its technical means and as leading to the condition of social reproduction and the crystallization of the status quo. In the context of such a criticism, assessment operationalizes an inequitable system that privileges the values and skills of dominant groups while simultaneously

stressing a fair and scientifically objective treatment. Assessment measurements, as the argument goes, always carry hidden or latent effects that influence how students view their own abilities and their own sense of self. Much of this type of criticism of assessment is carried by the passions of an ideological argument that is very much colored with a theory of social oppression. The message is that schools keep certain groups down and that assessment procedures are one of the main weapons used to secure the oppressing effect. Of course, the educational situation is much more complicated than this generalization might suggest. Assessment procedures have multiple and dynamic roles in the curriculum. While critics tend to emphasize the manner in which assessment results confirm stereotypes and predetermined expectations, they tend to ignore the manner in which assessment results might puncture such beliefs. Assessment results are mediating influences that might modify teacher views (and the views of other important curriculum determiners) in multiple and unpredictable ways.

Still, it is clear that the social efficiency tradition of assessment has prevailed in school practice. Among its legacies is an overt regard for matching specific behavioral objectives with quantitative measurements that are often viewed as being without flaw. The predominance of instructional strategies, such as competency based instruction, performance outcomes, mastery learning, curriculum alignment, and programmed learning has testified to such a legacy in the school.

The times, however, are changing and it seems clear that the old world notion of seeing assessment as preoccupied with quantitative truth and as being beyond the boundaries of reproach is now largely outdated. Assessment has had to come out of its old skin and find a new vitality under a decidedly different set of priorities and techniques. It has had to renegotiate its place in the curriculum in a way that allows for the exercise of teacher intelligence and in a way that keeps the educational situation in broad focus. It has had to, in effect, go back to the future and reexamine its pragmatic roots.

In this article, I shall discuss some of the fundamental assessment problems facing the curriculum in higher education and make a case for assessment in higher education from the standpoint of American pragmatism, arguing that methods of assessment are, at their core, methods of curriculum development.

### *The Problem of Assessment in the College Curriculum*

Curriculum assessment, traditionally, is seen as something that occurs at the conclusion of some area or unit of curriculum study. The curriculum

is perceived to be a kind of applied treatment that must be assessed in terms of its predetermined goals and prefashioned outcomes. And while such an aspect of assessment in the curriculum is certainly important, the progressive idea of assessment in the curriculum is one that is continuous and that, in certain instances, might be an initiating activity rather than a concluding one in the conduct of curriculum improvement or reform.

Assessment, it is important to note, is *of* the curriculum. It is part and parcel of the very essence of the curriculum. Questions related to what to teach, how to teach and why to teach (all fundamental to the construction of the curriculum) are always accompanied by a desire to know about effects; to know, for instance, whether or not certain methods of knowledge organization or certain pedagogic strategies met certain expected outcomes, or to know whether or not the very rationale behind the curriculum was justifiable in terms of its consequences in the lives of learners. The question is not whether assessment will play a role in the curriculum, but what its nature shall be. Ideally, of course, the widest range of assessment and testing techniques—including quantitative measures, essays, interviews, portfolios, and various performance and achievement exams—should be used in the curriculum. This multifaceted strategy toward assessment allows the curriculum to operate without being unduly influenced by the dominance of any particular assessment methodology—it protects, in other words, against the condition of building the curriculum around the assessment approach.

When contemplating the question of assessment in the curriculum, one very quickly encounters discussions about objectives and outcomes. The relation between objectives and assessment is rather strong, though not always healthy. The competency-based movement in education, for instance, took the idea of objectives and outcomes and produced a curriculum that was prescriptive in nature and that suppressed the exercise of teacher intelligence. The overwhelming regard for measurable outcomes in the competency-based tradition led to the establishment of a curriculum that reduced the actions of the classroom to their lowest common denominator. By virtue of elevating measurable products in the curriculum, competency-based instruction became mechanical, specific, and fixed at a low cognitive level. The same factor played into the popularity of curriculum alignment or curriculum mapping strategies, which supported the idea of fitting the curriculum into the mastery standards of the assessment program.

But the concept of an objective in a curriculum does not necessarily need to be seen in such a light. Objectives can be constructed for wide generalizability so that the curriculum experience is given direction and



purpose without being micromanaged. This is the orientation that Ralph Tyler stressed in the articulation of his famous Rationale and in the considerable work that he accomplished in the area of assessment. Tyler did not opt for highly specific objectives, as has been claimed by many of his critics, but for broadly framed and highly generalizable ones (Hlebowitsh, 1993). He openly stated that the formulation of objectives should account for knowledge, skills, and modes of conduct, such as thinking, feeling, and acting. And he conceived of curriculum development in terms that encouraged a reflective relationship between objectives and assessment outcomes, an understanding that helped him to advance the fields of assessment and of curriculum studies as few others have (Madaus & Stufflebeam, 1989).

To some contemporary commentators, however, the very idea of formulating objective in the curriculum is greeted with disdain. Perkinson (1993) has written a lengthy essay about the uselessness of objectives and purposes in the curriculum, stating that the presence of such tools in the curriculum implies a transmissive attitude toward knowledge. But even Perkinson admits the need for teachers to have agendas, and agendas, at least as most people understand them, always have objectives. Wherever there is an assessment there must also be a sense of what needs to be assessed, and to have such a sense there must be an overarching purpose or direction to the learning experience. It is difficult to conceive of this being accomplished without clearly stipulated outcomes and objectives.

In the context of higher education, it is difficult to make a case for the overbearing quality of objectives in the curriculum. Many critics, in fact, have maintained that college and universities have lost their sense of coherence and purpose precisely because of their failure to articulate clear purposes and demonstrable curriculum objectives. Criticism from conservative ranks, for instance, has claimed that higher education has squandered its historic mandate to teach the liberal arts in a way that informs the student population of its Western culture and civilization (Bennett, 1984; Bloom, 1987). These critics assert that there are no common goals and purposes to higher education any longer. But the loss of clear purpose in the higher education can also be traced to a growing sense of uncertainty among other segments of the society (Fincher, 1992). Business and government leaders, for example, have been questioning the worth and the practical significance of the skills that the average college and university graduate learns after 4 years.

In 1993, for instance, a group of university educators and business leaders drafted a report, entitled *An American Imperative: Higher Expectations for Higher Education*, that found serious fault with undergraduate education, claiming that many college graduates lack even basic reading,



writing, and computation skills, let alone skills of higher order and knowledge of more technical depth (Honan, 1993). The report reflected a genuine concern over the question of whether an undergraduate degree certifies even minimal competency of skill and knowledge, and whether the nation's colleges and universities have any unified idea of what they should be doing sense.

The problem of curriculum focus is apparently a serious one. It should be noted that even college instructors within the same university will have very different beliefs concerning what is essential to the education of their students. Patricia Cross (1991) reported the views of college educators from different disciplinary backgrounds and found that the subject area of the instructors very much determined what they saw as essential to good teaching. Teachers in math and science placed great value on the goal of "teaching facts and principles"; nursing faculty stressed the importance of "preparing students for jobs," while educators in the humanities emphasized the importance of "helping students to develop higher order skills." Thus, the issue of curriculum coherence is one that has to be managed both across and within college communities. Should, for instance, "developing higher order skills" among students be valued equally among faculty from all disciplines?

Of course, the calls for renewed objectives and ways to assess performance are not far behind these types of questions about the college curriculum. Increasingly, the parties calling for more substantive and focused assessment efforts in higher education are state education representatives who believe that information about schooling effects in higher education is a public obligation, a *quid pro quo* for continued public investment (Education Commission of the States, 1989). This press from the state promises to bring the discussion on assessment into the public eye.

This can already be seen in some of the more recent battles over assessment between the leadership at the state level and the leadership at the university or college level. In 1992, for example, the President of the Regents in Wisconsin wanted a random sample of college students in the state to be tested for their minimum competence in college level mathematics and English skills. Leaders at the University of Wisconsin objected to the request by arguing that the assessment instrument that the state wanted to use did not provide the kind of data that might be helpful for curriculum improvement. "We'll get a gross score and compare it to national norms," stated the vice president of academic affairs for the university system. But "the test," he continued, "will not help us learn to improve our curriculum or teaching methods," ("Campus Life," 1992). One year earlier, a similar situation occurred in New Jersey. The Department of Higher Education in New Jersey directed a random sample of

New Jersey college students to take a test that measured how well they think. Objections were raised at the college level over how the scores might be used, whether the students in the state colleges might be compared to one another, and whether, in the end, the curriculum might itself change as a result of the exam. The bottom line, however, as noted by the Director of Office Management and Budget in New Jersey was that "the state wanted to develop an idea of what it was getting for its money" (Groenfeldt, 1990).

These types of political showdowns indicate that there are serious problems in the development of assessment programs at the college and university levels. If the states are asking for accountability measures, it is probably because there are no data local available at the local college level. At large research universities, it is clear that curriculum assessment is not something that is practiced widely (Ory & Parker, 1989). Students in these settings typically will only be assessed at the classroom level. Of course, there is the usual round of standardized assessments developed in the area of judging a student's worth for graduate study (GRE) and in the area of demonstrating mastery of subject area knowledge for the purpose of course credit or course exemption (CLEP). Each of these tests, however, has a mandate that deals with the certification of competence or with the selection of students for special purposes. The broader question of instructional or curricular improvement is not a direct concern of such tests. ACT has developed a test that was more closely tied to the function of curriculum assessment by taking aim at the measurement of basic skills in the general education arena. The test, known as the College Outcomes Measures project (COMP), was designed to try to gather data on the measurement of general education outcomes in the curriculum. But generally speaking, the idea of assessment has been left to quality of instruction ratings by students and to surveys mailed to alumni about their general experiences in college. While there have been a few good national examples of comprehensive curriculum assessment at the higher education level (Ewell, 1985), the work in this area has by no means been exhaustive and has usually been limited to small liberal arts colleges.

The problem continues to be forcing the curriculum to take more seriously what it presumes to do. Where are the systematic assessment efforts, for example, in the area of general education? How does one know whether the highest ideals of general education, which typically make sharp reference to the skills of being a good citizen, are vital to the college schooling experience? As Astin (1992) observed, a glance at virtually any university or college catalogue will reveal explicit references made to the goals of citizenship in the institution's mission statement, yet it seems that few institutions take such a mission seriously in the development

and operation of their curricula. Some skills related to citizenship might be taught in a latent manner, but the issue of understanding the place of citizenship in the curriculum is something that leads us to contemplate assessment questions. Is citizenship a necessary or sensible goal in an already crowded curriculum? Where does it fit in the scope of the college coursework? Should mathematics instructors be concerned about such matters? The treatment of citizenship as an assessment concern is a way of forcing the treatment of citizenship as a curriculum concern. As Astin (1992) observed, "we often forget that the values of an institution are reflected in the kinds of information that it collects about itself and pays attention to" (p. 112–113).

It seems clear that the greatest promise for insight on curriculum effects still resides with the development of locally devised assessments. When one contemplates assessment as a local strategy, the question of assessment immediately turns into a question of curriculum development. In other words, the process of assessment is part of the enactment of the curriculum; it is a dynamic element in the act of curriculum development.

In elementary, middle, and secondary education, there has been an awakening of new forms of assessment in education, many of which have paraded under the category of alternative assessment. The new or so called alternative vision of assessment takes the question of instructional success in the curriculum quite seriously. It is less concerned about standardized forms of assessment that might lead to judgments about certification or student selections, and is more concerned about how the curriculum is served by the proposed ends of the schooling experience. Accompanying this new focus is a premium on nonstandardized group assessments, on multidimensional measures (quantitative and qualitative), and on the use of student folders, projects, conversations, and demonstrations.

But alternative assessment, as we know it today, is actually curriculum assessment as we have known it for years. As early as 1949, for instance, Tyler discussed some of the assessment opportunities available to curriculum developers within the framework of his *Rationale*:

There are a great many kinds of desired behaviors which represent educational objectives that are not easily appraised by paper and pencil devices. For example, such an objective as personal-social adjustment is more easily and validly appraised through observations of children under conditions in which social relations are involved. Observations are also useful devices to get at habits and certain kinds of operational skills. Another method which is useful in evaluation is the interview



which may throw light upon changes taking place in attitudes, in interests, in appreciations, and the like. Questionnaires sometimes serve to give evidence about interests, about attitudes, and about other types of behavior. The collection of actual products made by students is sometimes a useful way of getting evidence of behavior. For example, the collection of themes students have written may serve to give some evidence of the writing ability of students, or the paintings students have made in an art class may serve to give evidence of skill and possibly interests in an area. (Tyler, 1949, pp.107-108)

The point is that the idea of curriculum assessment has long supported an inclusive perspective on assessment, though in the practice of the school curriculum standardized measures have been dominant. Like alternative assessment, curriculum assessment takes on a role of diagnosing student strengths and weaknesses, and of monitoring the general progress of learning in the interests of making subsequent revisions and improvements not only in the stated purposes of the schooling experience, but also in the general methods used to give life to such purposes. The focus is to move away from student comparisons and to place the role of assessment into the function of program improvement. Thus, assessment under such circumstances is more likely to be criterion-based, openly testing for criterion levels of competency or mastery. Such a focus moves us away from the kind of assessment that is expressly designed to file students into categories or into a bell curve continuum that necessitates an above or below average standing. Curriculum assessment might also look to group standings on systemwide outcomes or to the effect of particular instructional treatments, as well as to overall student-wide performance, but it tries to keep a low stakes profile.

The distinction between low and high stakes testing is an important one. With low stakes assessment there is typically no standardization and therefore no basis for comparability. And with such matters out of the way, the concept of objective scoring and traditional concerns over issues of reliability and validity are less urgent, though it should be said that content validity is still very much a factor (Latting, 1992). Assessment, however, that aims at a higher stake (i.e., judging the worthiness of an educator, determining suitability for scholarships or admissions to prestigious programs) immediately brings questions of comparability, impartiality, standardization, reliability, and various forms of validity into the discussion. If teachers and other curriculum leaders, however, are going to take the question of assessment as a curricular and instructional concern, they would be served by thinking about assessment means that are closest to the hands of the student—that embrace stu-



dents products, student voices, and student interests. These efforts in the area of curriculum improvement, if exercised over a reasonable period of time, would likely be more valid forms of assessment than anything designed for selection purposes, but they would simultaneously be less reliable, in the sense that the subjective judgment of teachers—what they collect and how they respond to it—will vary (Latting, 1992). Still the use of internal forms of assessment allows for a sensitivity to local goals and local methods that are not likely to follow with external assessments. It also allows for a more fluid or continuous sense of assessment that is symbiotic with the curriculum.

To consider one example of a locally devised strategy, we might want to consider drawing a conceptual map of what one wants to accomplish with students over the course of their education in a classroom or classrooms, or over the course of their entire college experience. Figure 1 provides a sense of how curriculum assessment might be folded into the process of curriculum development. It is a working rationale for one classroom, adapted from Tyler's work, but it can be reconfigured to take on a larger focus.

The process can begin by trying to get a handle on the essential objectives and content of the curriculum. This proceeds by critically weighing the existing traditions and missions of the school, by accounting for any state mandates related to competency and content requirements in the course work, and by exercising professional judgments over questions of curriculum content and curriculum objectives. A progressive interpretation of professional judgment includes the organic consideration of the nature of the learner, the values of the society, and the placement or role of specialized subject matter in the educational situation. In the example provided in Figure 1, the curriculum identifies several broad objectives that might make some sense in a college classroom setting. For analytical purposes we will consider two: the development of communicative skills, and the development of critical thinking skills. Of course, other objectives might relate to aesthetic understanding; professional identity and professional knowledgability; social tolerance or social cooperation; positive attitudes toward the course, subject, or field; and so on.

But the curriculum must also offer a sense of what knowledge is most worthwhile. Educators also have to make these selections by showing a receptivity to the same factors mentioned earlier (traditions, missions, professional knowledge). In the context of higher education, decisions made on the nature of subject matter are based on individual and department decisions regarding what is most appropriate for a particular phase of the curriculum (general education requirements, specialized training in a professional field, and so on). Whatever the case might be, educators

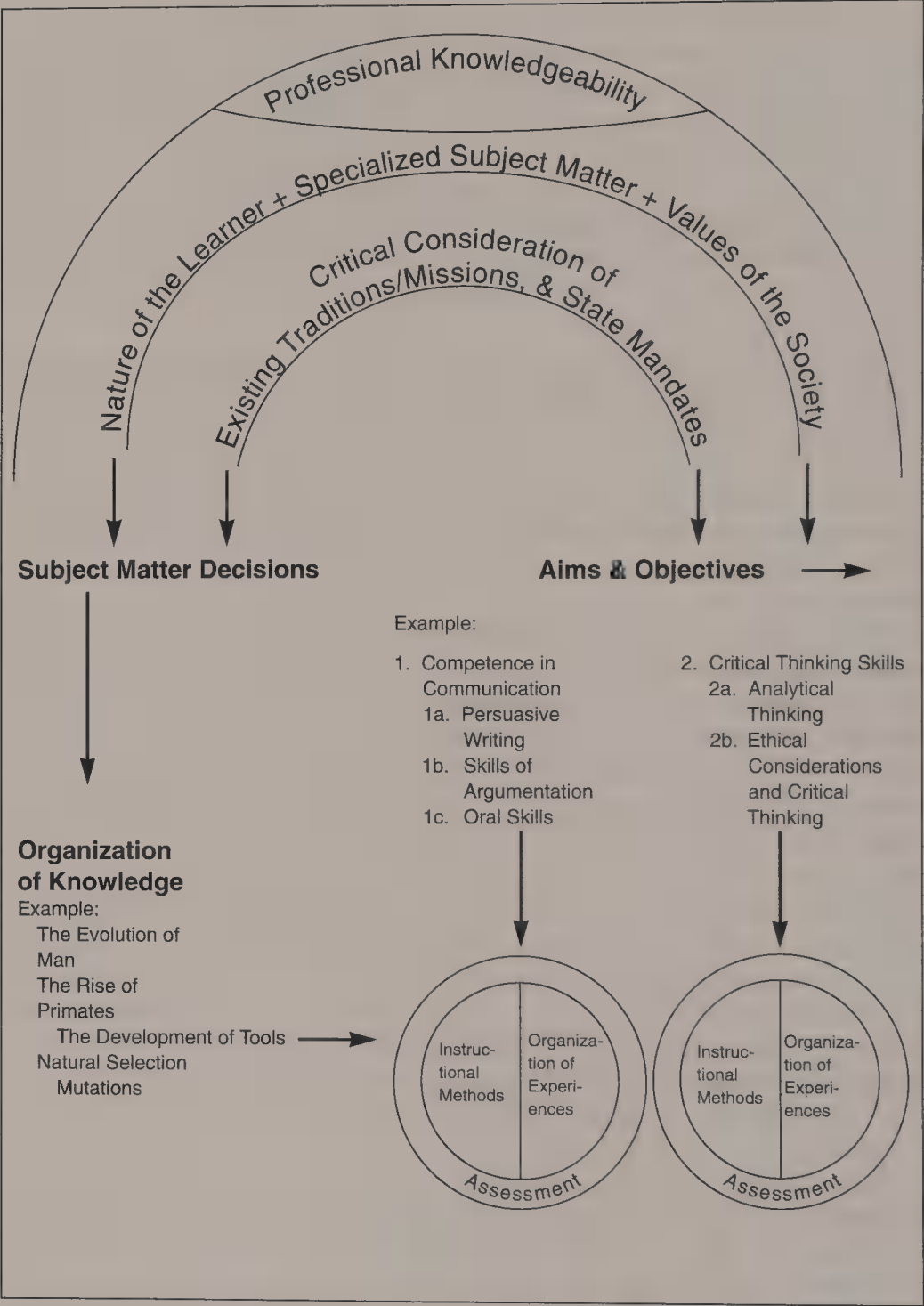


Figure 1. Curriculum assessment as curriculum development.

always have the responsibility to choose what needs to be emphasized, to decide how the subject matter is organized, and to eventually select teaching strategies that bring the subject matter to light in the classroom. The decision to articulate some sense of subject matter preference and subject organization sets a foundation for the construction of the curriculum.

The curriculum can now look for instructional direction by combining working curriculum objectives with a topical sense of content or subject matter. When the two are put together, the conditions are essentially set for instruction and for assessment. In other words, the very nature of instruction and of assessment will be defined by the convergence between what we teach (the content) and what skills or behaviors we want to develop (the objectives). As we look at Figure 1, we can say that in relation to Objective #1, a lesson or set of lessons needs to deal with cultivating communicative skills as they relate to certain facts and principles, which in the example given might include topics like natural selection, mutations, and the development of tools. Similarly, in reference to Objective #2, the educator is asked to offer students a way to deal with higher level thinking skills in relation to the topics listed. Knowing the objective and the content allows the educator begin to select an instructional approach that values a certain methodology and a method of organizing experiences, which also, it should be said, needs to be accountable to the factors of professional knowledgability. The assessment strategy follows in the same line. Thus, the question facing the teacher (the curriculum developer) is what kind of evidence can be gathered to demonstrate communicative competence and critical thinking skills in relation to the topics and knowledge outlined for the course. Tests measuring analytical skills could be developed and well as tests that get at the question of basic facts and information. Writing, debating skills, and various tactics of argumentation might also be assessed, using a wide range of approaches to shed light on these concerns. In this way the assessment is of the curriculum (of its objectives, its content, and its instructional strategy).

The results of these assessments are then used to renegotiate the curriculum, to reconsider its objectives, and the means used to achieve them. These results might also spawn a reconsideration of the assessment instruments, or lead to curriculum experimentation that could possibly show a clearer image of an emerging trend. They might also raise flags about certain problems in the curriculum that require further diagnosis or different sorts of assessment trials. More refined assessments that directly target phases of the curriculum (instructional strategies or other classroom actions) might also follow. Thus, the assessment of the

curriculum is intended to circulate insight about the value of various school experiences and the plans used to energize these experiences.

### *Reclaiming Pragmatism in Curriculum Assessment*

The nature of judgment under the principles of pragmatism always looks to action, to the adjudication of problems in the ebb and flow of life, to the signs of intelligence and character used in making decisions, and to the overall abilities of individuals and groups to control their own destinies in ways that secure a healthy future.

Dewey was particularly active in his efforts to work with a method of intelligence and character that might be able to provide some help to the schools. In thinking about such a method, Dewey revisited the essential relation between ends and means in the context of social institutions, noting that they were organic elements in the sense that means represented projected ends that were only relevant in the consequences of life. But the actions energized by the aims also had to be held accountable to criteria of worth. They had to, for example, be attuned to democratic principles and to the life of the learner. They also had to be able to accommodate change, to be suspicious of absolute truth, and to deal with the problem of ideologizing. It occurred to Dewey that the scientific method might promise to be helpful in securing these conditions in action. The scientific method, after all, abhorred certainty. It also aimed to test ideas in action, to project ends as actions, to elevate the power of problems or disturbances as the main forces in improving conditions, and perhaps most importantly, to represent a continuous system whose findings led to ongoing review and reconsideration in the light of further experiences and experiments.

Thus the scientific method became integrated into the idea of thinking about the whole curriculum as a working hypothesis. In this sense, the very nature of curriculum development could be seen as an act of ongoing assessment—the stipulation of actions that had to be tested in experience so that subsequent experiences might be bettered. Measurements, observations, and various methods of recording evidence obviously had a role to play in the curriculum, but it was essential that the curriculum be devised as an ongoing method of inquiry. The current lack of involvement by the college community in the assessment and renegotiation of its curriculum is, in a manner of speaking, a sin against pragmatism.

Another important principle of assessment that emerged from the pragmatists advanced an open regard for overt action. The lesson that the curriculum took from this was that its success had to be gauged more by behaviors than by paper and pencil performances. The dependent



variable for all curricula developed under these priorities would have something to do with the behaviors that students displayed when outside of the classroom or the confines of the school. Use of the library outside of required school assignments might be indicative of a thirst to learn and to inquire. Frequent episodes of recreational reading might be indicative of an appreciation for the written word. Frequency of volunteerism in the community might point to an effective citizenship education program. Ideas broached in classrooms, when surfacing in home projects and individual initiatives, might indicate an appreciation for a subject taught and an ability to integrate knowledge independently. Clearly, the college curriculum can benefit from assessments that are more closely anchored in the behaviors of students.

And finally, the value that the pragmatists put on the power of problems must not be lost. This means, for instance, that the goals for developing critical thinking skills should not be seen as less relevant in any one discipline, and that an essential linkage has to be forged between the curriculum and the struggles of living.

The college curriculum can learn something from these ideas. Recognizing the prominence of the learner and the society in curriculum adjudications would go a long way to bring a better sense of professional knowledgability to the classroom. Recognizing the priority to frame instructional units along a continuum that supplies highly generalizable objectives and a organized sense of what knowledge is most worth can give more coherence and purpose to the curriculum. And finally, placing the role of the assessment into the curriculum can bring a wide orchestration of assessment strategies in the classroom. Here the curriculum and the method of assessment breath with life.

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# Planning for School Improvement: A Curriculum Model for School-Based Evaluation

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*James L. Doud*

Sustaining or improving the quality of educational experiences for students in American schools has been a goal throughout our history. In earlier years, the public demonstrated confidence that educators would respond to quality concerns and would appropriately address whatever issues were of most concern within a school. For example, when the Russians launched Sputnik into orbit in 1958, education came under sharp attack. Subsequently, education received increased support for improvement (particularly in science, mathematics, and foreign languages curriculum and teacher development) and enjoyed a heightened priority within both the national budget and conscience. Educators were seen not only as the problem but were invited contributors to the solutions.

Education once again found itself the target of public concern following publication of the 1983 National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. This time, however, little confidence was demonstrated in the ability of educators to appropriately address the perceived problems and their opportunities to contribute to potential solutions were few. Education became a highly political issue, particularly for state governors and legislators determined to reform and improve schools. As a result, nearly every state has experienced a rather relentless onslaught of well-intentioned legislative mandates for school reform. Left in the wake of these reforms are increasingly demoralized school administrators and classroom teachers. This writer also believes that these actions are at least partially responsible

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for increasing difficulty in attracting and sustaining quality teachers and administrators in our schools.

One result of the almost relentless attacks on American public education during the past 10-15 years has been a serious decline in the taxpaying public's perception that educators are succeeding in the multiple tasks they have given to us. At least part of this loss of confidence may be the result of the inability of most school faculties to clearly identify and articulate the knowledge, skills, and understandings which they are responsible for teaching and to honestly and openly share with parents and their school communities how well they are accomplishing these tasks. Sharon Ward (personal communication, August, 1991) once stated to a convention of school administrators in Iowa, "The general public doesn't know where we are going. Therefore, the public comes in to tell us where to go." Sergiovanni (1987) suggests it differently: "At the very least, schools must have stated purposes, appear thoughtful and rational, give the impression of order and control, have sensible structures and procedures, provide for accountability, and appear certain in their actions" (p. 39). If our schools are to function well and be recognized as legitimate, we must provide our publics with evidence that we are successful.

One way to help regain public support and confidence, I believe, is to find ways to involve others in meaningful ways in the school decision-making process. After 10-15 years of legislated reform without achieving desired results, policymakers are increasingly turning to school-based decision-making as a part of school reform. Developing an individual school-based improvement plan, an integral part of every successful ongoing individual school improvement effort with which this writer is familiar, is perhaps one of the most promising and meaningful activities for increased stakeholder involvement.

The need for school improvement planning is recognized by each of the six regional accrediting agencies as a part of their self-evaluation and accreditation process. Such planning has also gained wide support among legislators and, with increasing frequency, is being mandated as part of state school improvement and/or accreditation legislation. Much of this legislation includes efforts to mandate expanded stakeholder involvement beyond just teachers and administrators. Florida's Commission on Education Reform and Accountability (1994), for example, mandates the establishment of broad-based School Advisory Councils and states:

Blueprint 2000 reinforces local control by supporting the authority of those closest to the students to determine the how of public education. A decentralized system gives schools and districts greater freedom to



design programs that better meet the needs of individual children. Along with this freedom comes responsibility, and the Commission encourages all local decision makers (parents, students teachers, administrators, school board members, post secondary educators, and community members) to become full partners in accepting and carrying out this responsibility. (p. i)

Avoiding the pitfalls of earlier school improvement activities, however, will not be easy. Leaders as well as participants in this activity must learn to function and interact more effectively in different kinds of leadership roles so that others feel free to become active participants in school improvement. Both must also learn about and apply systems thinking throughout the school improvement planning process.

### Systemic Self-Evaluation

The Elementary Project Steering/Writing Committee for the National Study of School Evaluation (NSSE) considered these issues when initiating development of a new self-evaluation curriculum model which a school staff and other stakeholders might use to guide the school improvement planning process within their school. They also agreed to some other basic assumptions that would influence the process. One basic assumption of this committee was that educators very often know what needs to be done (Glickman, 1992), but fail to act on that knowledge because of barriers which exist within the system. This committee believed that a process was needed which would systematically seek out existing knowledge and then find ways to use this knowledge to bring about desired change within the school. In response to a doubting public, they also assumed that school improvement which focused on student performance would be essential to restoring confidence in education. In addition, they recognized the need to identify desired results as the basis upon which student performance could be assessed and reported.

The self-evaluation curriculum model and activities developed by the NSSE Steering Writing Committee are described in the NSSE publication, *Elementary School Improvement: Focusing on Student Performance*. Since the original publication, the National Study of School Evaluation has modified these materials for use in middle and senior high schools.

On the surface, this curriculum model for school improvement (see Figure 1) appears simple. Individual schools, however, are extremely complex organizations in which individuals, groups, other agencies, and organizations interact in "thousands of interdependent relationships. . . .

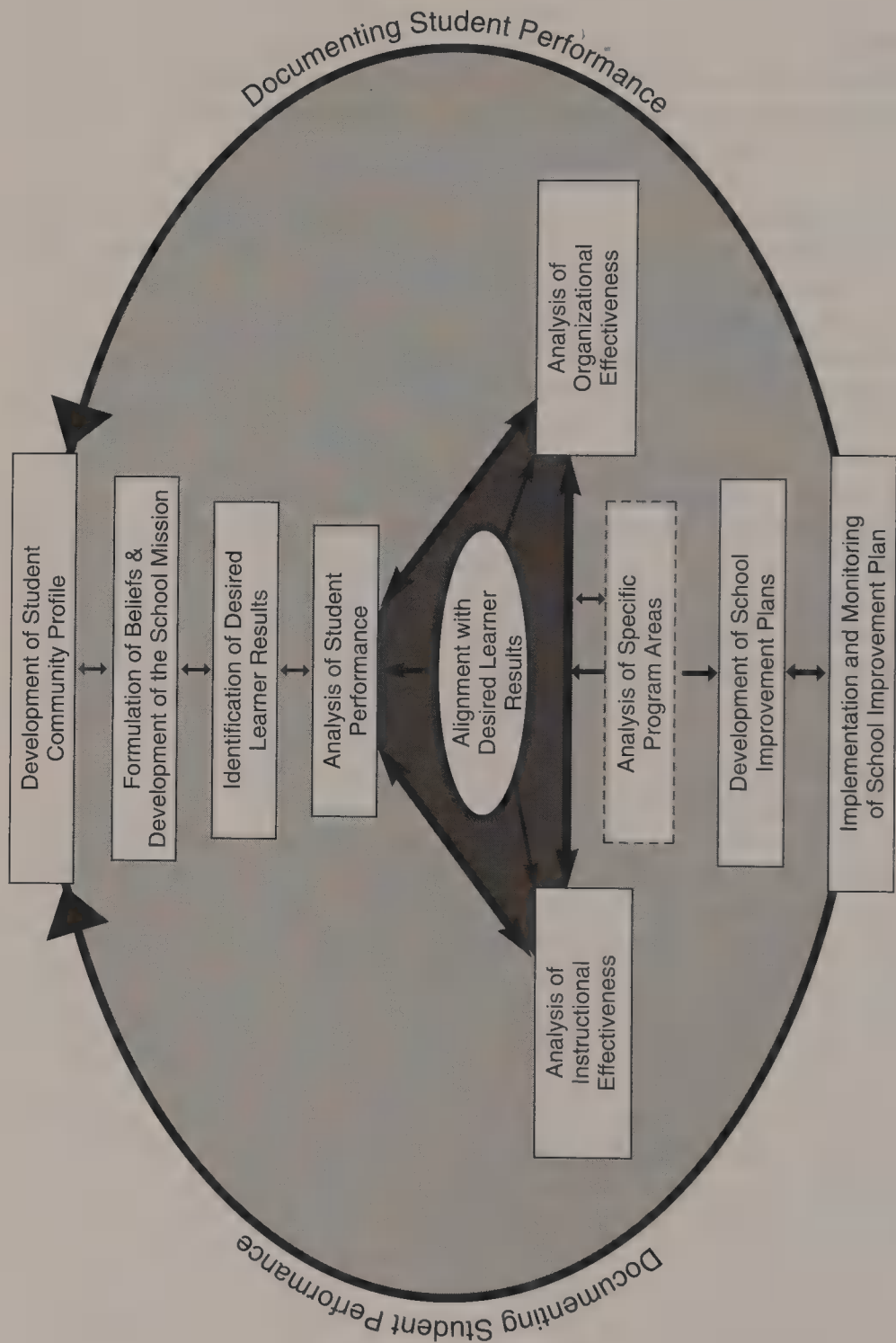


Figure 1. The NSSE Curriculum Model for School Improvement.

And the diversity of goals, opinions, and beliefs among these players is typically enormous" (Kotter, 1985, p. 23). Increasing the direct and meaningful involvement of stakeholders is believed to be essential to gaining increased support for, and greater commitment to, the recommendations and activities which are ultimately described in the school improvement plan. As a result, a committee of the whole structure for consensus decision-making is recommended. This process helps ensure that all participants enrolled in the planning process are more likely to be committed to the implementation of recommended changes. The definition of consensus found in the NSSE materials is "a decision collectively reached by team members after all have had an opportunity to influence the decision and all are ready to support it without sabotage" (I-LEAD, 1990, Module 5:10). Getting consensus on shared beliefs, mission, purpose (described as desired results in this model), and a specific plan for how that purpose might best be attained is generally regarded by school leaders as a monumental task.

The self-evaluation curriculum model described by the NSSE includes eight major activities distributed across five sections of the publications. Section 1 focuses on development of a student/community profile and includes the initial analysis of information upon which to begin to make judgments about student performance levels within the school. Section 2 identifies two activities: (a) formulation of shared beliefs followed by (b) development of a specific mission statement for the school. In Section 3, participants are engaged in activities which lead to the identification of desired results. Section 4 guides participants through three major activities: (a) an analysis of the extent to which effective instructional and organizational practices are implemented in the school, (b) the gathering of additional data which describe student performance in each of the desired results areas, and (c) activities which analyze and describe the extent to which these instructional and organizational practices are aligned with student achievement of desired results. Section 5 focuses on activities which result in development of a specific school improvement plan which is dependent only upon the resources available within the school. Once this initial cycle of activities is completed, documentation of student performance that enables the school staff to assess the impact of the plan is initiated as a ninth, on-going activity. Using this documentation, the prescribed interventions may be modified whenever they are not contributing to desired performance results. The headings used in this article reflect the titles of the five sections found in each of the three levels of the NSSE *School Improvement: Focusing on Student Performance* publications.

This systemic self-evaluation model calls for considerably increased stakeholder involvement in activities for which most stakeholders have

little preparation. Opportunities to learn effective interaction skills and to develop facilitation skills among the participants are essential to making this process work. Such skills require time, and attempts to short-circuit the process will almost certainly diminish the potential benefits that should accrue. It is not unreasonable to allow a minimum of 2 years for the initial self-evaluation, particularly in those schools where there has been little or no previous stakeholder involvement nor *school level participation* in the identification of shared beliefs, mission, or specific desired results. Where broad stakeholder involvement in such activities has been the practice, the process may take less time.

Studying the community and students served by the school provides a vehicle to begin to learn the skills that will be used throughout the self-evaluation process. Completing this activity first also ensures that everyone involved in the school improvement process has an equal understanding of the students and community served by the school.

#### *Development of the Student/Community Profile*

The primary outcome of this section is a brief, narrative profile which clearly describes both the community and students served by the school. It is during this stage that the stakeholders begin to experience full enrollment in identifying the things which will be included in the profile. Because the focus of the school improvement plan is to be on improved student performance, stakeholders are asked to focus on the identification and description of those kinds of information that are most likely to impact student performance. They are asked to consider a wide variety of information, most of which is readily available within the individual school, central office of the school district, Chamber of Commerce, local city offices, and/or the local library.

In describing the community served, most profiles are likely to include data about such things as racial and ethnic diversity within the community and levels of parent education, employment, and income. It is also likely that aspects of the broader school district community such as housing starts, employment opportunities, and the recent trends in growth or decline which have had an impact on the school should be described.

In describing the students served by the school, most profiles are likely to focus on such issues as diversity within the student population, recent trends in student performance on measures available to the school (disaggregated where appropriate), future projections that might be supported by recent trends, measures of student satisfaction, the extent to which children are involved in co-curricular activities, and parental aspirations for their children.



There are a number of other factors which are likely to impact student performance within the school that should also be examined and considered for inclusion in the student/community profile. These factors include measures of school climate, experience and training levels of teachers, professional development opportunities for staff, curriculum offerings and levels of support for instructional materials, externally imposed standards on the school, length of the school day and year, and measures of teacher satisfaction within the school.

The profile which is developed should present more than an accurate and current "narrative photograph" of the students and community served by the school. It should also include information which contributes to a "narrative video" of the recent history and immediate projections of factors which need to be considered in planning for school improvement.

All stakeholders should be involved in identifying the specific areas to be addressed in the profile and should also participate in consensus approval of the final product. It is recommended that subcommittees do much of the developmental work on the profile between meetings of the committee of the whole, but the final profile should be one which represents consensus of all stakeholders.

The completed profile provides a common foundation upon which to build a school improvement plan. This profile also provides data for a variety of other public information releases related to the school. Understandings generated by this profile should also help trigger development of beliefs and mission statements appropriate for this particular school.

### *Formulation of Beliefs and Development of the Mission Statement*

Completion of these two tasks helps stakeholders begin to envision what can and should occur for the students in their school. While many of the school improvement strategies employed in recent years have focused on the importance of the development of a succinct mission statement, few have given similar attention to the development of shared beliefs.

Beliefs are expressions of the driving value structure within the school. They represent the moral and ethical priorities that guide all the activities of the organization. Beliefs are evident in daily practices and are powerful determinants of quality and productivity within the school. Like "mental models" (Senge, 1990), "paradigms" (Barker, 1989) and "frames" (Bolman & Deal, 1991), beliefs influence what we see, how we interpret that information, and the actions we choose to take. When individuals are unaware of their beliefs, "new insights fail to get put into

practice because they conflict with deeply held internal images of how the world works, images that limit us to familiar ways of thinking and acting" (Senge, 1990, p. 174). "The inertia of deeply entrenched mental models can overwhelm even the best systematic insights" (Senge, 1990, p. 178).

Educators need to spend time examining personal beliefs about teaching and learning and testing these beliefs against current evidence about effective teaching and learning. Such examination can uncover beliefs that are inconsistent with the evidence about effective practice, open new understandings about others with whom you work, and lead to consensus on a set of shared beliefs that might have a positive influence on student performance. This activity can make substantial contributions to personal and organizational growth. It is also likely to have a major impact on the daily behaviors of both adults and students within the school.

Stakeholders in the school are encouraged to identify and discuss both strengths and limitations in the application of best practices within the school. Because the number of potential belief areas is quite large, stakeholders are encouraged to specifically identify a reasonable number (no more than 12) of shared beliefs which they judge might have the greatest potential for contributing to improved student performance within the school. Throughout this activity, it is important to help participants learn to inquire into the beliefs of others *before* making judgments about them. Senge (1990) describes the difference between discussion and dialogue, suggesting that dialogue is an essential part of the discipline of team learning. Facilitators of this process are advised to become familiar with this difference and with procedures that they might employ to encourage dialogue.

Since shared beliefs need to be ones to which there is full conviction and commitment, it is important not to leave this activity without asking each participant to address how their personal role and/or classroom would be different if each of the belief statements they have developed were *fully implemented* the next day. This activity will identify specific actions which each individual can take immediately, and could also suggest activities which might later be considered in the development of the school improvement plan.

Once shared beliefs have been agreed upon, stakeholders are asked to use the key words and phrases from these beliefs in development of the school's mission statement. The mission statement should express the ideals toward which everyone in the school strives.

The combination of beliefs and mission statement begins to give substance to a vision of what the school can and will be. Identification of desired results which students should be able to demonstrate upon exit from the school will add further substance to this vision.

### *Identification of Desired Results*

Desired results are statements of the knowledge, skills, and understanding students should possess when they exit from the individual school. Like aims and goals of education found in earlier years, they are written as broad statements of intent that help teachers, students, and parents understand what types of learning experiences children will experience in the school and why they are judged appropriate. It is important that the number of desired results be limited (to perhaps no more than six) so that the energies of stakeholders are consistently focused on their accomplishment.

It is important to the school improvement process that there be broad stakeholder involvement in the identification of desired results. Such involvement helps assure that all stakeholders fully understand the expectations for which they will be held accountable, and that there is general agreement about the measures that will be applied in determining the extent to which students succeed in their accomplishment.

Once desired results are agreed upon, the improvement process moves to activities which are designed to determine an honest, realistic assessment of current reality within the school.

### *Analysis of Instructional and Organizational Effectiveness*

The title of this heading in the curriculum materials does not adequately describe the extent of the activities to be accomplished. Section 4 involves three separate, but related, activities.

The first activity involves only the school faculty and other adult stakeholders who have knowledge of the day-to-day instructional program within the school. These participants are asked to complete assessment instruments in which they judge the extent to which specific instructional and organizational practices are evident within the school. The specific practices identified in these instruments represent those supported by research on effective instruction and judged effective by educational professionals.

There are at least three reasons for administering these checklists. First, the comprehensiveness of the lists provides an awareness-building, professional development opportunity for faculty who may not be familiar with the effective schools research. Second, the consensus dialogue which follows the individual ratings provides an opportunity to clarify issues and gain understanding about the instructional and organizational practices used within the school. In addition, these activities help participants identify those practices which are most or least evident within their school, and stimulate discussion about practices that might be implemented or changed in order to increase student productivity.



The second activity, a search for specific information that will help document student performance in each of the identified desired results areas, should be initiated as quickly as possible following identification of desired results. There are two major goals of the activities associated with documenting student performance. First, the search for appropriate measures of student performance should stimulate discussion of additional, alternative ways of assessing student performance. Second, data are developed which document current student baseline performance in each of the desired results areas. This same data will be used in the future to help document changes in student performance levels that might result from implementation of the school improvement plan.

In the third activity, participants are asked to consider the extent to which current instructional and organizational practices effectively support the achievement of the agreed-upon desired results. In doing this, stakeholders are asked to identify strengths and weaknesses and to support these judgments with specific evidence from their study of the instructional and organizational practices. They are encouraged to publicly acknowledge and celebrate their strengths (as suggested by the greatest degree of alignment), and to identify their weaknesses (areas in least alignment) as potential target areas for which specific plans for improvement might be developed in the activities that follow.

### *Development of the School Improvement Plan*

When developing a site-based plan for school improvement, stakeholders begin with a review and clustering of related weaknesses into potential target areas for which specific school improvement activities might be identified. These target areas should be studied both for their potential relationship with one another and for their potential to have the greatest impact on improved student performance throughout the school. To help keep a focus on the need for improved student performance, stakeholders should identify the desired results most closely associated with each target area. Those target areas which are believed to impact the most desired results areas are likely to be selected for inclusion in the school improvement plan.

The writer's personal experience with school improvement plans in the past have too frequently fallen short of expectations. Reflecting on these situations, one or more of the following became evident: (a) the improvement plan isolated symptoms of the problems rather than the systemic nature of the problem; (b) so many specific items were identified for improvement and so few obviously accomplished that staff members believed that little or nothing was accomplished as a result of their self-



evaluation and school improvement efforts; (c) the plan for improvement included resources over which the school had no control, thus providing a convenient (and perhaps legitimate) excuse for the absence of accountability; and (d) it was assumed that the identified improvement projects would be completed within the time frame of one school year, making it impossible to institutionalize even the most desirable changes.

The unrealistic timelines generally proposed in school improvement plans were reinforced by a principal colleague, Doug Gowler (personal communication, 1985), who once told this writer that converting an individual's chronological age into months (e.g., 50 years = 50 months) is about how long it takes that person to truly change his or her personal behavior. Although unaware of research to support this formula, reflection on 34 years of personal leadership responsibilities reinforces the wisdom of this "rule of thumb" for dealing with change. Applied to the average age of the staff of most schools throughout the country, this formula would support the need to work consistently on changing important teacher behaviors for a period of 3 or more years.

Given these experiences, the NSSE curriculum model for school improvement (a) identifies a systematic approach to targeting school improvement activities, (b) recommends that the improvement plan address no more than 3-5 target areas, (c) restricts interventions in the plan to the use of resources which are known to and controlled by the local school; and (d) encourages development of plans which focus on the development and reinforcement of instructional and organizational practices which become institutionalized throughout a time frame of no less than 3 years. An additional "wish list" identifies resources that the stakeholders believe would enhance the specific school improvement activities which have been included in the school's improvement plan. Until such time as these additional resources are guaranteed to the school, however, they are not considered in the improvement plan.

Once the school improvement plan has received consensus approval and is implemented, on-going monitoring of the plan is initiated. Such monitoring includes (a) the identification of baseline student performance data, (b) implementation of appropriate assessment practices to monitor changes in student performance, (c) at least annual adapting of the plan if desired improvement in student performance is not evident, and (d) frequent reporting of student performance results to all stakeholders.

### Conclusion

The school improvement planning process which has been described incorporates many elements of lessons learned from the school improve-

ment activities of recent years. Instead of focusing on individual program areas within a school, it places primary focus on overall student performance. It addresses the need for appropriate involvement of educators along with local stakeholders (without whose support many previous school improvement efforts have failed) in an attempt to honestly and openly identify and articulate the knowledge, skills and understandings which teachers are supposed to teach and children are supposed to learn. It has great potential for more appropriate redress of educational concerns at local, state, and national levels through the application of systemic thinking and recent knowledge about change. It places responsibility for school improvement planning and accountability for such improvement at the local school site.

Dr. Sam Sava, Executive Director of the National Association of Elementary School Principals, captures these ideas in his Preface to the NSSE *Elementary School Improvement: Focusing on Student Performance* (1994):

These and other measures guide the school in formulating its own unique improvement plan, one that aligns instructional and organizational practices with expected results and—instead of pursuing an “ideal” model—shapes a conscious effort to make *this* school in *this* community, with *this* staff, budget, and student body, the finest it can be. In a nation as diverse as ours, such site-based change could not come at a more opportune time. (p. vi)

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# Education and the Liberal-Communitarian Debate

Issue Editors:  
Paul Theobald  
Dale T. Snauwaert



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# Editors' Introduction

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Dale T. Snauwaert  
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There is a persistent debate in the history of political and educational philosophy between the imperatives of individuality and those of community; this debate reflects the fundamental tension between the needs, desires, rights, and duties of the individual qua individual and those of the individual as a member of a community. Are we individuals first and foremost? Or is our identity inseparable from the community and its traditions? In the past decade, this tension has given rise to what is commonly referred to as the communitarian-liberal debate. It is the goal of this theme issue of the *Peabody Journal of Education* to explore this debate with particular attention to its educational implications.

The tension between individuality and communalism is played out in many arenas, quite prominently in the realm of morality. In the moral arena this tension manifests in debate concerning both the metaethical grounding of morality and the fundamental rights and responsibilities that pertain to individuals and communities. Liberals maintain that moral principles are universal in the sense that they transcend the traditions of particular communities and apply to all individuals equally. A prominent example is Kant's Categorical Imperative. Liberal morality is thus grounded in universal, a priori principle. In contrast, communitarians maintain that morality is grounded in the particulars of human association, that it is based upon the customs inherent in the traditions of the community. In addition, liberal morality is deontological in the sense that it does not presuppose any particular conception of the good life whereas communitarian ethics derives its precepts from the existence of a concep-

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tion of the good life implicit (or explicitly stated) in the traditions of the community. Finally, being deontological liberal, morality is individualistic, in the sense that its principles are designed to protect the individual's right to define and pursue his or her own conception of the good life. The individual does not have a responsibility to the community per se but only to other individuals in terms of respect for their equal right to define and pursue their own good. However, liberal morality does mandate the distribution of social goods that result from cooperative interaction in order to ensure an equal opportunity for all members to fulfill their life plan. In contrast, communitarians, who posit particular visions of the good life, maintain that individuals do have a responsibility to serve the common good, however defined by the particular tradition. This common good in many cases has priority over any individually conceived good.

Politically, therefore, there is an emphasis in liberal political philosophy on the establishment and protection of individual rights and the distribution of social goods consistent with the principle of equal opportunity. In contrast, communitarian political philosophy gives priority to the common good. Politics concerns, not the protection of individual rights, but positive service to the common good and the communal purposes defined by the community's tradition. The contrast here is between the fundamental purpose of politics: one to serve and protect individuals, the other to serve and protect the community.

In terms of their social theory, liberals maintain that individuals ontologically precede and exist independently of their community. This independence is so fundamental that it entitles the individual to a zone of privacy which is free from communal interference and/or intervention. In contrast, communitarians maintain that individual identity is formed out of social life. We are deeply and fundamentally interconnected with our communities to such a degree that our identity is socially constructed. From the communitarian perspective, the duality between individual and community is unified in the web of relations that constitutes communal life.

Educationally the liberal-communitarian debate centers on the contrast between preparation for the fulfillment of individual life plans versus preparation to meet the collective needs of the community. The fundamental purpose of communitarian education is the transmission of the cultural heritage, and with it enculturation into an ethic of association wherein there are fundamental obligations to the common good. In contrast, the fundamental purpose of liberal education is preparation for defining and pursuing one's own conception of the good life and with it enculturation into an ethic of tolerance wherein there is respect for the equal rights of others.

The articles that comprise this special issue of the *PJE* discuss many of



these conflicts between liberal and communitarian thought, especially as they affect education. Theobald and Dinkelman begin the issue with an article which provides an extended discussion of the parameters of the liberal-communitarian debate. They put forth a sympathetic reading of the communitarian critique of liberalism and discuss its implications for school reform.

Connell explores the communitarian dimensions of the thought of the early 20th-century feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman as expressed in her utopian novel *Herland*. Connell argues that, while cognizant of the tensions between individual and community, Gilman's central project is the creation of a genuine sense of community based upon the values of care and cooperation. Gilman's and Connell's sensitivity to the importance of gender in relation to community is an important contribution to communitarian theory.

Feinberg discusses the liberal-communitarian debate from the perspective of moral philosophy. His central concern is the adequacy of both liberal and communitarian moral thought. He maintains that both perspectives have strengths as well as weaknesses, and argues that a reconciliation between them ultimately hinges on the development of a set of criteria for determining what conditions merit special support for maintaining and reproducing the unique identity of particular cultures in the context of a culturally heterogeneous society, a support stronger than that mandated by the liberal principle of free association.

Semel and Sadovnik focus on the fundamental tension between the individual and the community as it manifests in the philosophy and practice of three progressive schools in New York City. Their historical case studies of private, progressive education in New York clearly demonstrate the tension between the liberal and communitarian dimensions of progressive education, a tension that is implicit in both progressive educational theory and practice. They also provide us with an important historical discussion of the relationship between community and education in an urban context.

Johnson connects contemporary communitarian ideas to the agenda of the late 19th-century populist movement and demonstrates how the populist educational agenda provides an historical example of the implementation of communitarian educational theory. The populist movement as an example of communitarianism brings forth an important instance of a democratic form of communitarianism, highlighting a fundamental relationship between community and democratic practice.

Drawing on literature and literary theory, in particular Barbara Kingsolver's *Animal Dreams*, Newman explores the relationship between community, a sense of place, and the construction of meaning. She discusses the importance of autobiography in our connection to community and

place as it plays out in the construction of landscapes of personal meaning. She maintains that the use of autobiography possesses great power in connecting us to a sense of place and provides a foundation for a critical reading of community. Newman advocates an education that does not engender the blind acceptance of communal tradition but a critical reading of community, an education that empowers but also acknowledges the centrality of community and place in the construction of self.

Snauwaert extends the discussion of community and morality into an international context. He explores the possibility and nature of a transnational ethic grounded, not in abstract principle, but in international custom and agreement. He argues that a transnational ethic is grounded in an emerging international society and that the Nuremberg Obligation as ratified by the General Assembly of the United Nations provides a foundation for a transnational ethic which posits a universal obligation to respect the inherent dignity of all human beings. He maintains that this ethic provides the moral foundation for a civic education cognizant of global interdependence.

In sum, this special issue of the *Peabody Journal of Education* explores a number of issues related to the community-individual nexus as it relates to educational theory and practice. The question of community and individuality is of major importance for educational theory, policy, and practice, especially in a society as pluralistic as ours. The following articles are intended to shed some light on this crucial issue.

# The Parameters of the Liberal-Communitarian Debate

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It is the purpose of this article to provide a kind of primer for what is often referred to as the communitarian critique of liberalism. What are the main arguments in the communitarian-liberal debate, and what do these arguments suggest for education? By sketching an overview of how one might profitably approach these questions, our intention is that this article will enable a more informed reading of the articles that follow in this issue of the *Peabody Journal of Education*, for communitarianism is still largely confined to debate about the economic market and/or the bureaucratic state, the twin pillars of Western liberalism. To date, communitarian scholarship has paid much less attention to a key element in the foundation supporting these pillars: public education. This theme issue of the *PJE* is an attempt to address this shortcoming.

At its simplest, the chief criticism communitarians aim at the contemporary contours of liberalism is that they have allowed Lockean-inspired possessive individualism to create a cultural focus on the self as the predominant contributing force in identity formation. The emergence of this individualism has come at the expense of the roles hitherto played by factors outside the individual in shaping one's sense of self. Most notable among these is the role played by community membership, but also important are external factors such as religious ties and connections to the earth. In short, Western liberal culture has produced individuals obsessed with themselves, or with their own rights, a situation that has led Christopher Lasch (1979) to claim that the United States, at least, has succumbed

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to a "culture of narcissism." In the process, so the argument goes, any meaningful sense of communal obligation, responsibility, and tradition has been lost or greatly diminished. This loss is reflected in the pervasive alienation, widespread search for meaning, and yearning for connectedness to someone or something outside the individual so characteristic of the modern American social landscape. The communitarian agenda (again, at its simplest) is designed to resurrect a sense of community allegiance and responsibility.

As with most abbreviated accounts of complex intellectual orientations, our synopsis of communitarianism will probably leave some less than satisfied, and scholars often identified with the communitarian camp would likely have reservations about accepting it as an explanation of their views. Actually, communitarian scholars scarcely ever use the term communitarianism, and, importantly, they are a long way from seeing eye to eye on questions related to the present state of the Western political economy. Delineating the communitarian agenda, therefore, as Stephen Mulhall and Adam Swift (1992) have pointed out, is no easy task.<sup>1</sup> Our approach to making communitarian thought accessible to a broad spectrum of the educational research community will be to provide a brief historical survey that identifies probable antecedents to both liberalism and communitarianism. This should yield a somewhat more satisfying statement of what constitutes the essentials in the communitarian critique of liberalism. Following this, we will focus on a few of the problems long associated with modernity and the communitarian response to these problems. Finally, we will pose several questions of special significance to educators suggested by the debate between liberals and communitarians.

### The Genesis of Modern Liberalism and Communitarianism

The literature on the historical development of modern liberalism is rich and comprehensive. Two excellent accounts are provided by Alasdair Macintyre (1981, 1988) and Charles Taylor (1989). While their work traces the roots of liberal thought back to classical Greece and Rome, for the sake of brevity, we will use the seventeenth century as a starting point since this age can, without much controversy, be designated as the beginning of the modern era. Taylor (1989) maintains that by the time

<sup>1</sup>Mulhall and Swift have provided an invaluable book-length analysis of the liberal-communitarian debate. They set up John Rawls as the liberal standard, of sorts, from which the major communitarian theorists deviate. Our approach in this article is to focus less on the major contributors and more on essential points of divergence.



Descartes was writing in France, Western conceptions of selfhood had already undergone a dramatic “inward turn.” That is, with Augustine and the ascendancy of Christendom, human fulfillment came to be found within the self. In particular, an individual’s identity took on meaning through the internal connection one made with God. This was a dramatic shift away from the once predominant classical notion that defined selfhood by one’s contribution to or fit within the polis. Also at work in setting the scene for liberalism’s development was the increasing acceptance of individual autonomy in matters of self definition. The liberal John Rawls (1993) has identified how the 16th-century Reformation contributed to this acceptance, thereby also clearing the way for liberalism’s development. Given the successful break-up of the Catholic Church in parts of Europe, choice, at least religious choice, became a more predominant dimension of the Western human experience.

At Descartes’ arrival on the intellectual scene, then, two liberal tenets regarding conceptions of the self were already in place. One was that one needed to look inward for fulfillment, and the other was that a measure of autonomy, or the ability to exercise choice, was figured into the process of self definition. Descartes’ contribution was to connect autonomy to the power of human rationality. This had the effect of magnifying what Taylor referred to as the Augustinian inward turn. Fulfillment itself was rapidly finding itself bound up with the exercise of rational power. In fact, for Descartes, as his famous *cogito* suggests, humans were rationality.

Descartes represents a crucial juncture in terms of liberal conceptions of selfhood. His separation of mind and body is often targeted for blame by thinkers representing diverse intellectual and philosophical orientations; among them are deep ecologists, communitarians, civic republicans, and postmodernists. According to these critics, Descartes, along with his English contemporary, Francis Bacon, is responsible for “unleashing” instrumental reason. Bolstered by instrumental reason, mankind was to make its boldest, and largely unprecedented, declaration of dominion over the world. Nature was to be “our slave,” to be put to use by its “masters and possessors,” into the full service of humanity. A modern anthropocentrism began to replace a feudal theocentrism as a central feature of the European world view, just as heliocentric scholarship began to replace geocentrism. From the perspective of communitarians, most important about the Cartesian moment in the evolution of liberalism is that the door was widely opened for culturally defining fulfillment as something that might be found totally within the context of the self. Stated differently, what was radical about Descartes’ magnification of the Augustinian inward turn was that human fulfillment could be achieved

merely through the exercise of reason, rendering outside sources or connections nonessential. From Descartes' day onward, allegiance to community (or to God, or to nature, etc.) could be thought of as superfluous or even as unnecessarily burdensome.

This emphasis on rationality paved the way for the 17th-century scientific revolution and for an increasingly volitional dimension within the liberal notion of selfhood. Humankind was now free to act upon the world unfettered by the constraints of scholastic philosophy and its singular focus on divine order. A cultural emphasis on individual choice coupled with technological advances, achieved as a result of increased scientific inquiry, created a conducive climate in which entrepreneurialism flourished. The 17th-century revolution in science fed the 18th-century assault on the feudal political economy. No less assisted in its development was "enlightened" human rights theory. Freedom, equality, and the right to pursue one's own projects in life were justified on the basis of man's (literally) rational power.

At this point it is possible to identify two liberal trajectories that might have been followed. Snauwaert and Theobald (1994) argue that Thomas Hobbes and Gerrard Winstanley, contemporaries in Cromwell's English Free State, represent early architects of these differing liberal traditions. The Hobbesian story is familiar enough. Free, mankind would inevitably self-destruct. Only under the guidance of an all-powerful state could man's volitional character be directed toward positive ends. For Winstanley, there existed another possibility. He believed the broad-based, community-oriented practice of political participation could enable individuals to maintain a deep connection to a source of fulfillment other than the self. Winstanley's conception of freedom was "true enjoyment of the earth," a rather sharp contrast to the Hobbesian view of freedom defined as the removal of any obstructions to the free play of instrumental reason.<sup>2</sup>

One dimension of Winstanley's civic republicanism was his faith in humankind's ability to meet the challenges of a free society without necessitating powerful, pervasive state intervention in its affairs. Jefferson was clearly convinced of this as well. Yet, even a cursory look at the history of the modern liberal state's evolution over the past several centuries illustrates that this faith was never fully put to the test. Rather, there has been an unmistakable preoccupation with order in the liberal tradition. Control was a vital consideration for Locke and an obsession for Hobbes. It was a

<sup>2</sup>Winstanley represents what might be called an agrarian liberal tradition. Jefferson and other Americans can legitimately be called heirs to this tradition. For more on this topic, see Theobald (1992) and Montmarquet (1989).

deep concern, too, for federalists like Alexander Hamilton and James Madison. In fact, it did not take many years for the American republic, born as an expression of man's right to rebel, to place "domestic tranquility" very high on its agenda. Ascendant conceptions of freedom in the U.S. very early took shape along Hobbesian lines.

As the emergent modern state found its activities increasingly tied up with the demands of securing favorable conditions for the free pursuit of happiness, or more accurately and in accord with Locke's original formulation, for the free pursuit of property, the 18th-century German philosopher, Johann Herder, was further refining the liberal view of identity formation along individualist lines by popularizing the idea of selfhood as something singularly unique. For Herder, there is only one me and, further, only one original way to be me. Individuals were to find this way only by looking within themselves, not in the world around them. Conformity to social institutions is a threat to one's originality and only stands to impede the authentic realization of one's true self (for more on this point, see Taylor, 1992). Thus, in the development of liberal thought, the importance of society's role in shaping identity suffered a further, and nearly fatal, blow. After Herder, modern selfhood was defined almost exclusively by the exercise of rational choice in the pursuit of one's identity.

From a communitarian perspective, such a definition is fundamentally shortsighted because of its neglect of the fact that humans only come to make sense of their world, and their place in it, through social interaction. Simply put, no individual can possibly find an identity apart from others. Yet the criticism extends beyond a definitional dispute over how the individual might properly be construed. Liberalism was further mistaken in the ways its emphasis on individual choice intersected with morality. Here the problem is that we came to equate the mere exercise of choice, rather than the quality of choice, as the measure of selfhood. Moral reasoning, or the importance placed on making the "right" choice, began to slowly fade as an essential aim of decision making. People must be free to make and follow their own path in life, and any notion of moral obligation whose source is external to the individual is seen as an intrusion on one's freedom. Of course the advent of modern science played a role here, too. As scientism continued to find its way into the Western mindset, the decline of moral considerations as a central component in the exercise of choice was further augmented. The scientific method increasingly was becoming used as a tool for exonerating humans from the arduous task of ethical deliberation.

This is not to suggest, though, that mainstream Western liberal culture is bereft of an ethical position. As Charles Taylor (1991) has argued, the central position liberalism affords is equality, a tenet that, at least in theory,



seems to demand a tolerant, neutral state, one that promotes a morality built on openness to other ethical positions. If we are free to decide what concerns us, a tolerant population is a must. But this population also becomes, by default, little practiced at analyzing the merits of various ethical positions. Left to ourselves and ill-prepared to judge wisely on matters of virtue, we have been left, or so the communitarians claim, adrift in a culture increasingly devoid of sources that bring meaning to our existence.

### The Communitarian Agenda and the Problems of Modernity

While the liberal state's preoccupation with order and stability, defended so forcefully by Hobbes, has been a driving concern of governments throughout the modern era, the state's interest in measures of social control seems to have increased sharply over the last century. As just one example, we spend huge sums each year building and staffing prisons to house a steadily growing criminal population. Studies of trends in the workplace point to "guard labor"—people employed in some manner as agents for purposes of "domestic tranquillity"—as one of this nation's fastest growing occupational groups. "Getting tough on crime" has become a politically expedient slogan adopted by recent candidates for all levels of elected office in the United States. To communitarians this is evidence of a serious cultural crisis.

Ours has evolved into a society devoid of the very communal dimensions that might bind us together around a conception of common good. Becoming less and less important in our sense of who we are, as individuals or as a people, is a set of interlocking obligations that one must shoulder with regard to one's neighborhood, home town, region, or state. Individualism has left us responsible only to ourselves and to those we permit into the circle of our immediate private lives, and for the latter, even these decisions are often measured solely in terms of utility defined in individualist terms, as evidenced by high divorce rates. The unconditional relationship strikes many as a strange idea for the ties that bind people together have become instrumental in nature, and as such, frequently only temporary. The traditional liberal conception of community is a group of people who join forces in order to increase the odds for success in the individual pursuit of self interest (see Mulhall & Swift, 1992). When construed in this fashion, the result is a society marked by fragile commitments between people, an inadequate system of social support and, consequently, uncertainty and anxiety. Under these conditions, the center cannot hold for, as communitarians would argue, there hardly exists a center at all. Put simply, in the absence of interlocking obligations among people, keeping domestic tranquillity becomes an ever more difficult task, or so



communitarians would argue. Almost paradoxically, the state finds itself in a bind where preserving the conditions of individual liberty under which citizens might exercise free choice requires action that threatens individual liberty.

In the face of this bind, the communitarian agenda includes certain cultural reinsertions (about which there will be a more detailed discussion later in this article). A sense of committed belonging to a place, of shouldering mutual obligations inherent in living well in that place, would be one such reinsertion, and is worth noting here. The value in this, they claim, is that in so doing our lives become reinvested with meaning. Fulfillment, in other words, comes from shouldering the burden of unconditional relationships, not from escaping them. This is why Descartes was such a crucial figure in the history of liberal thought. Though one can trace an inward focus-on-the-self to Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo nevertheless maintained a vital connection to something other, and greater, outside the individual. Here, full being was not possible without a connection to God. Descartes changed this forever by clearing the path toward a conception of selfhood as something rightfully preoccupied with one's individual development through reason or, ala Herder, being true to one's unique identity within.

These ascendant notions of identity formation translated into powerful political theory. Liberalism facilitated the reemergence of a democratic ethos in Western political thought. It both helped to bring about and was shaped by the dismantling of the rigidly hierarchical system of social positioning characteristic of the feudal era. For the most part, communitarians view these developments favorably, but see the Enlightenment as a failure in the ways it too narrowly prescribed the proper sphere of moral deliberation. The Enlightenment crowd placed moral wherewithal within the individual and in so doing largely curtailed the burden of having to consider these moral commitments springing from one's relationships to others. A farmer, for instance, need not worry about whether the construction of a fence, the quality of which might adversely affect a neighboring farmer, violates an ethics of community, for no such ethics any longer exists. What is important is the freedom to pursue one's own projects, in this case, to use private property as the farmer sees fit based on an assessment of his/her own needs and wishes.

Here then we find a key and incisive criticism leveled by communitarians at liberalism. Namely, liberalism, in its staunch advocacy of individual rights and liberty, does not adequately take into account the social costs of decisions made by individuals, nor does it promote decision making that affords a high value to long-term consequences. Though the formulators of modern liberal theory probably did not have this in mind, the transcen-

dent importance given to individual self-interest in their conception of free society has provided an ideological defense for actions and policies that are destructive of community cohesion and environmental well-being, destructive of the very set of social and natural conditions that must be preserved in order to sustain society's ability to reproduce itself. In one sense, this criticism points to what communitarians see as an oversight in the theoretical formulation of liberalism. In another sense though, this reproach can be read as an empirical claim, the validity of which is supported by the mass of evidence accumulated as liberalism has been tested out in its real-world application over the past several hundred years.

For many communitarians, nowhere is the evidence of liberalism's failure more telling than in the area of economics. Buttressed by the tenets of liberal political theory, "free-market" capitalism has asserted itself as the dominant paradigm of economic organization adopted by modern industrial states. The commercialist economies envisioned by the likes of Hobbes, Locke, and Hamilton descended upon the West with a speed unmatched at other points in history. Accompanying this descent was an important, and according to communitarians, ominous, extension of the individualist creed. That is, individual liberty to pursue self-interest was no longer solely to persons but was extended to a new kind of "individual"—the corporation. Whereas the vision of self-interested people competitively interacting in a free market to pursue their own interests and thereby efficiently making use of economic resources has a certain appeal, the vision is dramatically altered, and the appeal is greatly diminished, when super powerful multi-national corporations appear as players. How can a market be "free" with such massive power inequity among participants? Communitarians point to the nearly catastrophic consequences of corporate industrialism's dramatic growth, fueled as it has been by the pursuit of greater profits above all other ends. Among these consequences are widespread neglect of the environment, disregard for the welfare and safety of workers, engendering a culture of consumption where success is defined in terms of material accumulation, the glorification of wealth over more important social values, exploitation of third world labor and natural resources, and foreign policies designed to protect markets often at the expense of human rights. History provides many accounts of how the widespread and pervasive existence of these abuses has fostered resistance among those most harmed. In turn, it is precisely this resistance that many critics point to in explaining the increasing preoccupation with social control so typical of modern industrial states.

Here we come to another dimension of the communitarian critique of liberalism. It takes a huge, powerful bureaucratic state to effectively govern and keep running the workings of a huge "global" economy. In effect, while government was originally formulated in liberal thought as an unobtrusive

arbiter of disputes and provider of basic services whose guiding principle was non-entanglement in human affairs, what has actually developed is a bureaucratic behemoth, the "corporate state," an entity that many see as more responsive to the needs of capital than to the needs of citizens. Consequently, democracy is threatened. Democracy in such a state—and here U.S. voter participation rates are evidence—becomes a chimera that must be sold by the corporate-controlled nightly news and other media outlets. As corporate hegemony increases in these and other ideational institutions of a society, prospects for democracy diminish. Indeed, contemporary democratic theorists have labored to construct more "realistic" definitions of democracy, definitions better aligned with the modern political landscape than older versions that idealistically placed at their center widespread and frequent involvement by ordinary people in political decision making (see, e.g., Schumpeter, 1942). Communitarians see these attempts at redefining democracy as further evidence of liberalism gone wrong. They offer a number of suggestions for reversing this state of affairs. Following, three of these suggestions are discussed in detail.

### *I. Emphasize "the Good" Over "the Right"*

The introduction of human rights theory to Western political thought, along with its subsequent development therein, is arguably liberalism's most profound contribution to the process of how modern day humans see the world and their place in it. Communitarians certainly do not dispute the idea of rights, and seldom argue against their existence. Rather, what communitarians do object to is the unilateral glorification of individual rights above all other desirable social values. For instance, John Rawls, who many see as the leading spokesperson of traditional liberal theory, continues to defend the priority of the right over all other values. Communitarians argue that rights alone are not the measure of the "good" society. They may be a necessary precondition, but in no sense are they sufficient. By this account, rights are not an end unto themselves, but are to be valued because, when honored, they help to bring about the conditions under which the good life is possible. The distinction between communitarians and liberals is sharp on this point. Whereas the former allow a communally shared vision of the good life as a guide to solving problems, administering justice, and how best to organize and conduct the affairs of society, the latter reject this vision in favor of individual freedom to pursue "projects" as the first principle to be observed when structuring social affairs.<sup>3</sup>

In the absence of a commonly shared commitment to a substantive idea

<sup>3</sup>For an excellent discussion of the liberal position on pursuit of projects, see Lomasky (1987).



of the good, liberalism has pushed individual rights talk to the forefront in the discussion over one's relationship to the rest of society, and has done so in a way that has limited our view of what individuals might accomplish when working in cooperation with others sharing a common aim. For communitarians, this is the predictable result of an embrace of a liberal political theory that contends government's role is to remove all obstacles to individual autonomy, and a liberal economic theory that contends the greatest good is realized when individuals pursue their own interests. When combined, these two positions elevate the primacy of individual rights to the detriment of social well-being. This society's increasing reliance on litigation as a manner of resolving disputes is used as one piece of evidence in support of this critique.

Thus communitarians argue for a correction to what they perceive to be a movement towards individual rights that has gone too far. Namely, they wish to invest communities with some autonomy over what they agree to call the good life. They would have this vision of the good life reinserted into the conversation about how best to decide matters affecting the community. Communitarians see little sense in the liberal argument that the state should attempt to maintain impartiality over competing conceptions of the good life because, first, they doubt that such neutrality is theoretically possible, and second, they read the historical record as supporting the claim that the modern liberal state, in practice, has indeed privileged certain conceptions of the good life, such as free market capitalism, over others. Better that the state admit its bias and allow citizens the power to democratically shape it than to cling to a false sense of neutrality. However to do this there must be a recognition that the "good" deserves attention along with the "right."

## *II. Emphasize "Particularity" Rather Than "Difference-Blindness"*

Liberalism's promotion of the "neutral" state tends toward a normative account of policy creation that emphasizes difference-blindness. In other words, all individuals and groups are to receive equal advantage from government policies. Our system of jurisprudence, as an example, is based on the principle of equal treatment under the law. To be precise, in liberal moral and judicial theory, justice is blind. In the arena of policy creation, the guiding maxim is that the aim of the neutral liberal state is to create and maintain the conditions of a level playing field. Unless they can be shown as necessary to correct clear and present power imbalances in the social order that work to deny equal opportunity, policies that favor some one or group are seen as giving an unfair advantage in the pursuit of self-interest and consequently should be avoided.

Communitarians would not deny that the principle of equal protection



under the law is an essential requirement of the good society, nor would they have the state arbitrarily favor certain groups in their policies, but they do object to state neutrality, as a principle for governing, because it neglects diversity among communities, often times with harmful consequences. Beyond the theoretical and empirical objections to the neutral state touched on in the last section, communitarians point to the ways in which such a view of the state inadequately deals with relevant differences among groups of people. Stated differently, the criticism is not so much that the liberal state is barred from taking difference into account when making policy, for clearly it can, but the liberal emphasis on governmental neutrality has, in practice, nurtured a tendency toward a lack of attention to difference. For example, over the last several decades we have witnessed the trend among state departments of education to pursue school consolidation in the name of efficiency and in the name of increasing the prospects for equal educational opportunity. In many such cases, the impact of this policy on rural communities—where the local school, slated for closing and merger with another school in a different town, is a great source of community cohesion—managed to escape the vision of policymakers.

To correct this deficiency, communitarians propose a policymaking agenda wedded to the demands of particularity rather than to difference-blindness. They would build a concern for a community's prosperity, defined in broader terms than just economic measures, into the process of policy formation. Michael Walzer (1983) draws attention here to what he refers to as "spheres" of justice. By this he means that in a society attentive to the value of community, social goods would be distributed according to cultural, geographic, historical, and other context-bound circumstances. "Justice is rooted in the distinct understanding of places, honors, jobs, things of all sorts, that constitute a shared way of life. To override those understandings is (always) to act unjustly" (p. 314). For Walzer, communities ought to be respected to the point of allowing them to work out the meaning that they will attribute to social goods. For instance, there may be particular characteristics of a community that render supply and demand an unsatisfactory basis for determining the shape health care services should take. In effect, the communitarian emphasis on particularity is an argument for the twin democratic demands that the locus of policymaking power be allocated at the smallest level of community possible and that all members of that community be given a voice in shaping those policies that affect their lives.

### *III. Emphasize Participation Rather Than Juridical Proceduralism*

Under liberalism, the good society is a collection of self-interested individuals, free to choose their own life projects, bound together by agree-

ment to respect the rights of others in the pursuit of these projects. Again, the state is to take no position with regard to individual projects, but rather is limited to ensuring that individuals honor the agreement between themselves and that government policy affords equal protection to all. The liberal state takes its form through a set of procedures delineating how nonpartisanship will be maintained while settling disputes among individuals. Shaped in part by this view, our government has taken on the role of arbiter of clashing interests, the final authority as to whose rights were infringed upon and whose were not. In Michael Sandel's (1984) words, the U.S. has become the "procedural republic."

The procedures around which our republic is united are juridical in nature, that is, they are for the purpose of passing along a judgment. When interests clash, the method for resolving the matter is to have both sides appear at a public hearing in front of a presumably disinterested third party who declares one party to be the winner. Communitarians do not object to such procedures in principle. In fact, most see them as just measures of last resort when resolution resists face-to-face attempts at working out differences. However, some communitarians argue that under liberalism's sway these procedures have become the preferred manner of first resort. The problem here is that reliance on juridical proceduralism has come at the expense of more cooperative methods of conflict resolution and political coalition building. Liberalism's accent on proceduralism frames the popular view of social affairs in terms of "your interest vs. my interest" and, as a result, people fail to see that there may be substantive commitments they hold in common, commitments that could work to counter the alienating and divisive effects of modern life.

To correct this shortcoming, communitarians argue that local politics and local decisions, at a minimum, have to come under the dominion of a broad-based local political culture, one marked by extremely high levels of participation. This is a call for nothing less than the rekindling of a Jeffersonian view of civil democratic society, obviously not something that can occur overnight. However, communitarians have suggested numerous alternatives to contemporary political procedures that could effect a movement toward reclaiming allegiance to the democratic ideal of civic participation. For example, Benjamin Barber (1984) argues that those who attend to local administrative functions should be chosen by lot and that in the process a sense of community allegiance and responsibility will be reinserted into conceptions of selfhood and what it takes to lead a fulfilled life.

### Some Concluding Questions

We have tried to sketch the parameters of the debate between liberals

and communitarians and to demonstrate how this debate has centered around policies for the market and for the state. Much less attention has been paid to what an embrace of communitarian theory might mean for the way that education happens in the schools of this nation. To address this shortcoming would be beyond the scope of this article, but the analysis that is here seems to suggest some interesting questions. If the state and market have failed to cultivate civic virtue, and, further, they have undermined the ability of family, neighborhood, and community to do the same, is there room for a fundamental rethinking of the aims and purposes of schooling? Are there things that schools might do to promote civic virtue?

The standard that currently drives school-related decision-making seems to hinge on whether new policies or practices will improve the life prospects of children in a competitive economic market. Could this standard be dropped in favor of something like democratic participation? Instead of training students in habits of thought geared toward maximizing self-interest, is it possible for schools to promote habits of the heart? Can loyalty, allegiance, responsibility, and a propensity for unconditional commitment become, at a minimum, matters for systematic deliberation in the public schools of this country?

Is there a middle ground between neutrality and indoctrination that can be used to engage the question of what values we currently teach in our public schools? And thereafter, what values we should and can teach? The question of values is usually unduly polarized. As Amitai Etzioni (1993) has pointed out, when the question comes up, someone quickly rejoins, "But whose values will we teach?" This is invariably said as the last word, or the trump question intended to put all subsequent conversation to a halt. But it need not. Many more values unite us, or can unite us, than divide us. We need not begin and therefore end a values discussion with abortion. We can examine the value of community, of neighborliness, and what is more, we can find ways to put such values to work in the administration of our schools, in the funding of our schools, and in the curricular and pedagogical work of our schools.

This is not the typical rhetoric of school reformers, although it can be found somewhere within the recent agenda of folks like TedSizer, John Goodlad, Henry Levin, and James Comer. More often, school reform centers around doing better by the underachievers or those kids who for whatever reason are unsuccessful in school. Traditional schools reform endeavors focused on improving our record at moving these kids, too, into the mainstream of America's market-oriented society. One can readily see that from a communitarian perspective, this is not reform at all, but simply an additional contribution to the size and scope of the problem.

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# Revisiting the Concept of Community: An Examination of Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Utopian Vision

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Imagine a society where there is no poverty, no crime, no pollution, no war, and no disease. In this society technology not only serves human needs, but also works in harmony with nature. Population growth allows a comfortable standard of living for everyone. In order to maintain a large population with a high quality of life, the community forgoes eating meat, and instead, dedicates all of its agricultural land to organically based food production. The result of this dedication to sustainable agriculture is a land "in a state of perfect cultivation. . . . a land that looked like an enormous park, only it was even more evidently an enormous garden" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 11). Members of this community share common values and unite around common interests. But there are more than just community concerns. This imaginary society also promotes the development of individual capacities to their fullest potential and supports the personal and intellectual growth of individuals throughout their lives. Collective life is primary, and yet, individuals thrive. In this society everyone contributes to community life based upon their individual talents and interests. In the words of one observer of this society, "I never dreamed of such universal peace and good will and mutual affection" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 98).

This idealized social vision can be found in a turn of the century utopian novel written by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Gilman describes a society that

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demonstrates a concern for ecological issues and works to strike a delicate balance between community and individual needs. The novel *Herland* (1915/1979) is an imaginative mix of social critique, social theory, and engaging fantasy. Its literary form makes accessible to a broad audience (both young and old) its social theory and critique of early 20th century liberalism. Gilman shares the communitarian vision that seeks to reinsert the value of community into everyday life, and to step beyond the liberal view of community as simply a means of enabling individuals to pursue their self-interest (Mulhall & Swift, 1992). Amatai Etzioni, a visionary of the modern communitarian movement, argues similarly that

Neither human existence nor individual liberty can be sustained for long outside the interdependent and overlapping communities, to which all of us belong. Nor can any community long survive unless its members dedicate some of their attention, energy and resources to shared projects. The exclusive pursuit of private interest erodes the network of social environments on which we all depend and is destructive to our shared experiment in democratic self-government (1993, p. 253).

Enabling this kind of genuine sense of community is fundamental to Gilman's social vision. Since Gilman's notion of community is relevant to current communitarian thought, *Herland* is worth revisiting today, not only for its advocacy of building a greater sense of community in American life, but also for its placement of education as a central instrument for creating and maintaining this new community spirit.

### Positioning Gilman as a Social Theorist

Gilman was not just an effective writer of fiction. At the turn of the century, Gilman was also known internationally as a social critic, lecturer, and social activist. Throughout her life, Gilman advocated social change in her writings and through her public lectures. Her primary goal was to improve social conditions of society as a whole by improving conditions for women. When conditions became more humane and equitable for half of society's population, society as a whole would benefit. Gilman advocated (a) changing the public and private roles of women, (b) redesigning public and private spaces so as to reflect equality for women, and (c) making certain traits attributed to females—such as caring and cooperation—more central to community life (Upin, 1993). While Gilman's reform agenda focused on the needs of women at the turn of the century, she regarded herself more as a humanist than a feminist.

Gilman claimed humanism for herself and regarded the term feminism inaccurate because the dominance of masculine values made women's

concerns simply the other side of a problem defined by men (Spender, 1982). "She defiantly asserted that it was the women who protested against tyranny, oppression, and exploitation who were the human norm, against which masculist values could be measured and found wanting" (Spender, 1982, p. 516). It is clear that Gilman's humanism grew out of her concern for the problems of women, problems that continue to resonate with modern feminists. Feminist philosopher Dale Spender assesses Gilman's work on behalf of women as significant in originality as well as depth of thought: "Overall, the work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman still stands in the forefront of feminist theory. . . . I know of no current issue [in feminist theory] that she did not address and many topics that she raised which have not been pursued" (Spender, 1982, pp. 525-526).

Gilman recognized that male dominance, sex-based division of labor, gender socialization, and traditional notions of masculine and feminine stifle women's development and deprive the community of their talents (Martin, 1985). Gilman's solution not only required greater equity between males and females in both private and public spheres, but also transformed social relations by placing greater value on the development of "female" traits like caring and cooperation in both males and females. Thus, Gilman's efforts to transform conditions for women were linked to changes in social relations, which in turn were linked to changes in the community-at-large.

Originally, Gilman published *Herland* in her own monthly magazine as a serial. The public's awareness of her works, however, faded after her death in 1935. Recently, interest in Gilman's work in social theory has been rekindled by feminist scholars. Historian Ann J. Lane's research resulted in the publication of *Herland* in book form in 1979. In the past decade, feminist scholars looking to recover the contributions made by women to social theory, education, and philosophy have recognized Gilman as a major figure.

Gilman's utopian vision grows out of her discontent with social conditions under liberalism. In her view, a society built upon unfettered individualism has very little chance of ever becoming a genuine community. In *Herland* Gilman uses wit, satire, and a touch of romance (a) to reveal the shortcomings of a society that places greater value on individualism over any sense of community, and (b) to expose the absurdities of social relations in Victorian America. By contrasting the deep sense of community within *Herland* to the individualistic nature of American society, Gilman raises questions regarding our most basic assumptions about the "naturalness" and inevitability of the traditional structure of social life. Gilman's utopian novel is of special interest to educators because it highlights a central role for education in the reconstruction of community. The vision of



education that Gilman presents is broad. Education is "the process by which values permeate an entire social fabric" (Lane, 1979, p. xxii).

Educational philosopher Jane Roland Martin identifies Gilman as an important contributor to the philosophy of women's education. Martin applauds Gilman's effort to mount a powerful challenge to the constraints of domestic life and gender roles, but questions Gilman's commitment to democratic theory and the practicality of her solutions. In particular, Gilman's theories seem to contain an elitist element. Martin questions the Herland policy that "only those few talented and interested individuals will be educated for carrying on the reproductive processes of society" (Martin, 1985, p. 170). According to Gilman's policy, the primary responsibility for the care and education of children in Herland should rest with professionals. After birth, a mother is free to spend time with her child especially during the child's first 2 years of life, but the day-to-day care rests with professionals. Children in Herland are provided with professionalized communal childcare that duplicates the dedication, care, and love of a family.

While in Gilman's fiction communal care succeeds, in reality intimate family-like bonds are difficult to replicate. Perhaps the closest modern model of communally based child care is found in the kibbutz movement in Israel. After decades of providing communal child care to infants and toddlers with highly dedicated child-care workers, the kibbutz movement is declining because "even a limited disassociation of children from their parents at a tender age is unacceptable" (Etzioni, 1993, p. 59). The kibbutz experience demonstrates the difficulty of replicating intimate family life in an institutionalized setting.

The American experience with institutionalized child care also reveals a number of problems. Child-care centers vary greatly in quality and many suffer from poor funding, high staff turnover, and overcrowding. As such, the current American child-care model does not reflect a serious commitment to the welfare of children. These modern day examples demonstrate that Gilman's idea of providing a level of care similar to care received in a family is a difficult task. There are, however, alternative ways for a community to *support* parents in their efforts to raise their children that would not disrupt family intimacy and autonomy. In her other writings, Gilman envisions radical changes in community-based services that would enhance the quality of life for the nuclear family (Lane, 1992). But in order to be successful, Gilman is well aware that a community would need to make the needs of children a top priority.

Martin also suggests that Gilman tends to favor solutions that involve collective rather than individual commitments. These "collectivist" solutions, however, are consistent with Gilman's efforts to counteract the ill effects of individualism by reaffirming the centrality of community connections and



responsibilities. Lane correctly points out that while Gilman believes that the “greatest possibilities for human happiness lie in the collective world, individuals were not sacrificed for the greater social good” (Lane, 1992, p. 301). In seeking to combat the excesses of individualism, Gilman identifies with a number of popular socialist movements of this time period, especially the Fabian Society with its “belief that socialism will emerge peacefully from the process of capitalist development” (Lane, 1992, p. 184). While Gilman draws from the socialist movement of the turn of the century, she creates her own distinctive social theory by blending a commitment to the idea of cooperative collectivism with a complex mix of feminism, progressivism, pragmatism, and social Darwinism (Lane, 1992; Martin, 1985; Upin, 1993). As both Lane and Martin point out, there are a number of problems with Gilman’s social theory. In part, some of Gilman’s problems arise from her limited participation in higher education. Lane indicates that Gilman’s adherence to 19th century theories may be due to the lack of “formal training and the self-confidence to reject what she had never studied systematically” (Lane, 1992, p. 294). Also, while Gilman corresponded and associated with a number of well-known intellectuals, writers, and social activists of this time period, she did not have an ongoing supportive intellectual circle of people that might have challenged her thinking (Lane, 1992). There are substantial problems with Gilman’s treatment of issues of class, ethnicity, and race. There are also problems with her theories of genetics, her lack of attention to issues of intimacy, and her uncritical view of science. Despite these problems, however, Gilman’s social theory still contains many strengths. Lane points out that “if the flaws in her work are apparent, so are the strengths. She set out to forge a new world-view, a social philosophy whose central tenet was the social nature of life and whose major lens was gender” (1992, p. 296).

Gilman’s analysis of community is worth examining for the creative ways she wrestles with, and attempts to solve, the problem of balancing individual and community needs. We now focus on Gilman’s vision of community contained in the utopian novel *Herland*, and evaluate its contributions to communitarian thought.

### Gilman’s Vision of Community

Gilman, who describes herself as a humanist-socialist, criticizes the excesses of liberalism—with its possessive individualism—that serve to undermine the development of any sense of community obligation and commitment. Gilman’s purpose in *Herland* is to highlight the problems inherent in the individualistic tendencies in American society and to suggest remedies. While her primary mission is to advocate social reforms that im-

prove the status of women, her remedies share much in common with communitarian thinking. A strong sense of community is exemplified by the women of Herland:

To them [Herlanders] the country was a unit—it was theirs. They themselves were a unit, a conscious group; they thought in terms of community. As such, their time-sense was not limited to the hopes and ambitions of an individual life. Therefore, they habitually considered and carried out plans for improvement which might cover centuries. (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 79)

For Gilman, a genuine community in the world would share values, interests, and obligations just like the community of women in her novel.

Gilman's interest in developing a greater sense of community is intimately connected to her efforts to change the status of, and equalize opportunities for, women. Of particular concern to Gilman is the way that liberally inspired individualism affects social relations between men and women. While Gilman recognizes that the activities of group life require "specialized functions" (Gilman, 1916, p. 51), the subordinate position of women in society and their confinement to domestic life harms not only individual women, but also limits the progress of the whole community. Gilman's vision of community requires equality for women, thus she devotes much time and effort to challenging the idea that women are innately inferior to men. Gilman's primary themes are social rather than political. It is interesting to note that even though she participated actively in the suffragette movement, Gilman did not believe that gaining the right to vote would significantly change conditions for women (Lane, 1992). Negative stereotypes and confinement to the private sphere would still severely limit women, even if they could exercise their right to vote.

The story in *Herland* chronicles the discovery of an isolated civilization by three male adventurers. Despite rumors that this hidden civilization consists of only women, these Victorian explorers conclude that there must be men somewhere. They believe men must have developed the country's technology and provided leadership, as well performed a more basic need—as partners in procreation. To their surprise, the explorers discover that the men of this tiny country disappeared over 2,000 years ago. The civilization survived and flourished as women mysteriously gained the power to procreate on their own. With a stark contrast of views on ideology and gender, Gilman is able to appeal to an "assortment of our comic sensibilities—the satiric, the whimsical, the sardonic, the rousing belly laugh—all in the interest of exposing the absurdities of accepted pieties" about women (Lane, 1979, p. v). Her underlying message, however, is a serious one.

One of the major assumptions within the liberal tradition that Gilman attacks is the view of the inevitability of competition as a primary, moving social force. In *Herland*, the Victorian male visitors argue that competition is necessary because it provides the stimulus to industry, without which no one “would be willing to work” (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 60). The world of work, which the visitors believe is the exclusive domain of men, requires the competitive element. As one explorer explains, the struggle connects to a masculine view of the world and natural law. The visitors declare that “if there is not struggle, there is no life—that’s all” (p. 99). The male visitors, however, hesitate to describe the social ramifications of competition.

It was the more difficult to explain to her, because we three, in our constant talks and lectures about the rest of the world, had naturally avoided the seamy side; not so much from a desire to deceive, but from wishing to put our best foot foremost for our civilization, in the face of the beauty and comfort of theirs. (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 139)

Gilman also questions how this competitiveness influences the nature of patriotism or love of country. Patriotism in American society is largely a matter of pride and combativeness that “ultimately neglects national interests with a cold indifference to the suffering of millions” (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 94). The visitors assume that competition is natural and that suffering is its inevitable by-product. Thus, suffering is expected and becomes so commonplace that it is almost unnoticeable. Gilman’s story calls attention to social problems in American society that many people do not perceive as problems. Poverty, disease, and suffering are unfortunate conditions, but are considered a natural part of life. Gilman disrupts these assumptions about the effectiveness of, and the need for, competition by presenting an opposing view. Gilman presents an alternative view of community based upon growth through cooperation, commitment, and obligation.

Gilman’s vision of reforming community life in America relies upon two major changes. The first change concerns the social relations between men and women, and the second change concerns the design of private and public spaces. First, according to Gilman, social relations or the connections between members in the community should be modeled after the ideal family, where mutual friendship and service are valued. Thus, while Gilman is highly critical of the limits imposed on women by the structure of Victorian family life and the definition of feminine virtues, she finds strength in certain family-based values. Gilman’s main thesis is that a community could be transformed if positive values found in the private sphere, particularly caring and cooperation, became central to public life. Gilman believes that attributes such as caring and cooperation that are



usually associated with the private sphere and viewed as natural to only women, can serve as public values and become "natural" to all members of the community.

Martin raises questions about the practicality of Gilman's effort to value previously devalued traits associated with women, and argues that Gilman fails to explore the problems that arise when both sexes are expected to acquire previously "genderized traits" (Martin, 1985, p. 166). While genderized traits are not an issue in *Herland* since there are no men, Gilman is very much aware of these potential problems in a community composed of men and women based on her own experiences of living in a Victorian society. Gilman attempts to deal with genderization of traits through the power of education and readily acknowledges the need for and the difficulty of modifying both men's and women's consciousness about what is "naturally" male and female. *Herland* is an attempt by Gilman to modify public consciousness by undermining stereotypes and revealing the absurdity of the "natural" through the use of a popular medium. Gilman's plan is to value the best human traits—courage, mutual affection, intelligence, strength—and she assumes that all members of the community could learn to care for one another and work cooperatively, if they valued their connections to each other.

The model for Gilman's community grew out of an *idealized* vision of family life, with particular emphasis on the contributions to the quality of family life made by women as mothers and caregivers. The Victorian men who visit *Herland* note that

all the surrendering devotion our women have put into their private families, these women put into their country and race. All the loyalty and service men expect of wives, they gave, not singly to men, but collectively to one another. (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 95)

The sense of obligation, commitment, responsibility, and caring attributed ordinarily to core values in the private sphere would benefit the public sphere. As the Victorian male visitor observed, Herlanders "loved one another with a practically universal affection, rising to exquisite and unbroken friendships and broadening a devotion to their country and people for which our word *patriotism* is no definition at all" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 94). Herlanders "loved their country because it was their nursery, playground, and workshop—theirs and their children's" (p. 94).

In the story, the sense of community and solidarity displayed by Herlanders is compared to the isolation of actual American family life. Gilman suggests that the isolation of the family is partly the result of negative social conditions, "children grow up in private homes and families, with every effort to protect and seclude them from a dangerous world" (Gilman,



1915/1979, p. 101). Isolation also serves to separate women from public life, a condition assumed to be based upon women's limited and so-called specialized nature. Nature relegates women to the roles of wife and mother. In Victorian society the ideal woman managed the household servants and devoted her life to her children and husband. The romantic ideal was that these women were loved, idolized, and honored by their husbands.

But actual family life in Victorian America fell far short of these ideals. Many aspects of private family life needed to be changed in order to create a viable model for public life. In particular, Gilman's notion of proper family life assumes a more equitable relation between a wife and a husband. The undemocratic nature of social relations in the home also impacts negatively on the public sphere. The inequalities between men and women in the private sphere that existed under liberalism at the turn of the century, led Gilman to conclude that Victorian domestic life was not a good training ground for democracy (Upin, 1993).

In addition to modifying social relations, Gilman recognizes the need for a second major change in the nature of social life. This second change concerns the design of public and private spaces. One of Gilman's major contributions to social theory is her treatment of spatial relations as a key factor in forming social relations. Gilman recognizes the need to change the physical design of communities as a way to promote social change. In particular, Gilman redesigns public and private spaces in such a way as to allow women the opportunity to participate in all aspects of public life. In order to preserve the nuclear family and still permit women to enter the public realm, radical changes need to occur in both the private and public spheres.

As Jane S. Upin suggests, Gilman's work on the importance of space in a social critique seems to have anticipated a position advanced recently by some post-modern thinkers. For example, the problem of devaluation of space found in Gilman's writings resembles a similar assessment of space in the writings of post-modern philosopher Michel Foucault (Upin, 1993). In her writings, Gilman boldly suggests that restraints imposed upon women by domestic life make homes more like prisons than private sanctuaries.

Gilman recommends changes in spatial functions and design. For instance, functions previously assigned to the private sphere, like domestic needs and childrearing, would move to the public sphere. Martin, however, questions whether Gilman's professionalization of domestic functions will solve the problem of the subordination of women. Will both men and women perform these professionalized domestic chores? Martin argues that Gilman fails to consider how the power of genderization would result in these jobs remaining female occupations with less status than other jobs (Martin, 1985). In many ways, Gilman underestimates the

power of genderization, perhaps in part because she continues to cling to liberal notions about the plasticity and malleability of human beings.

One important benefit of these changes is to make the public sphere more central to life than the private sphere. While private life becomes less important to Herlanders, there is still a deep respect for some level of privacy. When the Victorian men first arrive in Herland there are plenty of palaces and little abodes, but no "homes" of the type to which they are accustomed. In fact, Herlanders did not have an analogue for the word "home" or the idea of the Roman-based "family" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 94). One of the male visitors observes that "these people had, it now became clear to us, the highest, keenest, most delicate sense of personal privacy" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 125). From earliest childhood, each girl had a separate bedroom with toilet facilities. These private residences expanded in maturity to two rooms and bath, which consisted of a bedroom and an outer room for entertaining guests. Meals could be either taken in public eating facilities or in private residences. In her other writings on social theory, Gilman does not advocate eliminating the nuclear family or the private family home (Lane, 1992). But Gilman recommends moving most of the domestic functions into the public sphere as a means of changing the nature of family life.

### Gilman's Theory of Education

Gilman's vision of community is of particular interest to educators because of her emphasis on the role education plays in social reform. Herlanders attribute their survival and prosperity in large part to education. But education is used here in the broadest sense of the term. Inherent in this view is the belief in the ability of human beings to adapt and change. There is no formal schooling until about age 10 when children begin to specialize according to individual interests and talents.

For children under 10, education is life. Gilman builds a general theory of education around a kind of 19th century faculty psychology that eliminates harsh discipline, and instead, emphasizes positive experiences:

Our general plan is this: In the matter of feeding the mind, of furnishing information, we use our best powers to meet the natural appetite of a healthy young brain; not to overfeed it, to provide such amount and variety of impressions as seem most welcome to each child. That is the easiest part. The other division is in arranging a properly graduated series of exercises which will best develop each mind. . . . (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 105)

Children have rich opportunities throughout the day to play, develop, and

learn, but always within the public sphere. As with the model of culture in Classical Greece, the culture of Herland connects all aspects of community life with education. Drama, dance, music, religion, and education are interconnected rather than developed by separate disciplines. The purpose of education in Herland is to connect children with the community as well as to allow them to develop their interests and talents.

The value placed on education in Herland is evidenced by the high standards set for those involved with childrearing. Caregivers and teachers must demonstrate high competence since Herlanders regard education as the "highest art" and entrust it only to those who are the most skilled (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 83). Children are educated in, by, and for community such that

in each step of the rich experience of living, they found the instance they were studying widen out into contact with an endless range of common interests. The things they learned were *related*, from the first; related to one another, and to the national prosperity. (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 100)

By limiting the functions of private life with the expansion of the public sphere, children in Herland develop a strong sense of community. A classic example of the way this connectedness develops for children is provided by the story of a young girl who catches a butterfly and carries it to the nearest insect teacher. As it turns out, the butterfly is really a moth that destroys an important tree in their food supply. The realization of the impact of this discovery on the community, as well as the praise the girl receives for her service of collecting this insect, fosters a strong sense of her role in the community, and ultimately sparks her interest in pursuing a career as a forester (Gilman, 1915/1979). The constant caring and nurturing in the public sphere reinforces the connectedness of individuals with the larger community.

A community that values its children and fosters their involvement in the public sphere needs to provide the same kind of nurturing, caring environment found within the protection of the family. In Herland, the public environment is the playground of early childhood and is specially designed to protect children from harm, "no stairs, no corners" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 107). Children learn through games and research projects that emphasize the development of their physical ability, senses, and intellectual capacities. By making the public sphere in a sense both "home" and "school," children can be taught continuously, but "teaching" is subtle and apprehended by children through personal experiences.

In Herland, there is also an important assumption that all members are capable of sharing a general education, "that what one knew, all knew, to a very considerable extent" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 64). Because this general education was reinforced throughout the culture, it was easily apprehended



by all children. "Common knowledge we have long since learned to feed into the minds of our little ones with no waste of time or strength" (p. 105). This common knowledge addresses the practical needs and includes sciences such as anatomy, physiology, nutrition, botany, and chemistry. All Herlanders also develop an understanding of history and a kind of social psychology. All of the country's intellectual efforts concentrate on maintaining a high quality of life. As one male visitor notes, "all over the country, as well as those in towns, and everywhere there was the same high level of intelligence" and he had to admit that Herlanders knew more about their own country than Americans know about their own society (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 64).

In Herland, the main purpose of education in childhood is to develop far-reaching judgment and a strong well-used will. These attributes are fostered when children are provided with choices within their games or their own research projects. Gilman explains that they devote their best efforts "all through childhood and youth, in developing these faculties, individual judgment and will" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 106). Here, Gilman encourages an individual judgment that implies some level of autonomy, although she does not elaborate further on this topic. Clearly, however, any kind of mindless groupthink would be harmful to the Herland community, especially since each new generation makes its own laws and adjustments to changing social needs. "We have no laws over a hundred years old, and most of them under twenty" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 63). Unfortunately, Gilman leaves many unanswered questions about the degree to which autonomy flourishes within the community. For instance, while Herlanders attain a high level of both general and specialized education, uncertainty remains as to how interests and talents are matched with community needs.

The only kind of formal education for young girls comes around age 10, when special training or apprenticeships occur under the watchful eyes of experts. This specialized training is described as a time when "eager young minds fairly flung themselves on their chosen subjects, and acquired with an ease, a breadth, a grasp, at which I never ceased to wonder" (Gilman, 1915/1979, p. 95). Special knowledge is open to all as they desire it, and most women train in several specialties throughout a lifetime, and pursue other interests as hobbies. This society values lifetime learning; "we like to keep learning, always" (1915/1979, p. 105). The visitors make note of the wide range of interests and associations open to all Herlanders throughout their lives.

#### Concern About the Nature of Community Life

*Herland* ends on a cautionary, but somewhat optimistic note, about the



potential advantages of reestablishing a community with both male and female members. The forced isolation from men of the Herland community serves the important purpose of disrupting traditional gender roles and thus provides a more equitable starting point for the reunion. The conclusion of *Herland* reflects Gilman's continuing optimism about the potential for social change, despite significant resistance to her radical ideas. Gilman continues to have faith in the power of ideas and the potential for change, especially through collective action. According to Gilman, a more humane social order—a genuine sense of community—could be created by making values like caring and cooperation more central to the public sphere. Modern day communitarians, like Etzioni, call for an increased commitment to community by stressing a balance between individual rights and social responsibility where “each member of the community owes something to all the rest, and the community owes something to each of its members. Justice requires responsible individuals in a responsive community” (Etzioni, 1993, p. 263). Gilman creates an utopian community that feels a responsibility for the material and moral well being of others. Gilman's society also reflects Etzioni's notion of communitarian social justice, which is “alive both to the equal moral dignity of all individuals and to the ways in which they differentiate themselves from one another through their personal decisions” (Etzioni, 1993, p. 264). Gilman's caring and cooperative community shares many commonalities with communitarian thinkers of today who seek to reinsert the value of community into everyday life. Gilman clearly recognizes the difficult tensions between individual and community needs, but she concludes, and modern communitarians would agree, that a society that lacks some level of shared commitment and responsibility among its members will not provide the kind of environment that individuals need in order to flourish. While her social theory contains a number of weaknesses, communitarian thinkers might benefit from not only Gilman's effective analysis of the problems contained in liberal theory, but also from her crucial insights about gender and spatial relations.

For educators, Gilman's social theories also raise important questions about how a genuine community regards its children. Gilman makes the care and nurturing of children the primary concern that unites the community. By connecting all children in Herland to one ancestral mother, Gilman explains how every member of the community regards every child as her own responsibility. While Gilman's idea of a society dedicated so completely to its children may be too narrow, the idea of extending a deep level of concern to all the children of a society appeals to communitarians as well. Etzioni would agree with Gilman that our society needs to value its children more and support parenting in such a way that makes parent-

ing a less taxing and more fulfilling experience (Etzioni, 1993). Modern daycare centers, however, do not provide the quality of care that Gilman envisioned in Herland, where professional caretakers and educators cared for each child as if this child were their own. Etzioni suggests that, if daycare arrangements are a necessity, parents should seek cooperative arrangements where all parents contribute some time each week to their child's center. "Not only do such arrangements reduce the center's cost, they also allow parents to see firsthand what actually goes on, ensuring some measure of built-in accountability" (Etzioni, 1993, p. 58). The main point of agreement between Gilman and Etzioni is that communities have a moral responsibility to *enable* parents to raise their children to become contributing members of society, and one way to achieve this goal is for *society as a whole to value all of its children more*.

If a society values its children, education then becomes a top priority. The idea of a community extending a high level of concern to all of its children resonates in the work of educator and writer Jonathan Kozol. Kozol suggests that private concerns about our own biological children should be extended to "other people's children" and would benefit the whole community (Kozol, 1991). Kozol is particularly concerned about improving the quality of schooling for poor and disadvantaged children. His research reveals the large disparities in funding for public schools that influence educational quality. Based on the current funding structure, many rural and inner-city schools have considerably less money available to spend per pupil than many suburban schools. These disparities in school expenditures create a two-tier system that disadvantages the already disadvantaged. Kozol believes that the nation ought to care more about all of its children:

Looking around some of these inner-city schools, where filth and disrepair were worse than anything I'd seen in 1964, I often wondered why we would agree to let our children go to school in places where no politician, school board president, or business CEO would dream of working. (1991, p. 5)

Kozol suggests that American society would reflect more closely its democratic ideals and also benefit by raising the quality of schooling for all of its children.

In her utopian novel composed at the turn of the century, Gilman articulates her vision of an ideal community that can serve to stimulate the imagination of modern-day participants in the world of experience. While one may argue that attempts to achieve such "universal peace and good will and mutual affection" among all members of the human race is a Sisyphean struggle, one may still hold that attempting to take such a journey is our responsibility.

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# The Communitarian Challenge to Liberal Social and Educational Theory

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Walter Feinberg

## Introduction: The Communitarian Challenge to Liberal Theory

One of the traditional arguments for public schooling is that modern technological democratic societies need to replace the particularistic values of the family and the local community with the more universal values of the larger society. In the family or the local community feelings of love or loyalty determine the distribution of material and symbolic resources, in advanced technological societies the ideals of competence and achievement are supposed to determine this distribution (see Dreeben, 1968). This argument held special ideological force during the 19th and much of the 20th century when the United States was undergoing both technological and population changes. Public schools were thought to have an essential role in realizing the ideal of equality of opportunity by providing children from traditional communities with the attitudes and skills that they needed to compete in a modern society. Although the argument clearly overlooked race bias in the school, as well as gender tracking in both the school and the family, the ideals presented have played an important role in liberal educational reform through both conservative and progressive iterations.

Two aspects of this ideology are important to understand. The first is about individuals, competition, and technology. The second is about indi-

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viduals, liberty, and choice. In the first the emphasis is on the need for competition between individuals as the condition for social advancement and material growth. Here it is believed that societies advance when fair conditions exist for people to compete with one another for material and symbolic advantages. As technology becomes more and more sophisticated the argument continues, the skills and attitudes required by the competition are too complex to transmit through the home and thus schooling becomes a major social instrument to maintain the competition that liberalism requires. The second aspect of liberal ideology also takes the individual as the fundamental unit of society, but here the emphasis is on individual choice and the right that each person has to choose his or her own conception of the good. In this understanding the role of the public school is to facilitate individual growth by allowing children to develop into autonomous persons capable of making intelligent choices regarding their own lives.

Both of these forms of liberalism are potentially subversive to the relationship between the child and the child's initial community. Both emphasize values of independence and impartiality over values of loyalty. And whereas the first insists that people be judged on the basis of merit rather than on the basis of personal connections, the second insists that the horizons of children be extended so that they can appreciate, and possibly choose, alternative conceptions of the good.<sup>1</sup> In recent years a challenge has been developed by communitarian theorists to this conception of education and in this article, I want to compare the two points of view and some of their implications for education. I argue that while a communitarian conception of education is not fully adequate, that there are aspects of it that modern day liberalism must accommodate into its philosophical point of view.

### The Contrast Between Liberalism and Communitarianism: An Initial Comparison

In contrast to the prevailing liberal view, communitarian theory argues that human beings are not isolated individuals but that they are fundamentally communal animals and that communal affiliation needs to be

<sup>1</sup>A number of questions have recently been raised by educational historians about the effectiveness of this ideal and the sincerity with which it was advanced, and many people question whether the schools have served the ends that liberal ideology has set for it. As critical as these concerns are there is a prior issue that needs to be addressed that asks about the adequacy of the liberal ideal itself and the appropriateness of its application to education. It is this question that is the focus of the communitarian's criticism of liberalism.

nurtured and developed. This means that the separation between the individual and the community is an artificial one and that any policy that works against the community also ultimately works against the individual. The self is thereby seen in communitarian thought as constituted through the practices of the group, deriving from it meanings, capacities, and moral character. For example, Charles Taylor (1992), addressing the situation in Canada argues for Quebec's autonomy on the grounds that respect for national and cultural groups flows from the principle of equal dignity. Thomas Nagel (1991), although not usually identified as a communitarian, argues that partiality is a value that needs to be recognized by the liberal state. To some degree these arguments are reflected in the view that public schools should reflect the values, beliefs, and understandings of the particular communities that they serve. To the communitarian, the liberal emphasis on promoting individual achievement and protecting the individual's right to develop his or her own conception of the good life may be insensitive to the important role that communities play in the development of meaning and morality.

Modern day communitarians believe that the liberal ideal overemphasizes isolation and independence creating a destructive imbalance between rights and obligations. They are concerned that we have come to emphasize individual rights over collective responsibility, and that in the process the social foundation of moral behavior is eroding. "Rights talk," as one commentator puts it, "encourages our all-too-human tendency to place the self at the center of our moral universe" (Glendon, 1991, p. xi).

Most communitarians are concerned with the relationship between the community and the individual, and they highlight the responsibility that individuals have to their communities. They want rights talk to be replaced by a discourse of obligation and responsibility, and they want the direction of the flow of benefits from the community to the individual to be reversed. Hence, according to this view communities have moral claims on their members. In certain cases communitarians want more than just the freedom of individuals to choose their communities; they want to empower communities with additional authority so that there will be certain costs to individuals who do not make such choices.

An example of such a policy is to be found in the early years of the Israeli Kibbutz, when a bright child might be expected to put aside her or his ambitions to be a physicist because the community needs chefs. In this situation there is a three-way set of obligations and responsibilities from the individual member to the community to the larger society. The member pays back the obligation to the community by serving a communal need rather than a private ambition, and the larger society meets the claim of the community for more authority by allowing it to shape the members'

desires in terms which are considerably different from those outside of the community.

### The Communitarians Argument

Beginning with Alasdair MacIntyre's important book *After Virtue* (1981), a growing appeal to the ideals of communitarianism has developed in both the scholarly literature and the popular press. This appeal cuts across traditional ideological boundaries of left and right and is directed against contemporary works within the liberal tradition, especially the ideas advanced by John Rawls and Robert Nozick. Although Rawls and Nozick are at opposite ends of liberalism—one arguing that material difference should be minimized, the other that the state has few legitimate reasons to take from the rich to improve the lot of the poor—they both develop their case from the point of view of individual rights and liberties, and both assume that the individual is ultimately the unit which can both make claims on public resources and for whom claims may be granted.

In countering this view, MacIntyre argues that liberalism is grounded in an incorrect conception of the individual and that it understates the role of tradition and community in the development of individuality and moral authority. MacIntyre traces much of the present-day crisis to the loss of clear moral guidelines, for which he blames the prominent idea that ultimately individual rationality is the source of moral understanding and behavior. This idea—which he believes began with Kant's affirmation of individual reason and morality—experienced its first crisis in Nietzsche's opposition between morality and autonomy, and now has culminated in the rejection of moral discourse as meaningless by philosophical positivism or as arbitrary by the moral relativism of contemporary social science. To MacIntyre, this development begins and ends in a mistake. Virtue is not the product of free-floating rationality rooted in individuals. It is the product of a tradition embedded within a community and woven into the stories that the community tells about itself and its heroes.

Individualism, according to the communitarian, mistakenly assumes that rights somehow belong to individual people independent of their community, when in fact it is the traditions of the community itself which determine what will count as legitimate rights and obligations. In MacIntyre's scheme, we do not have abstract rights and obligations that are independent of the role that we play in a communal structure. Rather, each of us has the obligations we do because of the roles that we occupy within a communal tradition, and we are judged by how well we conform to the idea of excellence that is associated with the performance of that role.

In well-functioning communities claims are made from the point of



view of one's role and are legitimized in terms of the requirements attached to the proper exercising of the functions associated with that role. Thus the community serves as the foundation for all individual claims and, as a result, the merits of such claims will ultimately be judged within the context of the community and its traditions. Ultimately, all individual claims are grounded in the concerns of the community. Indeed, one could even argue that ultimately the community is the one and only source for such claims.

Following the publication of *After Virtue*, MacIntyre's ideas became the framework for an important book entitled *Habits of the Heart* (1985), written by Robert Bellah and his colleagues. They argue that Americans suffer from excessively individualistic language and that this language both hides and retards a concern for the well being of communal structures. The authors see Americans divided, but not equally, between a commitment to the expression of a spontaneous inner freedom as a manifestation of a unique and independent self on the one hand, and a sense of obligation that transcends the individual self and joins it to the larger community on the other hand. To illustrate the point, they contrast the evangelical Christians ideal of marriage to the modern, therapeutic conception of personal growth—the one is based on commitment to a larger set of ideals, the other on the feelings of the individuals involved.

For the evangelical Christian, a crucial aspect of permanent commitment to marriage involves the relationship to feeling and will. Emotion alone is too unstable a base on which to build a permanent relationship, so Christians must subordinate or tame their feelings so that they follow a mind's guidance. . . .

In the evangelical Christian view, then, love involves placing duty and obligation above the ebb and flow of feeling, and, in the end, finding freedom in willing sacrifice of one's own interests to others. (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, & Tipton, 1985, p. 93)

The communitarian agenda has had a strong influence on educational reform (e.g., proposals that would require high schools students to do *volunteer* service work in their communities). Communitarian appeals are also to be found on apparently different sides of an issue. They have been used by those who want to reaffirm the traditions and identities of local cultural groups and as well as by those who feel that the United States is losing its identity as a national community as a result of a recent highlighting of local cultural uniqueness (see, e.g., Schlesinger, 1992). Appeals to communal values are to be found in the protests of parents from conservative groups who believe Christian values have been short changed by public education. And they are to be found in the concerns of people of



color that their histories and cultures are not receiving sufficient recognition in the schools.

### Liberalism as One Tradition Among Others.

MacIntyre wants to reaffirm the importance of community and tradition in the formation and constitution of morality. He believes that liberal rights-based theory both neglects the importance of community in the construction of an individual's identity and preferences, and fails to acknowledge itself as one among many traditions. This neglect helps to explain why liberalism, in MacIntyre's eyes, underemphasizes the relationship between tradition, community, and moral judgment. Hence the opposition between traditional communities and liberal-based rights is really, according to communitarians like MacIntyre, a conflict that arises when liberalism forgets that it, too, is a tradition like all others. The implication of this argument is that liberalism should not presume to occupy an independent platform from which other traditions can be judged. Rather, it stands alongside of them and does not occupy a privileged position.

MacIntyre's arguments about liberalism and rights come in two central places. The first appears in his book *After Virtue* (1981) in an argument against the philosopher Alan Gewirth, who MacIntyre believes represents the Enlightenment attempt to rescue the concept of rights from the emotivist charge that all expressions of values—including the value of individual rights—are simply expressions of individual preferences and are grounded in no larger authority. The second comes in his later book, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (1988), in which he makes the case that rights-based liberalism is best seen as one tradition among others rather than as a progressive step beyond all previous traditions.

In making his case against Gewirth, MacIntyre objects to Gewirth's point that once a person recognizes freedom and well being as constitutive features of successful action, he must also "logically hold that he has rights to these generic features" (MacIntyre, 1981, p. 64). In other words, Gewirth is arguing that the concept of rights is a logical extension of the concept of effective action. MacIntyre then correctly (although somewhat beside the point) observes that rights have not in fact been universally recognized but are rather the product of very specific conditions and institutions. Thus, rights are not just a natural outgrowth of the recognition of effective action.

Then using these observations, MacIntyre rejects Gewirth's argument on the grounds that because such recognition is specific to certain conditions and institutions they do not necessarily present a more advanced social agenda, as most rights-based theorists claim. They are simply

institutional expressions of one rather than another set of traditions.<sup>2</sup> The important point is that a liberal, rights-based tradition stands in opposition to other traditions and is in no position to claim superiority over them. Yet, as we will see, the reason MacIntyre believes that liberalism cannot claim superiority is actually somewhat ambiguous, and the exploration of this ambiguity will lead to two very different understandings of the relationship between traditions.

MacIntyre sometimes, although not always, writes as if the reason liberalism cannot claim superiority is because standards of judgment are developed from and embedded within a specific tradition, and thus there is no standpoint from outside of any and all traditions from which a judgment could be made. Any evaluation that I may make of your tradition must come from within my tradition. Hence any attempt to evaluate your behavior from the point of view of my tradition is bound to misrepresent and to distort it.<sup>3</sup> Liberalism errs, according to this argument, because it misunderstands itself and immodestly assumes that it is more than just another tradition.

The argument is developed in his *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (1988). Here MacIntyre explores the internal workings and rationality of a number of different traditions, showing how each deals with conflict and how different conceptions of justice arise out of each. In short, he argues that beliefs about truth and falsity and our ideals of justice are interrelated and self-referential and that they often make little sense outside of the community in which they were constructed.

MacIntyre develops his argument indirectly through an examination of the ebb and flow of a number of different Western traditions and the various ways in which they managed internal philosophical conflicts and institutional crises. His own view is more often expressed through a commentary on the thoughts of others. His favorite mouthpiece is Aristotle, followed by Hume:

<sup>2</sup>MacIntyre's argument actually begs a central question. Gerwirth is arguing from the issue of logical entailment, not of historical fact, and whether or not one is to be convinced by MacIntyre's criticism will depend on whether or not one is inclined to be critical of liberal social theory. If one believes that liberalism just serves as a justification for one group "lording" it over others, then MacIntyre makes good sense and liberalism is just another tradition—one more imperialistic than the rest. If, however, one believes that the use of liberal ideals to justify hegemonic domination over traditional groups is a distortion of those ideals, then one will be skeptical about MacIntyre's presentation. In any event, what is at stake is whether rights have a status that transcends communities and traditions or whether they simply are instruments that one community uses to lord it over other communities.

<sup>3</sup>It is true that in general MacIntyre wants to avoid this totally incommensurate view, but when it comes to his analysis of liberalism he often seems to be assuming it.

Both present an account of practical rationality according to which the individual who reasons rightly does so *qua* member of a particular type of political society and not just *qua* human being. Both recognize of course that the kind of reasoning which merely matches means efficiently to ends can be exercised apart from membership in such a society. But to reason apart from any such a society is to have no standard by which to correct the passions. . . . [I]t is *qua* member of some form of social order and not merely *qua* individual that someone exercises determinate practical rationality. (MacIntyre, 1988, p. 321)

As I mentioned earlier, MacIntyre does not outright reject the liberal rights-based view completely. Rather, he contextualizes it within the framework of tradition. Liberalism arose out of a set of historically specific circumstances as an attempt to enable individuals to free themselves from the arbitrary rulings and morality of particular traditions by

appealing to genuinely universal, tradition-independent norms. . . . Liberalism, which began as an appeal to alleged principles of shared rationality against what was felt to be the tyranny of tradition, has itself been transformed into a tradition whose continuities are partly defined by the interminability of the debate over such principles. (1988, p. 335)

To see the liberal ideals as simply the product of a particular tradition rather as universals that transcend particular traditions requires that we reject the idea that the individual has a natural status and stands as the unit of all social organizations. Rather we must come to understand that the "individual" is a relatively recent social and cultural artifact, invented by liberalism and forming a new and competing foundation for the exercise of practical reason. As MacIntyre (1988) notes,

In Aristotelian practical reasoning it is the individual *qua* citizen who reasons; in Thomistic practical reasoning it is the individual *qua* inquirer into his or her good and the good of his or her community; in Humean practical reasoning it is the individual *qua* propertied or unpropertied participant in a society of a particular kind of mutuality and reciprocity; but in the practical reasoning of liberal modernity it is the individual *qua* individual who reasons. (p. 339)

MacIntyre believes that, in contrast to older traditions, in modern liberal society the connection between reason and obligation has been loosened and it is now (unfortunately) acceptable for a person to reason to one conclusion about the good and yet to decide for any number of reasons not to act on behalf of that conclusion. For example, many people find the arguments of animal rights advocates conclusive on the rational level but still



continue to consume meat without any strong sense of inconsistency or guilt.<sup>4</sup>

### Problems With the Communitarian Argument Against Liberalism

The problem with this version of MacIntyre's view is first, it leads to inconsistencies in terms of the judgment of specific behaviors—one tradition's witch is another tradition's martyr. And second, few traditions are likely to take his understanding of their own systems of values and beliefs seriously. Rather, most traditions want to privilege their own norms and are unwilling to place them on a par with those of every other tradition. Hence if liberalism suffers from hubris, as MacIntyre believes it does, it does not suffer alone. However, if one objects to this version of MacIntyre's view on the grounds that it leads to inconsistency, there is another version which, when taken together with the first, leads to incoherence.

Although MacIntyre often writes as if all standards of judgment and evaluation must be embedded within specific traditions, there are other moments when MacIntyre writes as if there are standards that can be used as universals to evaluate different traditions, and that when these standards are applied to liberalism, it falls short in comparison to other traditions. If the first interpretation of MacIntyre has problems, then this one does, too. To hold this view, MacIntyre must both allow that traditions can be evaluated in relation to one another and that standards of evaluation arise only from within traditions. If he is not able to maintain this balancing act, then his argument against liberalism—at least on the general plane—will fall apart. Although he presents an interesting defense of this position, it eventually fails. And its failure means that his case against liberalism also collapses.

A close reading of MacIntyre reveals that he is actually of two minds about liberalism and, indeed, about traditions in general. By arguing that liberalism is a tradition he is intending to show that "any hope of discovering tradition-independent standards of judgment turns out to be illusory" (1988, p. 348). In this sense, instead of liberalism as the bearer of universal standards of the right and the just, it is *simply* another tradition and as such its standards are limited and self contained. They are not worn easily by other traditions.

<sup>4</sup>One must wonder about the accuracy of this point. Does MacIntyre mean to suggest, for example, that hypocrisy is no longer a vice in liberal society? Or, that somehow in earlier societies people were compelled by their logic to do the good and hence hypocrisy was a vice only in principle but never in practice?



Like other traditions, liberalism has internal to it its own standards of rational justification. Like other traditions, liberalism has its set of authoritative texts and its disputes over their interpretation. Like other traditions, liberalism expresses itself socially through a particular kind of hierarchy. (1988, p. 345)

Hence, by classifying liberalism as just another tradition and by affirming the view that standards are simply internal to the specific traditions that express them, MacIntyre has brought liberalism down a peg or two. Liberalism fosters liberal traditions just as Catholicism fosters Catholic traditions.

However, MacIntyre does considerably more than bring liberalism down a peg and place it on the same plane as other traditions. He also insinuates a harsh evaluation of its practices, finding its debates barren and nonrational. Without any substantive theory of the good, liberalism strives merely to count preferences and to resolve conflicts without any significant philosophical guidance: "The lawyers, not the philosophers, are the clergy of liberalism" (1988, p. 344). Yet, if MacIntyre is ultimately to hold on to the position that traditions cannot be evaluated from the perspective of other traditions without risking significant distortion, then one must wonder about the source of his negative response to liberalism.

While MacIntyre grants most traditions the internal resources to address their own conceptual problems, he seems to deny these resources to liberalism. If this denial is accurate, then it would appear that he wants to make liberalism a tradition just like any other tradition while at the same time denying that it has the same resources as other traditions. Hence liberalism is both the same as every other tradition and inferior to most other traditions.

MacIntyre's ambivalence towards liberalism reveals a more general problem with the communitarian's overall conception of tradition. If MacIntyre is correct about his observations that liberalism does not have a way to evaluate its own tradition from the inside and must thereby be content simply to add up preferences, then his point must be taken as a strongly critical one. Liberalism is not just another tradition, it is an inadequate tradition because it does not have the means to generate internal criticism.

Yet if the logic of this criticism is extended to other traditions as well, it would seem that legitimate criticisms of traditions are not just generated internally. Rather, traditions can, it seems, be legitimately criticized from some external universal standpoint, through some general conception of just how traditions are supposed to work and what distinguishes richer from poorer traditions. If this is the case, however, and traditions can be evaluated using some defensible external standard, then MacIntyre must

give up his strong claim that standards are only internal to traditions. In what follows I will show that the communitarian position is actually untenable unless it makes a stronger distinction than it does between educating a child into a tradition and the moral character of the tradition itself. Once this distinction is made, then communitarianism and liberalism need not be seen as poles apart. In order to develop this reconciliation, I need to review and sharpen some of the major features of communitarian thought and to contrast them with the liberal ideal.

### Review of The Characteristics of Communitarian Ideas

Communitarian thought holds that (a) morality is only learned within the context of a tradition; (b) different traditions have both different ways of understanding the world and different and incommensurable moral systems; (c) there is no necessary moral framework that exists across traditions and communities; (d) the individual has a special responsibility to the cultures and traditions that have nurtured him or her; (e) the core morality is not taught rationally, but by ceremony and rhetoric; and (f) because of this incommensurability, traditions must thereby be respected. In what follows, I elaborate these aspects of communitarian doctrine in order to later evaluate their effectiveness as arguments against liberalism.

Communitarians hold that moral development arises through a person's education into a tradition and its practices, and that moral action is grounded in the specific practices of traditions. To speak therefore of moral behavior is to speak of the virtues that are associated with those traditions and the conceptions of excellence that constitute its practices. Hence, just as to say that a good car is one which meets our expectations for what cars should do—be dependable, safe, comfortable, maneuverable, efficient, and so forth—so, too, to say that someone is a good person is to say that he or she performs the functions that the tradition has established with the spirit and the competence expected. To be a good person may mean for one person to be a caring parent, a creative chef, and a dependable friend. For another it may entail being a loving and dutiful child, a loyal soldier, and an adventurous explorer. For still another it might entail being a fair judge, a pious church goer, and so on. The point is that goodness is entailed in the practice and the practice is developed through roles embedded and defined in traditions. There is no goodness as such which is not first and foremost the goodness of a tradition.

For the communitarian, the morality of liberalism is too cold, abstract, and rational. It is not grounded in either practice or tradition, but pretends to be rooted in the rational faculty of the individual, a faculty which somehow cuts across tradition and is supposed to refine, check, or alter tradi-

tion. For the communitarian, the liberal has no real standpoint from which such an alteration is to be made because liberals have no particular commitment outside of some universal, abstract, and ultimately incorrect conception of reason.

For the communitarian this also means that there is no necessary shared framework that must hold across different tradition-based communities. Different communities and different traditions have different standards of excellence and different ways of viewing the world. This suggests that the meaning of the practices of one culture are not necessarily self-evident to members of another and that significant translation work must be done if different cultures are to approach an understanding of one another. It also means that mutual understanding will likely never be complete, because with each approach the limits are pushed back but also move deeper. Communitarians believe that to fail to acknowledge this is a formula for dogmatism and hegemony.

The communitarian also believes that because a person's development is the product of the community and its traditions, people owe special responsibilities to their communities and its members. This responsibility does not extend to strangers in the same way. Michael Walzer (1987) uses a contrast between Jonas and Amos to illustrate this difference. The one tells the stranger only about the consequences of breaking God's law while the other serves to remind his fellow Jews how they have broken their special relationship to God. There is, thus, a special responsibility here to remind one's own community about the source of its law and the nature of its transgression. This special responsibility does not necessarily mean more favorable treatment. The responsibility that a parent has towards a child often requires more discipline—not less. Similarly, the responsibility of a member towards that person's community may require a special vigilance when its norms are violated by its own members.

The liberal is more likely to reject the idea that one owes a special responsibility to people just because of one's relationship to them. Of course, few liberals would deny that certain relationships, once entered into voluntarily, entail special responsibilities and special obligations—marriage, contracts, and so forth, all lead to special consideration. The difference seems to be that the communitarian will emphasize the relationships that we do not choose—our parents, our community, our nation—whereas the liberal will tend to emphasize the need for choice and voluntary renewal.

Since the first task of moral development is to shape the child's identity and to wed the child to the community, the communitarian believes that it is quite appropriate—even necessary—to develop the child's emotional attachment to the community and its moral code before cultivating the child's reason. Indeed, to exercise reason without an emotional commit-



ment to a particular community is a dreadful thought to the communitarian, signifying the alienation of reason that typifies the modern era.

The liberal is more ambivalent about this relationship, worrying that to lead reason by emotions and to deliberately shape commitment is a powerful form of indoctrination and serves to kill reason. Thus to the liberal the world is to be presented as open and the child's moral development must involve a large element of choice. Whatever else moral action is, it is action that is self-chosen. Yet liberal reason does not function in a vacuum. Reason is reflection on the norms of the community and, at least in this sense, is consistent with the special role that communitarians like Walzer assign to the critic.

Finally, because the community is taken as a more or less coherent unit with a history and a life of its own, and because the community is believed to constitute the moral fabric of the individual, there is a strong tendency among communitarians to view the community as the ultimate source of allegiance for its members and of respect for its nonmembers. The communitarian is also more likely to be sympathetic to the demands of various and different communities—whether French speakers in Canada or natives in the United States. And, many believe that only through understanding the essential value of one's own community can one really understand the value that other communities serve. This is also a point that is related to the question of moral and epistemological incommensurability between communities. While I may not be able to understand every aspect of another community and while elements of its moral code and mine may differ fundamentally, I can fully understand the reason why members of that community value it in the way that they do. Given this understanding, I am perhaps less likely to be inclined to impose my norms on their practices and institutions.

### A Counter to the Idea of Moral Incommensurability

What is correct in the communitarian position about morality is the recognition that moral behavior is only occasionally about rights. More often it has to do with the fabric of everyday interaction, which is reflected in mutual service and civility. Morality and moral decision making is only occasionally about the heroic aspects of existence and has a lot to do with the everyday activities required to sustain a community and its traditions. To frame morality in terms of either/or decisions, as rights-based liberalism does, is to neglect the subtle interactions that enable community life to persist from day to day and allow the needs of people to be met on a consistent basis.

For some liberal researchers, moral decision making has the quality of a game where people use one principle to trump another and where moral



education is conducted in terms of heroic decisions about marginal and unusual cases.<sup>5</sup> To the communitarian morality, while sometimes heroic, is usually more mundane—although no less important.

Nevertheless, the communitarian's ideas on morality are confusing and, in places, incoherent. This confusion arises because, in the rush to embrace community, they reject, a priori, the possibility of transcendent norms and ideals and thus come close to sanctioning any and every community grounded norm. The mistake here can be seen by comparing and contrasting MacIntyre's account of the virtues with a close, but quite distinct historical analog, Plato's portrayal of Socrates in Plato's *Crito*.

MacIntyre writes about the virtue that is involved in recognizing and nurturing the communities that have guided one's educational and moral development and echoes a theme presented in the *Crito*. In the *Crito*, Socrates refuses to cooperate in a plan that would have allowed him to escape Athens after he had been condemned to death by a hasty and biased court. Socrates argues against the escape plan on the grounds that by escaping the sentence, he would be rejecting his own moral identity. He tells his friends that by having lived his life as an Athenian citizen he has implicitly accepted its practices and laws. To choose thereby to avoid its sentence, he would be rejecting his life's commitment.

Even though MacIntyre's account looks much like Plato's, there is an important difference between the two. Socrates was, after all, applying a rule to his own behavior. He did not oblige any other citizen of Athens, wrongly condemned to death, to follow the same rule; the power of Plato's dialogue develops precisely from the fact that it was a self-imposed rule. Had Socrates been talking to someone else about what *he* should do, the dialogue would have read like an unconvincing morality play. And, of course the reason that Socrates had been condemned to die was precisely because he was teaching about a higher set of virtues, one that was not necessarily grounded in Athenian tradition. Moral progress is possible for Socrates in a way that it is not for MacIntyre precisely because of the implicit limitations that the Athenian philosopher places on his communitarian commitments. Although Plato was no liberal, the constraints suggested by the *Crito* suggests that a reconciliation between communitarian and liberal standpoints is possible, a point that I will return to at the conclusion of this article.

Another modern communitarian, Michael Walzer, is more adequate than

<sup>5</sup>Kohlberg's (1981) test of moral reasoning is a case in point. Kohlberg asks his subjects, should Heinz steal the drug to save his dying wife or should he honor the laws of property? The right answer is he should steal the drug. The answer is not based on the fact that the man is the woman's husband, but that life trumps property.

MacIntyre on the question of the source of moral principles. Like MacIntyre, Walzer accepts the importance of community in the formation of moral authority. However, Walzer's belief in the fundamental role of the community in the development of a moral order does not lessen the importance of the role of the social critic. Rather it highlights the fact that the most effective and most profound critics come from within a community serving to interpret the community to itself by reminding it of the covenant that binds it together.

Walzer often relies on biblical sources to make his point. In his book *Interpretation and Social Criticism* (1987), Amos is presented as the quintessential prophet and social critic because he challenges the leader's, conventions and the ritual practices of *his* own society in the name of its own shared values and norms. Walzer contrasts the *prophet* Amos to the *messenger* Jonah. Whereas Amos *reminds* his own community of its moral roots, Jonah merely *warns* a foreign nation, Nineveh, about what will happen to it if it does not live up to the minimum international standards of God's rules, rules which that community does not necessarily share. Jonah, of course, is not a liberal, but Amos is the embodiment of the communitarian's internal critic.

Yet if in fact the source of the criticism, the standards themselves, are simply internal to a community, as MacIntyre tells us, then who is Jonah, a Jew from another land, to deliver any message unless the message relates to Nineveh as well as to Jerusalem? It may be that an internal critic, because that critic is able to draw upon the stories, metaphors, and understandings of a society, is generally more believable and more effective. It may also be that the internal critic is able to see reasons for practices that an external critic would not understand in inappropriate ways. Yet none of this should be taken to mean that the standards for internal and external criticism are inherently different.

Walzer fails to see something important about the message Jonah delivers to the people of Nineveh, that is, their reaction. They decided not simply to stop their wicked ways, but to repent for their past transgressions. And the king

arose from his throne and . . . sat in ashes and . . . proclaimed "let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed nor drink water: But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: Yea let them turn away from his evil ways." (*The Book of Jonah*, 1974 ed., p. 725)

This repentance suggests, in contrast to the idea that morality is community specific, that there is also a universal aspect to moral authority. Whereas Socrates epitomizes the internal critic, Amos and Jonah suggest

the plausibility of a set of moral standards that are not confined to communal boundaries.

The mistake of communitarians at this point results from the failure to separate two different claims. The first is that morality is communally grounded; the second is that morality is communally confined. This confusion leads to Walzer's mistaken suggestion that when treating moral relations across communities, social criticism can only operate at a minimum level. Communitarians take incommensurability too seriously; what is required is a conception of tradition, morality, and community that is more open and more porous than the one they provide us with.

Nevertheless, Walzer is an advance over MacIntyre, and his understanding of the role of the social critic can be used to begin to build a bridge between rights-based theories and communitarian ones. To acknowledge the importance of the social critic, as Walzer does, is to do two additional things. First, it acknowledges the added value of communal structures in which social criticism has a recognized and exalted role, and second, it acknowledges the importance of cultural understandings and political structures that encourage the critic's voice to be heard. These are key aspects of liberal society and the doctrine of individual rights is its foundation. Given the relationship that Walzer posits between the community and its critic, it is possible to develop some principles which are both embedded within communitarian standpoint and transcend the framework of any single community.

In practical terms the difference between the communitarian and the liberal theorists means, first, that communitarians are likely to view claims about individual rights as secondary while highlighting the needs of the community and the obligations of members to meet those needs, while liberals will tend to interpret all such claims as really claims made by some individuals against other individuals.

The problems with the communitarian view are many. For example, the claim that the community is the source of individual morality is obviously correct in some sense, but that does not say much about the character of the community or the nature of the morality. For example, the morality of revenge persists in some communities, but it is a morality that generates continuing fear and retaliation; it is helpfully replaced by a morality that submits grievances to a party who will be rejected as illegitimate if they are widely perceived to be acting partially. Whether we should accept a certain moral system should not be determined simply by the fact that it is endorsed by a certain group. Acceptance or rejection should have something to do with the character of the moral system itself.

If the incommensurability thesis is accepted in its strong form, communitarians will have difficulty explaining how to distinguish adequate and



inadequate traditions. MacIntyre (1988) attempts to address some of these problems by developing a stage theory of traditions whereby traditions develop from immature and non self-conscious practices to mature and self-conscious ways of apprehending their own problems and assessing the resources of other traditions in resolving them. The solution rightly presupposes a tradition that has become conscious of its boundedness as a tradition and has now to confront some of the issues that such boundedness creates.

Finally, MacIntyre believes that the idea that certain incommensurabilities between traditions actually lends support to the principle of tolerance for different traditions. In point of fact, there is a serious question concerning the source of this respect for other traditions. It might come from the fact that traditions are the source of morality (my appreciation to Maria Serferian for suggesting this possibility.) However, given the communitarian's suspicion of claims to a universal morality, it is still not clear why members of one tradition should respect another tradition unless, of course, one of the principles within their own tradition is to respect other traditions. However, it is quite an empirical question whether communities have such a principle and the most likely answer to the question is that some do and others do not, and that most will respect some other traditions while not respecting still others. If, however, the principle of respect for traditions does not come from within a tradition, then it would seem that the communitarian is appealing to some kind of universal principle and then using this principle to argue about what communities should do. This does not seem like a very communitarian thing to do.

What MacIntyre fails to see is that liberalism is in part intended as a fall-back position which will allow traditions to live together when they are unable to come to the level of self-reflection that MacIntyre attaches to traditions at advanced stages.

### Communities as Goods In themselves

There is another argument for giving priority to a community-based morality that does not rely on the incommensurability thesis, and that is that communities are goods unto themselves and for this good to be preserved, it must be provided special consideration. Communitarians like Charles Taylor (1992) argue that communities like Quebec deserve support because they are considered goods in themselves.<sup>6</sup>

That a community is a good in itself, however, should not automatically

<sup>6</sup>Taylor is addressing the situation in Quebec where French speakers are a majority but exist as a minority within Canada as a whole.



warrant that it deserves public support. For many such communities, the liberal principle of freedom of association should be sufficiently adequate to enable their continuation. Even when certain communities are under threat, it is not clear that they should all receive educational recognition or support. Shakers were in some respects a model community, but that the group died out is not reason enough to conclude that they deserved public support or recognition. Good things do not last forever. In many instances the principle of freedom of association is a perfectly reasonable one. The principle also implies the freedom to not associate as well, and because of this implication, some groups will decline, wither, and die.

There are too many communities with too many different conceptions of the good, some of which are conflicting or mutually exclusive, to enable a pluralistic society to adopt a communitarian perspective as its only educational foundation. To say this is not to say that good teachers would not seek to develop a strong sense of community within their classrooms or that classrooms could not find ways to teach about different groups. Nor is it to say that there will not be communities which, due to special circumstances, will not have claims to public support in maintaining and reproducing their identity. It is simply to say that the school system as a whole will not be able to build its educational programs on the conceptual and moral foundations of each of its constituent communities, and will need to leave the conception of the good reasonably open in order to foster an appropriate level of autonomy in future adults. In this sense, a liberal theory remains an appropriate foundation for education in a pluralistic society. However, within this conception communitarian ideas have important roles to play in connecting children to their different communities and in establishing new communities that transcend traditional boundaries and, in some instances—such as where a group is under threat because of systematic discrimination and harassment—to provide some aid to cultural communities.

Liberalism is not without its own problems, however. There is, for example, the question of how, given its self-confidence in its own values of individual rights and free choice, should liberalism relate to communities whose values are otherwise. If it rejects their claims then it will be exercising hegemonic control over those who differ from it. However, if it accepts them, then it would appear to be ignoring its own basic values and to be an empty statement of principles.

### Reconciliation between Communitarian and Liberal Thought

There are at least two possible ways in which liberalism might try to accommodate communitarian positions. The first is from the point of view of

choice, and the second is from the point of view of harm. From the point of view of choice the argument is that to support different communities is a precondition of liberalism because it is to support different conceptions of the good. In other words, a conception of society that protects the right to choose which conception of the good one is to follow is of little significance if there are not robust conceptions of the good from which choice can be made. Moreover, some advocates of choice argue that where prevailing conceptions of the good—conceptions that are expressed through particular cultural traditions—are under threat then there is a right, if not an obligation, to seek extra state support for them.

This is a part of Charles Taylor's (1992) important argument for Quebec's autonomy, but an equally important part of his case arises out of the harm he believes is done to people when the communal source of their dignity is under threat. Taylor frames this argument in terms of a rich and complex conception of dignity. However, he does not consider the view that the conception of harm resulting from misrecognition of cultural identity is limited as long as one has the opportunity to alter one's cultural loyalty and attributes. In other words, liberals who hold on to an individualistic rather than a culture-embedded conception of respect could argue that while it is true that culture is important for dignity, it is not true that dignity can only come through the recognition of one's birth culture.

From a liberal point of view the problem with the assimilationist should not be that one culture is substituted for another. Rather, the issue is just how that culture was substituted and whether it was done allowing for adequate individual choice. However, there may be more to this issue than individual choice. Culture is a certain kind of good, one that is created when people exercise it. It is a value something like that of "conviviality" at a party which, as Waldron (1993) nicely observes, is a

benefit they will have enjoyed together, not merely in the sense that to be enjoyed by one guest it cannot practicably be denied to others . . . but in the sense that its enjoyment is essentially a property of the group rather than of each of the individual guests considered by himself. (p. 355)

In some important sense then culture, like conviviality, is a value that depends on being shared and it may well be that in fact different cultures are experienced quite differently from one another. Hence, returning to the earlier communitarian point, the idea that one culture can be substituted for another without loss is an incorrect idea.

Given these observations, the liberal could argue, as I think Taylor comes close to doing, that to allow conditions that endanger the existence of a viable culture is to reduce the choices that people have available to them. This does not mean that liberalism is to be abandoned, but it does

mean that liberal societies are not to be prohibited from encouraging certain conceptions of the good and that they are to be allowed to provide support for certain cultural communities. However, in providing this support from a liberal framework, there would likely be more restrictions imposed on cultural expression than Taylor anticipates.

In arguing the case for the support of French-speaking culture, Taylor suggests that this new conception of liberalism would allow a society to advance a particular community's conception of the good, but would refrain from diminishing the dignity of citizens who hold alternative conceptions. For him the mark of a liberal society is not so much whether it does or does not promote a particular conception of the good, but rather how well it treats individuals and communities who do not share that particular conception. What is important for liberal society, he proposes, is respect for diversity rather than the exercise of forbearance about what constitutes a good life.

This, of course, means that society must grant certain fundamental liberties that cannot be assailed while at the same time granting certain privileges and immunities that are indeed connected to a certain collective conception of the good life (see Taylor, 1992). To allow children of English-speaking parents to attend schools where the language of instruction is English is, in the Quebec context, obviously consistent with liberal ideals. However, according to Taylor, it is not necessarily inconsistent with those ideals to *require* non-English speaking immigrants to attend French-speaking schools if, in doing so, it will help preserve French-speaking Quebec culture. Hence, for Taylor, dignity, the essential component of the liberal state, can be preserved for all even while collective goals are pursued by the state.

Taylor is unclear about where this conception of the good actually comes from and whether it is but a preference of, say, the majority of Quebec citizens, or whether the collective goals have a status that extends beyond the individuals as such. This issue is important for two reasons. If, on the one hand, the conception of the good is derived from the majority of citizens, then it would be hard to say just what the nature of the "fundamental liberties" should be that are provided to all citizens.

Assume, for example, that the culture to be advanced is not just French, but also Catholic. Would that then require that abortions be banned because to do so would be against the preferred conception of the good? Or, would it mean that women should be guaranteed the right to abortion as a fundamental right which transcends cultural preferences? Or, might some women be allowed and some prohibited from having an abortion? I believe that if communitarian ideals are constrained by liberal principles, this issue will need to be decided on the basis of arguments that are appropriate to many different communities; it cannot fairly be decided strictly on the grounds of the value that will be found in preserving a particular community.



I mentioned earlier that the initial credibility of the kind of communitarianism Taylor advances come from the idea, expressed by Waldron (1993), that there are some goods that simply would not exist unless they were participated in collectively. Like a game that we all participate in, the value comes about just because this is a collective enterprise and without the collective there would be no value. Hence if a culture is not supported, choice itself is diminished. In other words, "Frenchness" allows for certain individual enjoyments which otherwise would not be possible. Although this view clarifies somewhat the character of a collective value, those who wish to criticize Taylor's view could still ask just why the state should be involved in protecting some collective values but not others. Why, for example, Frenchness but not Catholicism or something else?

The answer has to partly involve, as it does with Taylor, the fact that the practice is endangered and that without protection it will not be around to be enjoyed. The problem with this response, however, is that it cannot be sufficient. Many practices are endangered and it would be hard to think that a government could or even should protect them all. Even if we take the culture as a good unto itself, why—given that there are many goods that are intrinsic—should the decision be made to use special public resources to preserve this cultural good rather than that one? To answer this question and to establish some way to choose which cultures require and merit support is an issue that must be decided outside of the traditions of any single culture.

### Conclusion: The Changing View of Public Education

A reconciliation between liberalism and communitarianism must ultimately develop a refined set of criteria to determine just what kinds of conditions might merit special support in maintaining and reproducing their singular identities, beyond the support that a vigorous commitment to the principle of free association of individuals would provide.

To ask this question is to go considerably beyond the traditional justification for public schools that I mentioned at the beginning of this article. The question involves recognition that there is more to education than the development of universal norms and achieved status. Here there is an understanding that communal norms are important and have a significant role to play in the development of a self. Nevertheless, the act of seeing such criteria fits more adequately into a liberal conception of education. The aim is to identify and achieve principled agreement from people in different communities and by people who occupy positions in many communities, as well as those who belong to no special community. In this sense, such criteria look more like the universal standards of the liberal



rather than the particular ones of the communitarian. Nevertheless, the purpose of such criteria is to provide conditions in which communities can thrive and, in this sense, they would be consistent with the goals of the communitarians.

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# Lessons From the Past: Individualism and Community in Three Progressive Schools

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In the past 15 years, a number of social critics from both sides of the political spectrum have provided critiques of the what they see as the overly individualistic nature of American society. From Christopher Lasch's scathing indictment of American culture in *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979), to Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven Tipton's analysis and recommendations in *Habits of the Heart* (1985) and *The Good Society* (1991), to Amitai Etzioni's more conservative call for a communitarian society in the *Spirit of Community* (1993), American society has been viewed as in desperate need of closer connections between groups and individuals. These critics suggest that the tensions between individualism and community, which are so much a part of the history of the

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United States, need to be resolved more in the direction of community than has been the case since the 1960s.

The sociological analysis of the tensions between individualism and community is by no means a new one. The classical sociology of Emile Durkheim (1893/1947, 1915/1954) was at its center concerned with the effects of the decline of traditional rituals and community during the transition from traditional to modern societies. Durkheim's analysis of the differences between mechanical and organic solidarity in the *Division of Labor* (1893/1947), and his concept of anomie in *Suicide* (1897/1951), examined the need for societies to create rituals and institutions to provide for social cohesion and meaning. Likewise, Ferdinand Tönnies' (1887/1957) analysis of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* provided a sociological analysis of the effects of modernity on community.

There are significant similarities between Durkheim's sociology of education and the sociological underpinnings of John Dewey's philosophy of education. Central to Dewey's analysis of American education and his call for progressive education was an analysis of the tensions between individualism and community. As Bowles and Gintis (1976) note, Dewey's work attempted to reconcile the tensions between the integrative (community), developmental (individualism), and egalitarian (community) functions of education. Although Bowles and Gintis argue that these functions are inherently contradictory in capitalist society, Dewey believed that schools could help balance the often competing demands of the community and the individual. In fact, much of Dewey's early writings on education (1897, 1899, 1902, 1916, 1938) called for the need for schools to simultaneously contribute to individual development and to the development of a "embryonic democratic community" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 41). In fact, this tension was historically played out in the two sometimes distinctive branches of progressive education in the 1920s and 1930s: child centered progressivism, which often resolved the tension in favor of individualism, and social reconstructionism, which often resolved the tension in favor of community. The purpose of this article is to examine the lessons to be learned from three progressive schools founded during the first half of the 20th century—the City and Country School, the Dalton School, and the Downtown Community School—and to show how they attempted to balance the tensions between individualism and the community. Through this historical analysis, we suggest that contemporary educational reformers have a great deal to learn from studying the history of progressive schools.

### Communitarianism: Contemporary Concerns and Historical Roots

Social criticism from the 1950s to the present has focused on the tensions

between the individual and community. In the late 1950s, in response to the putative conformity of that decade, a number of social critics (Mills, 1956; Riesman, 1961) argued that American society had become overly organizational, bureaucratic, and stifling. As Ehrenreich (1983) notes, the challenges to authority that percolated in the 1960s had their roots in a number of cultural and intellectual movements of the 1950s, including the beat movement.

Following the social upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s, when the tensions between individualism and community were often resolved in favor of the individual, social critics such as Lasch (1979) pointed to the need for an increased sense of community. Lasch suggested that American culture had become a "culture of narcissism" and that such unbridled individualism threatened the core of our civilization. In the 1980s, Bellah et al. (1985) provided a critique of American individualism, but at the same time suggested that there was a foundation of communitarianism in American life. These authors argued that a "good society" was based on democratic institutions that allowed both for individualism and for the connections between individuals within a cohesive community (Bellah et al., 1991).

In the 1980s and 1990s, analyses of individualism and community have taken on considerable political overtones. Although both the left and right have called for increased community, it is from very different political vantage points. Whereas conservatives have argued for a return to a community of traditional values and decried the pernicious effects of individualism on the family and on the decline of values, liberals and radicals have called for an increased democratic community that balances the tensions between individuals and society.<sup>1</sup> For example, Etzioni's (1993) more conservative branch of communitarianism argues for a return to more traditional forms of community and, like Durkheim almost a century earlier, speaks to the need for schools to be agencies of moral socialization and the transmission of community values. Like Durkheim, Etzioni overemphasizes the cohesiveness of modern societies and underestimates the conflicts between groups over precisely what constitutes a cohesive community and community values. Bellah et al. (1991), drawing heavily on Dewey, Lippmann, and Niebuhr, suggest that it is precisely the conflicts between groups over competing definitions of community that must be resolved by democratic institutions. Although Bellah et al. do not suggest that such conflicts are easily resolved, they do believe that democratic institutions are capable of creating a society that connects individuals to community in a meaningful manner. Reflecting the same liberal optimism

<sup>1</sup>See Sadovnik et al. (1994) for a detailed discussion of conservative, liberal, and radical political perspectives on society and education.



about the stabilizing force of schooling that both Durkheim and Dewey echoed almost a century before, Bellah et al. look to schools as central institutions in the democratic, communitarian society. Thus, both Etzioni and Bellah et al.—from somewhat different political vantage points—look to schooling as central to community.<sup>2</sup>

These contemporary concerns with the role of schools in solving problems related to the tensions between individuals and community, as we noted above, have historical roots in Dewey's early writings in the late 19th and early 20th century on education. John Dewey, although born and raised in Vermont, by 1894 had become thoroughly enmeshed in the problems of urbanization as a resident of Chicago and Chair of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago. Distressed with the abrupt dislocation of families from rural to urban environments, concerned with the loss of traditional ways of understanding the maintenance of civilization, and anxious about the effects unleashed by individualism and rampant materialism would have upon a democratic society, Dewey sought answers in pedagogic practice (see Westbrook, 1991, for an in-depth biography).

Dewey argued in *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897), *the School and Society* (1899), and *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902) for a restructuring of schools along the lines of "embryonic communities" and for the creation of a curriculum which would allow for the child's interests and developmental level, while introducing the child to "the point of departure from which the child can trace and follow the progress of mankind in history, getting an insight also into the materials used and the mechanical principles involved" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 43).

Dewey believed that the end of education was growth, which was firmly posited within a democratic society. Thus, school for Dewey was "that form of community life in which all those agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of the race, and to use his own powers for social ends" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 22).

To implement his ideas, Dewey created the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. There, children studied basic subjects in an integrated curriculum since, according to Dewey, "the child's life is an integral, a total one" and therefore the school should reflect the "completeness" and "unity" of "the child's own world" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 93). Dewey advocated active learning, starting with the needs and interests of the child; he emphasized the role of experience in education and introduced the notion

<sup>2</sup>See Sergiovanni (1993) for a detailed discussion of contemporary concerns relating to school and community.

of teacher as facilitator of learning, rather than the font from which all knowledge flows. The school, according to Dewey, was a "miniature community, an embryonic society" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 41) and discipline was a tool which would develop "a spirit of social cooperation and community life" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 40).

Dewey's form of pragmatism was founded upon the new psychology, behaviorism, and the philosophy of pragmatism. Additionally, his ideas were influenced by the theory of evolution and by an almost 18th century optimistic belief in progress; for Dewey, however, it was a belief in the attainment of a better society through education. Thus, the school became a place, an "embryonic community," where children could learn skills experientially as well as from books in addition to traditional information, which would enable them to work cooperatively in a democratic society.

Dewey's ideas about education, often referred to as "progressive," proposed that educators start with the needs and interests of the child in the classroom, and allow the child to participate in planning his/her course of study; he also advocated project method or group learning and depended heavily upon experiential learning.

Dewey's progressive methodology rested upon the notion that children were active, organic beings—growing and changing—and as such they required a course of study which would reflect their particular stage of development. He advocated both freedom and responsibility for students since those are vital components of democratic living. He believed that the school should reflect the community, in order to enable students when they graduate to assume societal roles and to maintain the democratic way of life. Democracy was particularly important for Dewey. And he believed that it could be more perfectly realized through education—education which would continually reconstruct and reorganize society.

Dewey's vision of schools was rooted in the social order; he did not see ideas as separate from social conditions. He fervently believed that philosophy had a responsibility to society and that ideas required laboratory testing; hence the importance of the school as a place where ideas can be implemented, challenged, restructured, and reconstructed with the goal of implementing them to improve the social order. Moreover, he believed that school should provide "conjoint, communicated experience," that it should function as preparation for life in a democratic society.

In line with the progressive political atmosphere of the turn of the century, Dewey viewed the role of the school within the larger societal conditions of which it was a part. As such, Dewey's vision of schooling must be understood as part of the larger project of social progress and improvement. While Dewey was certainly concerned with the social dimensions of

schooling, he also was acutely aware of the school's effects on the individual. Thus, Dewey's philosophy of education made a conscious attempt to balance the social role of the school with its effects on the social, intellectual, and personal development of individuals. In other words, Dewey believed that the schools should balance the needs of society and community on the one hand, and of the individual on the other. This tension, or what the philosopher of education Maxine Greene (1988) terms the "dialectic of freedom," is central to understanding Dewey's work.

Writing at the turn of the century, Dewey, like his contemporary the French sociologist Emile Durkheim, saw the effects of modernization and urbanization on the social fabric of Western society. The rapid transformation in the 19th century from a traditional, agrarian world to a modern industrial one shattered the traditional bonds of solidarity and cohesion that held people together. Combined with the mass immigration to the U.S. in the late 19th century, the urban worlds of Chicago and New York City where Dewey spent his adult life were often fragmented, and in Durkheim's words, anomic (without norms). For both Durkheim and Dewey, the schools had to play a key role in creating a modern form of cohesion by socializing diverse groups into a cohesive democratic community.

The key to Dewey's vision is his view that the role of the school was to integrate children into a democratic society, not any type of society. Therefore, Dewey's view of integration is premised on the school as an embryonic democratic society where cooperation and community are desired ends. Dewey did not believe, however, that the school's role was to integrate children into a non-democratic society. Rather, he believed that if schools instilled democratic and cooperative values in children they would be prepared as adults to transform the social order into a more democratic one. Although he located this central function of schools, he never adequately provided a solution to the problem of integrating diverse groups into a community without sacrificing their unique characteristics. This is a problem still hotly debated.

For Dewey, the primary role of education was growth. In a famous section of *Democracy and Education* (1916), Dewey stated that education had no other goals other than growth—growth leading to more growth. As Lawrence Cremin notes,

John Dewey liked to define the aim of education as growth, and when he was asked growth toward what, he liked to reply, growth leading to more growth. That was his way of saying that education is subordinate to no end beyond itself, that the aim of education is not merely to make parents, or citizens, or workers, or indeed to surpass the Russians or



Japanese, but ultimately to make human beings who will live life to the fullest, who will continually add to the quality and meaning of their experience and to their ability to direct that experience, and who will participate actively with their fellow human beings in the building of a good society. (1990, p. 125).

As the historian of education Diane Ravitch (1983) notes, Dewey's philosophies of education were often misunderstood and misapplied. It was often misapplied as "life adjustment education" and learning through experience as vocational education; it was often misapplied with regard to freedom, with individual freedom often confused with license and becoming far more important than other processes; and it was often totally distorted by providing social class appropriate education (i.e., vocational education for the poor). Despite these distorted applications, Dewey's philosophy of education, was central to all subsequent educational theory. For Dewey, the role of the school was to be "a lever of social reform," that is, to be the central institution for societal and personal improvement and to do so by balancing a complex set of processes.

### Contemporary Progressive Educational Reforms

Writing in the 1990s, one is encouraged by the increased interest in progressive education, especially as it relates to attempts to balance individualism and community. After over a decade of conservative domination of educational discourse, and during a period where school choice, tuition vouchers, and wide-spread loss of faith in public education have been the foundation for Goals 2000, it is heartening to see educators who are looking instead to more progressive models. For example, in May 1992, at a 2-day conference of educators sponsored by the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools, and Teachers (NCREST) at Teachers College, Columbia University, time and again educators echoed the need to restructure schools along the line of the democratic and egalitarian community envisioned by Dewey almost a century earlier. There was a stark contrast between the rhetoric of Washington-based reform—with its emphasis on assessment, accountability, and excellence—and the conference's concern with progressive principles and practices such as equity, democracy, integrated curriculum, authentic assessment, and cooperative learning.

Although the NCREST Conference articulated many of the progressive ideas that have become a part of recent educational reforms, it was somewhat ironic that many conference participants had little awareness of the historical roots of the practices that they advocated. That this conference was aimed primarily at public school educators and that the majority of



the sessions dealt with public schools, raises two important issues. First, in the 1920s and 1930s many progressive experiments were generated in the private sector. Progressive education in the public schools was more often than not a distorted version of Dewey, representing the triumph of what historian David Tyack (1974) has termed administrative progressivism. In the 1990s, when interest in progressive education comes from educators in the public schools as well as the private schools, many of the progressive practices supported by public educators have their origins in independent progressive schools that began in the early 20th century, such as the City and Country School and the Dalton School. Second, the progressive issue of equity expressed both in Dewey's work and in contemporary progressive reform raises a significant issue concerning progressive education at such independent schools. That is, can schools that from their inception catered to an economically elite population (scholarships notwithstanding), really be taken seriously as progressive schools and held up as models for contemporary reform? It has been noted elsewhere<sup>3</sup> that Deweyan progressive education by the 1920s more often than not was found in independent schools, such as Dalton and City and Country. That their populations were often composed of children of the affluent upper middle classes, while posing a political problem for progressives, is nonetheless a reality. Thus, any discussion of the history of most independent progressive schools must take into account this progressive paradox. Can schools that have educated affluent children, however "artsy" and intellectual their parents, truly educate for democracy? This is a question with which many of these schools have long grappled. What this paradox indicates is that a discussion of the lessons to be learned from these schools must recognize that they were not public schools. They must be examined for what they were, independent schools that provided progressive education for the children of the mostly affluent. Contemporary concerns with equity, although exceedingly important, should not be used to render the discussion invalid. Despite the paradox, the history of these schools provides much insight for contemporary educational reform. The question for contemporary educational policy is how to translate these lessons into more democratic and inclusive settings.

An examination of contemporary progressive educational reform indicates the attempt for schools to balance the tensions between individualism and community. For example, the statement of principles of the steering committee of the Network of Progressive Educators, drafted on

<sup>3</sup>Semel (1992, 1995) provides an analysis of the social class origins of progressive education and of three progressive schools.

November 10, 1990,<sup>4</sup> reflects contemporary attempts to reintroduce progressive ideas into public school reform. According to the Network's statement (parenthetical comments added to emphasize the concern for balancing individualism and community), fundamental principles and assumptions include:

- Education is best accomplished where relationships are personal and teachers design programs which honor the linguistic and cultural diversity of the local community. (individualism and community)
- Teachers, as respected professionals, are crucial sources of knowledge about teaching and learning.
- Curriculum balance is maintained by commitment to children's individual interests and developmental needs, as well as a commitment to community within and beyond the school's walls. (individualism and community)
- Schools embrace the home cultures of children and their families. Classroom practices reflect these values and bring multiple cultural perspectives to bear. (community)
- Students are active constructors of knowledge and learn through direct experience and primary sources. (individualism)
- All disciplines—the arts, sciences, humanities, and physical development—are valued equally in an interdisciplinary curriculum.
- Decision making within schools is inclusive of children, parents, and staff. (individualism and community)
- The school is a model of democracy and humane relationships confronting issues of racism, classism, and sexism. (community)
- Schools actively support critical inquiry into the complexities of global issues. Children can thus assume the powerful responsibilities of world citizenship. (community). (Network of Progressive Educators, 1991, p. 3)

These principles can be seen in action at a number of public schools as progressive educators in the United States have reemphasized the need for progressive education for children from diverse class, race, and ethnic

<sup>4</sup>It is important to note that such use of contemporary principles is historically problematic in judging the history of a school, as they impose a contemporary view of progressive education which may not be appropriate for a given period in a school's history. Thus, while they will be used to examine the schools' history, as well as their current status as progressive schools, it is important to note the limitations of these contemporary definitions of progressive education. Additionally, as they are written to include both the public and private sectors and may indeed reflect an emphasis on public education, some of the principles may not easily apply to the schools examined here, especially those related to diverse cultures. Nonetheless, as a heuristic device it is helpful in providing a framework for understanding the transformation of these schools.

backgrounds (Network of Progressive Educators, 1991). One such school, Central Park East Secondary School (CPESS), founded in 1985 by Deborah Meier, is a progressive public school in District 4, East Harlem, New York City (see Meier, 1995). The school is guided by the principles of the Coalition of Essential Schools, founded by TheodoreSizer. In many respects, it mirrors the pedagogic practices of the early Dalton School, City and Country School, and the Downtown Community School. It has an integrated curriculum, child-centered teaching methods, an advisory system, and attempts to integrate students into a cohesive community of learners. Although it is not the purpose of this article to go into a detailed description and analysis of CPESS, the important point is that, unlike the schools discussed in this article, it is a public school with a predominantly working class African-American and Latino student population. The school's success suggests that the type of progressive education that has been the province of the middle and upper middle classes can work effectively with students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Thus, it behooves us to examine how lessons from the past can inform present practice.

Central Park East Secondary School is part of the Center for Collaborative Education in New York City. The Center consists of elementary, middle, and high schools and is affiliated with the Coalition for Essential Schools. CPESS subscribes to the Coalition's 12 principles of education (parenthetical comments added to emphasize the concern for balancing individualism and community):

- Schools that are small and personalized in size. (individualism and community)
- A unified course of study for all students. (community)
- A focus on helping young people to use their minds well. (individualism and community)
- An in-depth intradisciplinary curriculum respectful of the diverse heritages that encompass our society. (community)
- Active learning with student-as-worker/student-as-citizen and teacher-as-coach. (individualism and community)
- Student evaluation by performance-based assessment methods.
- A school tone of unanxious expectation, trust, and decency. (community)
- Family involvement, trust, and respect. (community)
- Collaborative decision making and governance. (community)
- Choice. (individualism)
- Racial, ethnic, economic, and intellectual diversity. (individualism and community)
- Budget allocations targeting time for collective planning.



It is interesting to note that there is little if any reference in the literature of Central Park East, the Center for Collaborative Education, or the Coalition of Progressive Schools to progressive education. This is probably due to the continuing contempt for progressive education on the part of mainstream reformers, especially those who control grant funds. Although it is understandable, given pragmatic concerns, that these educational reform groups do not label themselves as progressive, it is also clear that their principles and practices have their historical origin in the Deweyan progressivism of the early 20th century. The next section of this article will examine three schools representative of this type of historical progressivism and analyze how they attempted to balance individualism and community. Two of the schools, the City and Country School and the Dalton School, were founded in 1914 and 1919, respectively. The other school, the Downtown Community School, was founded in 1944. The Downtown Community School (DCS) provides an interesting contrast to the other two. It developed into a social reconstructionist school, which became a haven for teachers, and children whose parents were blacklisted. It was the most radical of the three, had the least affluent student population, and is also the one of the three that no longer exists.

### Independent Progressive Schools: Three Historical Case Studies

Before the 1920s, progressive reformers tended to concentrate their efforts in public education, applying scientific management techniques to the administration of schools (Tyack & Hansot, 1981), reforming curriculum, and creating secondary vocational schools. As Cremin (1988) suggests, during the 1920s many progressive educators began to focus "on a select group of pedagogical innovative independent schools catering principally to middle class children" (p. 229). Such a school was the Dalton School, founded by Helen Parkhurst, coincidentally as World War I was drawing to a close and "a great divide in the history of progressive education" (Cremin, 1961, p. 179) was occurring—one in which the thrust toward "social reformism was virtually eclipsed by the rhetoric of child-centered pedagogy" (Cremin, 1961, p. 181).

During the first part of the 20th century "progressive private day schools began to emerge in growing numbers" (Kraushaar, 1972, p. 81). These schools, often the creation of parent cooperatives or talented practitioners, held the common practice that "each individual has uniquely creative potentialities and that a school in which children are encouraged freely to develop their potential is the best guarantee of a larger society truly devoted to human worth and excellence" (Cremin, 1961, p. 202).

These schools, commonly referred to by educators as "child-centered,"



were often founded by female practitioners “spurred by the revolt against ‘the harsh pedagogy’ of the existing schools and by the ferment of change and new thought of the first two decades of the twentieth century” (Kraushaar, 1972, p. 81 ). While many historians tend to group these schools together, nevertheless, each has a distinct philosophy and practice according to the particular vision of its founder. For example, City and Country, founded by Caroline Pratt, emphasized the notion of self-expression and growth through play, in particular through play with wooden blocks.<sup>5</sup> Another school, such as The Walden School, founded by Margaret Naumburg—who was heavily influenced by Freudian psychology—emphasized the notion of “individual transformation.” Under the leadership of Naumburg’s sister, Florence Cane, the school encouraged “children to paint exactly what they felt impelled to paint” (Cremin, 1961, p. 213). Other examples include The Bank Street School, founded by Lucy Sprague Mitchem (Antler, 1987) and The Lincoln School, founded by Abraham Flexner, which became a laboratory school for Teachers College, Columbia University. Outside of New York City, where each of these schools was founded, were other examples of progressive education. Among these were the The Putney School, a boarding school in Putney, Vermont, founded by Carmelita Hinton (Geer, 1982; Lloyd, 1987), Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, founded by one of the early pioneers of progressive pedagogy, Colonel Francis W. Parker,<sup>6</sup> and The Shady Hill School in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Yeomans, 1979).

Whereas the child-centered schools often emphasized the individualism side of the Deweyan “dialectic of freedom,” a second branch of progressivism—social reconstructionism—emphasized the community side of the education, especially with regard to the development of a more just, humane, and egalitarian society. Based upon the work of Kenneth Benne (1995) and George Counts (1932), social reconstructionists viewed schools as the key to building a new social order (James, 1995). Although the child-centered and social reconstructionist strands of progressive education often represented distinctive and separate movements, the child-centered schools mentioned above nonetheless incorporated many of the community centered aspects of social reconstructionism as they attempted to meet the individual needs of children and simultaneously integrate them into a democratic community.

For the purpose of this study, we have selected three schools—each in New York City—representing very different community configurations. They are City and Country School (founded in 1914 by Caroline Pratt) which focused on early childhood education and was basically an elemen-

<sup>5</sup>For a full discussion of Caroline Pratt’s philosophy, see Pratt (1924).

<sup>6</sup>See Stone (1976) for a discussion of the school. For Parker’s writings on progressive pedagogy, see Parker (1894, 1903).

tary school; the Dalton School (founded in 1919 by Helen Parkhurst) which accommodated both elementary and secondary school students; and the Downtown Community School (founded in 1944), which was a parent co-operative on the Lower East Side of New York City. It began as a child-centered, democratic school, which emphasized diversity of race, religion, ethnicity, and economic position. By the 1950s, it became a haven for blacklisted teachers and for children whose parents had been blacklisted. It is the only one of the three that clearly was a social reconstructionist school.

### City and Country School

Caroline Pratt—a former practitioner from Fayetteville, New York—began her school, which would eventually become City and Country, in a three-room apartment in Greenwich Village in the fall of 1914. Influenced by current pedagogical thinking, she attempted “to try to fit the school to the child, rather than as we were doing with indifferent success—fitting the child to the school” (Pratt, 1948, p. 8). However, as it will become apparent, Pratt also created alongside of her child-centered pedagogy an embryonic community within the school, which attempted to mirror a democratic society.

Interestingly, Pratt began her school as a “play school”—a pre-kindergarten school—based on the notion that children learn by play and that for children, play was really hard work (Pratt, 1948). In particular, Pratt emphasized the use of wooden blocks to help children “sort out and make sense of the world around them” (Murray, 1950, n.p.). Pratt explicitly stated that the program for the younger children, and the one for the older children as well, was formulated through

. . . work with blocks and kindred materials. Play with these materials is an organizing experience. At three or four, children come to blockbuilding, for example, after a good deal of experiencing with their bodies. They themselves have been everything . . . cows, animals of all kinds, engines . . . everything that moves. . . . Now they become interested in the details. What part of the engine makes the whistle? What makes the movement? Who pulls the throttle? Children are interested in these not as mere facts, but as facts to be used in play; or it would be more correct to say that what the information does to the play is to keep it going and help it to organize as a whole, to raise new inquiries and above all to offer new opportunities relationships . . . this is what blockbuilding means to us. (Pratt, 1927, p. 105)

As stated above, play for Pratt was not static; rather she believed that the play experience leads to new opportunities for further experiences and therefore, growth.

Although Pratt began her school with six children from working class families whose tuitions were funded by outside benefactors, she had difficulty attracting and retaining working class families from the neighborhood. As she expanded both her preschool and elementary school programs in a new building that she rented on West 13th Street, she observed,

We did not get as many children as we had hoped. It was one thing for parents to send their children to *play* school before they were six, but quite another to keep them out of public school and send them to us. They were afraid the children would not be ready for public school later, and they were not far wrong. We had no intention of pushing three R's on the children until we felt they were ready. (Pratt, 1948, pp. 48-49)

However, if working class families were unwilling to participate in Caroline Pratt's pedagogical experiment, artists and writers in the neighborhood were not. Rather, this group was far more willing to embrace unconventional methods and thus, the composition of the student body changed dramatically during the school's initial years to include mostly Greenwich Village bohemians, along with some upper class WASPs, and German Jews (Pratt, 1948).

Although Caroline Pratt began City and Country with a focus upon the early years of the child, she eventually began to add more classes concerned with academic content, until the school eventually accommodated children through age 13. The pedagogic practice was frankly Deweyan in nature, based on the needs and interests of children at various ages and heavily slanted towards inquiry and experimentation, book learning, and experience. Pratt believed that young children should initially learn experimentally and experientially from their immediate environments; then, as they mature and as their horizons expand, they should be introduced to move sophisticated tasks and materials:

As the children grow older, they carry their inherent experimental method into other fields with the help of a teacher and a loosely but positively organized program. Jobs require trips to stores to purchase things. A school store requires extended buying at wholesale and selling again at retail. Wholesalers need warehouses for supplies and the children visit there. Finally they begin to require books as sources of information; and through these, with the teacher's help, they extend their inquiries beyond the confines of their own city. They make maps instead of floor schemes. They are pushing back their own horizons. (Pratt, 1933, p. 70)

As the curriculum of the school began to evolve, so did the practice of assigning specific jobs "of actual service" to the different age groups, so that the school eventually functioned as a self-sufficient community. For exam-



ple, the Eights (eight-year-olds) ran the school store; the Nines. the post office. The Tens produced all of the hand-printed materials for the Sevens, such as flash cards and reading charts, while the Elevens ran the print shop and attended to all of the school's printed needs: attendance lists, library cards, stationery, and so forth. The Twelves first made toys, then weaving, until they finally settled upon the publication of a monthly publication called *The Bookworm's Digest*, which reviewed new children's books sent to the group by publishers as well as "Old Favorites," a particularly popular column in the journal (Pratt, 1948, p. 101). As students performed jobs they also learned basic academic skills as well as more sophisticated principles of economics, for example. What emerged from this model was a community of independent young children who were actively engaged in their learning, while concurrently contributing to the life of their school community.<sup>7</sup> In sum, these students were, to return to Dewey, "saturated with the spirit of service," while learning to be self-directed in the context of the school community—"the best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious" (Dworkin, 1959, p. 49).

While Pratt's leadership was often less than democratic, nevertheless, her creation of an educational community in which students contribute cooperatively toward its maintenance while learning experientially as well as through traditional means exemplifies Dewey's idea of a school as a "democratic workshop" (Westbrook, 1992, p. 7). Pratt (1948) believed that "a school's greatest value must be to turn out human beings who could think effectively and work constructively, who could in time make a better world than this for living in" (p. 15). Clearly she attempted to do just that at City and Country. Her school remains today at West 13th Street in Greenwich Village, a small progressive school, struggling to remain true to the vision of its founder while at the same time meeting the needs of its students at a dramatically different point in time.

City and Country provides an important example for contemporary educational reform. It has remained true to the vision of its founder and today is an exemplar of the type of education advocated by the Network of Progressive Educators and the Center for Collaborative Education. Its child-centered, democratic community with its emphasis on freedom and responsibility should serve as a model for contemporary reformers. Throughout its history it has attempted to provide a balance between the

<sup>7</sup>While we tend to believe that many of the child-centered schools did create important communities, the historian Lawrence A. Cremin takes a less sanguine view in *The Transformation of the School* (1961). Readers should entertain both points of view; therefore, for a different perspective of Caroline Pratt's school, see Cremin (1961, pp. 201-207).



individual and community by paying close attention to the developmental needs of individual children and at the same time explicitly connecting children to a democratic school community.

### The Dalton School

Helen Parkhurst—a practitioner from Durand, Wisconsin—founded the Dalton School in New York City in 1919.<sup>8</sup> Influenced by Maria Montessori, John Dewey, and Carleton Washburne,<sup>9</sup> she created the Dalton Plan, which attempted to provide students with a better way to learn; a plan which would permit them to organize and pursue their studies individually, while doing so within an environment which would be conducive to maximum cooperation and interaction between the members of the school community. In essence, Parkhurst, like Pratt, attempted to balance individualism and group life within the school, understanding full well that her students must ultimately be prepared to live in a democratic society.

In founding the Dalton School, Helen Parkhurst was aided and encouraged by her benefactress Mrs. W. Murray Crane, of Crane Paper in Dalton, Massachusetts. Intrigued by what she had read about Parkhurst, Mrs. Crane invited her to Dalton, (c. 1916) to start a school in her home for her young daughter, Louise, and three of her friends. Again, encouraged by Mrs. Crane, Helen Parkhurst managed to introduce the Dalton Plan in the local public high school, where it enjoyed a very brief life. In 1919, funded by Mrs. Crane, Helen Parkhurst opened the Dalton School on West 72nd Street in New York City. In 1929 the school moved to its present location on 89th Street between Park and Lexington Avenues.

Helen Parkhurst's early educational efforts attracted a great deal of attention. Her book, *Education on The Dalton Plan*, was published in 1922 and within 6 months of its publication, it was translated into 14 languages. Essentially, Parkhurst was concerned with creating

a community environment to supply experiences to free the native impulses and interests of each individual of the group. Any impediments in the way of native impulses prevent the release of pupil energy. It is

<sup>8</sup>Originally called The Children's University School.

<sup>9</sup>Throughout her career, Helen Parkhurst maintained that "her teachers" figuratively speaking, were John Dewey and Maria Montessori. Significantly, she omits the work of Carleton Washburne, the architect of the individual system not unlike the Dalton Plan of Parkhurst. It is our contention that she probably was far more aware of Washburne's work than she was willing to acknowledge and that her work, far from being original, represents a synthesis of the ideas of all three individuals. For a more detailed discussion, see Semel (1992).

not the creation of pupil energy but its release and use that is the problem of education. (Parkhurst as quoted in E. Dewey, 1922, p. 136)

The guiding principles of the Dalton Plan were freedom and cooperation. By freedom, Parkhurst intended the student to work free from "interruption . . . upon any subject in which he/she is absorbed, because when interested he/she is mentally keener, more alert, and more capable of mastering any difficulty that may arise in the course of study" (Parkhurst, 1922, p. 16). To this end she abolished bells, for she was thoroughly cognizant of the fact that students learn at their own rate and she wished to create a learning environment conducive to their needs. As she dramatically suggests in her book, "Freedom is taking one's time. To take someone else's time is slavery" (p. 16).

By cooperation—Parkhurst's second principle—she meant like Dewey, "the interaction of group life" (Parkhurst, 1922, p. 16). Concerned with preparing students to live in a democracy, she attempted to create a school in which maximum cooperation and interaction would occur between students and students, and students and teachers. To this end she implemented her principle through the work problem:

Under the Dalton Laboratory Plan we place the work problem squarely before him (the student), indicating the standard which has to be attained. After that he is allowed to tackle it as he thinks fit in his own way and at his own speed. Responsibility for the result will develop not only his latent intellectual powers, but also his judgment and character. (Parkhurst, 1922, p. 18)

The student, at the beginning of the academic year, would be apprised of the year's work in each subject. He/she would be required to discuss his/her plan of action with each teacher, since Parkhurst believed it was essential that both student and faculty members perceive their tasks. Later, the student might discuss his/her action with other students and on their recommendations, he/she might modify his/her chosen course of study; he/she might even abandon it and start another. This process, while time consuming, nevertheless allows students to participate in planning their studies with both faculty and students, interacting with the community in the spirit of cooperation.

In addition to planning, cooperation could be achieved through student activities, such as clubs or committees, and the house system, the latter an important component of the Dalton Plan. House, particularly in the high school, was conceived of by Parkhurst as an arrangement of the student population into small, mixed-aged clusters meeting with teacher-advisors four times per week for a total period of 90 minutes. The content of the

house meeting was varied. It might consist of students planning and executing their work, planning an assembly for the entire school community as a group, thus discharging their responsibility to the school community; or it might deal with such mundane annoyances as students' difficulties scheduling appointments with faculty members. House discussions might include personal concerns of individual students as well, since Parkhurst believed that students' attitudes, habits, and experiences had a definite bearing on community life within the school. In sum, house would serve as the institution which would foster the spirit of cooperation among students while simultaneously encouraging the development of the qualities of independence and social awareness among its constituents (Parkhurst, 1937).

Other components of the Dalton Plan consisted of the contract system, the assignment, and lab. Regarding the former, the curriculum was divided into "jobs" usually encompassing 20-day time periods. Each student would contract for his/her "job" and would sign a contract to the effect.<sup>10</sup> Students' tasks appeared on the assignment: "an outline of the contract-job with all its parts" (Parkhurst, 1922, p. 50). Lab, conceived of as a means of assisting the student to grow in independence and responsibility, consisted of large blocks of time in the daily schedule (usually each morning from nine o'clock to noon) which were set aside for students and teachers to work together to fulfill contract obligations. Lab could be either a group or individual experience; students could meet with teachers or not. However, each teacher had a lab room and each student was expected to utilize the resources of his/her teachers.

Above all, flexibility was the key to the success of Parkhurst's particular vision of progressive education. Conferences (classes) were called only as needed; classes (grade meetings), too, were called on a need basis and were usually convened to discuss problems common to a particular age group. Parkhurst's Dalton exuded a quality of informality, enormous energy, situational decision making, and a high level of engagement in both the part of its faculty and students.

In the early years, Dalton's student population was similar to that of City and Country's. It consisted primarily of the children of upper middle class and upper class WASPs and German Jews, artists, intellectuals, writers, and musicians. Over the years, the population has changed with increasing numbers of newly monied professionals, including Eastern European Jews, Wall Street investment bankers, and high profile perform-

<sup>10</sup>The younger children, usually in The Middle School, signed contracts. Students in the high school were monitored through progress charts, which required obtaining faculty signatures as their tasks were completed.



ers, including Diana Ross, Dustin Hoffman, Tom Brokaw, Robert Redford, and Woody Allen.

Today, Parkhurst's school is a large, thriving institution with three sites and a student body more than three times as large as that of the original school. It has accommodated itself to the educational marketplace and is less progressive, more traditional, and more concerned with achievement and college placement.<sup>11</sup>

The history of the Dalton School is sobering for those committed to democratic, progressive education. Dalton has survived and thrives by catering to the vicissitudes of the market. In doing so, it has sacrificed many of its early progressive principles and become an elite, college preparatory school. Nevertheless, there is much to be learned from its curriculum and pedagogic practices. House has become the model for the advisory system at CPESS, although ironically Deborah Meier has never acknowledged the influence of Dalton or Parkhurst. Lab may be used as a model for a successful tutorial system. Assignment is in fact the model for the IEP in special education. Additionally, the assignment lends itself to the type of alternative and portfolio assessment currently in vogue. Although the Dalton School now more closely mirrors competitive market capitalism than it does a Deweyan conception of democratic society, throughout its history it attempted to balance individualism and community. Even today, it struggles with how to instill community values to a student body often more interested in status and economic success than issues of social justice. In large measure, the transformation of the Dalton School from its early progressive roots to its competitive, elite status today indicates the difficulty that schools have in creating communitarian values within a highly individualistic and competitive society.

### The Downtown Community School

The Downtown Community School (DCS) was founded in 1944 in the Greenwich House Music School Building by a group of 25 parents who were disenchanted with the local public schools in the area, which they "found to be troubled with serious overcrowding, stultified teaching methods, and consequent inadequacy" (DCS, 1964, n.p.). They also found that "the existing private schools were burdened with too many applications and long waiting lists" (DCS, 1964, n.p.). Therefore, DCS was

born out of the need for a new school for a new school which would provide the proper size classes for individualized educational attention,

<sup>11</sup>For a detailed discussion of the transformation of the school's population and pedagogic practices, see Semel (1992).



which was the hallmark of a fine private school, together with the intercultural mixture of students and teachers which is the democratic pride of the ideal public school system. (DCS, 1964, n.p.)

In October, 1945 it moved to its permanent home at 235 East 11th Street, until it closed in 1971. Its location, New York's Lower East Side, was intentional, as from the beginning DCS sought to attract a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-class student body. In 1951, Norman Studer became the head of DCS. A Mennonite, married to a Jew, he came from a independent progressive school background. having taught at Little Red School House in Greenwich Village with Elisabeth Irwin. Norman Studer became, like Parkhurst and Pratt the driving force of the institution. He had social reconstructionist beliefs and attempted to transform the school into a far more politically radical place than it was originally. Much of the multicultural emphasis of the school came from Studer's passionate commitment to diversity. Like Parkhurst, he was a charismatic leader, and the school often was a reflection of his own vision. Although many in the DCS community loved and revered him, others did not. In the 1960s and early 1970s, internal conflicts about the direction of the school resulted in a schism from which the school never recovered. One of its original leaders finally left to found her own school, Corlears, still in existence in New York City, and with her she took many students. Although the reasons for its closing are complex—and have to do with changing market and political conditions, finances, and middle class flight to the suburbs, as well as political disagreements within the DCS community—the fact that the one school in this study that made the most significant commitment to democratic education is also the only no longer in existence raises significant questions about independent progressive schools and democratic education. We will return to this point later.

DCS was a N-8 school with a child-centered philosophy. Its nursery school curriculum was experiential and in the lower grades the entire building was used as the classroom, including the bathrooms, because "for the younger children the bathrooms are large enough to be used as play-rooms—plenty of waterplay is necessary for children in these early years" (DCS, n.d., 5). It was similar to City and Country as it included painting, dramatic play, working with tools, and block play. In fact, the following statement on block play at DCS could have been written by Caroline Pratt:

Blocks are marvelously satisfying things. Children find an infinite variety of use for them. They lend themselves to exploration . . . blocks serve many purposes. They give children opportunity to recreate what they have seen and experienced. While the three-year-olds use them for simple structures, the five-year-olds begin the reconstruction of the world as

they know it. They build the Empire State Building and the Statue of Liberty. They build the rivers and bridges they have seen on their trips. They build their own Manhattan. Here are the beginnings of the learning of geography as it evolves from first hand experience. Here are the beginnings of mathematical concepts as children learn about shapes, sizes, numbers. Here are the beginnings of reading and writing as children make signs to put on their buildings. (DCS, n.d., 7)

The elementary school at DCS illustrated Basil Bernstein's theory of pedagogic practice with regard to the development of invisible pedagogy.<sup>12</sup> According to school literature:

The philosophy of the school also includes recognition of the child's need for rules and limits. The relaxed and friendly atmosphere of the modern classroom is an ordered freedom, the freedom of children who accept the necessity for basic rules and organization in order that individuals in a group may work productively. . . . The aim is to develop self-discipline, the ability to postpone immediate pleasure for the satisfactions and rewards of accomplishment through hard work and steady application to a job. (DSC, n.d., p. 9)

Thus, the internal authority required for invisible pedagogic practices was explicitly developed through the elementary school curriculum. The curriculum emphasized an interdisciplinary approach to reading, writing, mathematics, science, foreign language, art and music, and the communication arts. It emphasized reading literature and writing. The core curriculum was social studies and emphasized a multicultural approach to understanding other people. The literature of DCS regarding its core curriculum reads as if were written today:

Social studies is the study of peoples. It is the core around which much learning is organized: history, civics, geography, geology, and anthropology. The study begins in the First Grade where the children move out of the school doors and begin to look at their city. As they grow older they add the dimension of history: the Indians, the pioneer, and the American heritage back to other continents and other peoples—Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America. (DCS, n.d., n.p.)

The integrated nature of the DCS curriculum is reflected in the following statement of philosophy:

We believe that the best way for students to learn about man's social

<sup>12</sup>For a detailed analysis of Bernstein's theory of pedagogic practice, see Atkinson (1985), Bernstein (1977, 1990), and Sadovnik (1991, 1995).

structure is to dig deeply into some area of human experience and examine the many facets of sciences and the arts. The interdisciplinary approach is becoming more urgently needed at a time when scholars are narrowing their focus . . . we see many reasons for the broad view, for the restoration of the human being as the center of attention. The core curriculum is designed to bring the sciences and humanities together in the education of young people, as one of the ways in which they can be helped to achieve order and unity in their fragmented world. (Studer, "Notes on the Core Curriculum," n.d.-a)

Of all the schools examined in this article, clearly DCS was the school most committed to multiculturalism (which DCS called interculturalism). Its student body reflected diversity, in terms of race, class, gender, religion, and ethnicity. Its curriculum, especially in social studies, reflected a concern for the heratiges of all students. By the late 1960s, Studer attempted to link the school explicitly to the Civil Rights Movement. For example, he wrote,

Young people are moving out of their communities to help eradicate war, racism and pollution of the air and water, and thus we are confirmed in our conviction that our emphasis on the community approach is right for the youth in our classrooms . . . The important contribution toward which our school is headed is that of being a model for the community school concept. (Studer, 1970, n.p.)

Further, in a pamphlet titled "What We Believe," written by Studer, the principles of interculturalism include:

- In order to rear children without prejudice in our society the principles of intergroup education must pervade every avenue of living and learning at school .
- Children should be given the opportunity to learn in depth about the life and cultures of the world combining *knowledge* of others with *feeling* for them. (Studer, "What We Believe," n.d.-b)

The establishment in 1955 of the Nancy Bloch Award represented DCS's commitment to both multicultural education and teaching through literature. The award, which was a memorial to a DCS student who died, was "to encourage the writing, publication, and, reading of children's books that promote understanding between various groups in the United States." The school also established the Nancy Bloch Memorial Library to house such books and published a list of recommended books for children.

There are important lessons to be learned from the history of the Downtown Community School. First, like CPESS, it demonstrates that progressive pedagogical practices can work with a diverse student body. Second,



its curriculum practices and materials clearly indicate a commitment to integrated curriculum and multicultural education. In fact, its practices in these two areas are vastly superior to much of what currently goes under the rubric of multiculturalism and whole language. Like the three other schools, there was no reason to call it whole language. Students simply learned to read and write by reading literature and writing about it. The sad lesson to be learned is that the school most dedicated to transformative, democratic principles was also the one school to die. More historical research on the demise of the school is required in order to understand why it did not survive. Preliminary analysis is not terribly optimistic about the ability of such a school to survive in the independent school world. Whereas Dalton became market sensitive and catered to the elitism of its new monied clientele, DCS attempted to remain true to its social reconstructionist ideology, thus rendering it extremely vulnerable to market forces. Additionally, questionable leadership and ideological conflict both contributed to its demise. In fact, much of this conflict appears to have been between the child-centered and social reconstructionist groups within the school. Despite its unfortunate end, there is much to be learned in terms of curriculum and pedagogy from its 26-year history.

### Discussion

Earlier in this article, we outlined the principles of the Network of Progressive Educators as an example of the types of reforms that have been called for to improve public education. Further, we suggested that these principles attempt to balance individualism and community. It is unfortunate that contemporary reformers often reinvent the wheel rather than look to the past for guidance. There is much to be learned from the histories of City and Country, Dalton, and the Downtown Community School. Because they are all independent schools, they are rarely looked at as models for public school improvement. An examination of some of the principles outlined above, however, indicates that all three schools practiced some of these principles during their histories:

- Education is best accomplished where relationships are personal and teachers design programs which honor the linguistic and cultural diversity of the local community.

All three schools had a history of close personal relationships between students, parents, faculty, and administration. The creation of community was central to their philosophies and each school attempted to create such a community. Although all three schools had conflicts that created political and organizational problems (in one case resulting in the school's demise),



the creation of a close-knit community for students was always a hallmark of these schools.

One of the principles ill-suited to the Dalton School is the honoring of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the local community. It does mirror its local community. The problem is that the community is not truly diverse. To be fair, the Dalton School has attempted to create a more diverse and multicultural population, but this has been less successful in the lower grades where children must rely on their parents for transportation to school. As an independent school with a high tuition, even with significant scholarship aid, the school cannot mirror the diversity of society at large. As we mentioned above, if this disqualifies such a school from consideration as progressive, then most, if not all, independent progressive schools could not be considered progressive. This is to a large degree also true of City and Country, which never was able to attract the diverse students with which Pratt initially started. It, too, has made significant efforts to attract a more diverse student body, but fiscal constraints make this difficult. DCS, however, was founded explicitly to honor the cultural diversity of its community. Throughout its history it created a personal and multicultural curriculum for its diverse student body.

- Curriculum balance is maintained by commitment to children's individual interests and developmental needs, as well as a commitment to community within and beyond the school's walls.

Historically, the Dalton School always had an explicit commitment to the needs and interests of its students, as well as to the community within and beyond its walls. Founded in the spirit of child-centered pedagogy and Dewey's notion of an embryonic community, Dalton was, and to some extent still is, this kind of school. In terms of commitment to the community within and outside, Dalton has a rich tradition in both areas—a tradition that has waned, but not disappeared. City and Country has always been committed to the needs of its students. Founded as a child-centered school, it continually stressed the developmental and emotional needs of its students in formulating curriculum and pedagogy. DCS took into consideration, as demonstrated above, the total environment of the school and its relationship to the physical and emotional needs of the child as it formulated its pedagogic practices. In terms of community service, both City and Country and DCS defined service to the community as service to the school. Both schools actively encouraged students to look to the school as a democratic community and to be active participants in the maintenance of that community.

- Schools embrace the home cultures of children and their families. Classroom practices reflect these values and bring multiple cultural perspectives to bear.

Perhaps one of the problems at Dalton is that it has too closely mirrored the affluent community in which it is located, rather than successfully challenging the values of materialism and affluence. Throughout its history, Dalton has attempted to instill in its students a social conscience. City and Country is similar to Dalton in this respect, although it has always attempted to create a multicultural curriculum. Additionally, it has made a significant effort to award scholarships to minority students who have had difficulty functioning in traditional settings. DCS clearly represented a school that was committed to creating a multicultural perspective for its students through its curriculum, its scholarship policy, and its emphasis on the relationship of the school to the neighborhood in which the school was located.

- Students are active constructors of knowledge and learn through direct experience and primary sources.

Historically, this was true at all levels of the Dalton School. Students were always actively engaged in their own learning, and progressive experiments such as the Otis Farm trip in Massachusetts exemplified experiential education. Today, this is less true, although students at Dalton are probably more involved in their own learning than students at most traditional schools. Students at City and Country have always used New York City as a laboratory for learning. The use of blocks has always allowed students to be active constructors of knowledge. At DCS, block play and field trips both in the city and to the country were significant parts of the curriculum. All three schools relied almost exclusively on primary and literary sources for teaching and learning.

- The school is a model of democracy and humane relationships confronting issues of racism, classism, and sexism.

Although Dalton has always philosophically confronted issues of racism, classism, and sexism, it is difficult to argue that a school that serves primarily advantaged white children can be held up as a paradigm for progressive concerns of this type. Again, it may be unfair to judge the school in this manner given its population, nonetheless, it cannot be termed a model of democracy in action. City and Country has been similar to Dalton in these respects. DCS, however, has been consistently cited by its alumni as a haven against persecution and as a safe place in which to grow up. Its multicultural curriculum always confronted issues of racism, classism, and sexism.

- Schools actively support critical inquiry into the complexities of global issues. Children can thus assume the powerful responsibilities of world citizenship.

Historically, this has been a hallmark of a Dalton education and continues to be so. Students actively participate in political, environmental, social, and community activities and the curriculum is concerned with social problems. In many respects, a Dalton education has always attempted to prepare its students for assuming responsibility along the lines envisioned by Dewey in his writings on democracy and education. Although City and Country and DCS attempted to do these things at the N-8 levels, the absence of a high school made educating for global responsibility somewhat limited. Nonetheless, both schools attempted to prepare students for democratic participation.

### Conclusion

The history of these three schools points to the importance of looking to the past in the attempt to formulate educational reforms. Many of the practices currently used at CPESS were originated in these schools. What Deborah Meier has demonstrated is that such progressive pedagogic practices can work for all children, not just the children of the affluent. Therefore, educational reformers would do well to look to the child-centered progressive schools for models of what worked, what didn't, and why. For example, all three schools were small enough to create personal communities; recent high school reforms in New York City—which have resulted in building small, alternative high schools as an antedote to large, bureaucratic comprehensive ones—might have been implemented years ago if reformers only looked to history. In fact, all of the current reforms, including whole language, authentic assessment, integrated curriculum, and multicultural education appear in some form in all three schools early in their histories.

We can also learn from the “success” of Dalton, the struggles of City and Country, and the demise of DCS. Their histories teach us significant lessons about school leadership, community, shared decision making, and the forces that affect school change.

Finally, with respect to the tensions between individualism and community so central to contemporary political and educational debates, the history of these three schools provides significant evidence of how progressive schools struggled with these tensions. Throughout its history, the Dalton School has attempted to balance the needs of individuals with the needs of community. In fact, the Dalton Plan itself was a pedagogical attempt to do just that, with House a mechanism for integrating students into the community; Lab, a place for individuals to receive individualized instruction and guidance; and Assignment, a mechanism for individualizing common assignments and allowing for individual differences in pacing. Likewise, City and Country has always emphasized the idea of



democratic community central to Deweyan progressivism. Through its community service and jobs component students become part of a micro-cosmic democratic society. At the same time, instruction has always been child-centered and linked to the individual needs of children. Finally, the Downtown Community School represented the most explicit social reconstructionist attempt to create a politically radical democratic society. Its curriculum and pedagogic practices were often adversarial to mainstream society and attempted to help students to develop a transformative philosophy of life. At the same time, DCS had a strong individualistic, child-centered curriculum, which looked similar to that of both early Dalton and City and Country. In the end, the conflicts between the child-centered and social reconstructionist groups in the school in part resulted in the battles that led to the school's closing. Despite the sobering lessons learned from its failure, DCS nonetheless provides a rich example of how a school struggles to balance individualism and community.

This article has demonstrated how three historically progressive schools attempted to balance individualism and community. It has also suggested that many contemporary progressive educational reforms have their origins in the early child-centered schools. It is time that educational reformers and practitioners stop reinventing the wheel. It is also time for historians of education to become part of the policy conversation. Through an examination of schools such as Dalton, City and Country, and DCS, it is evident that the past has much to teach us.

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# Nineteenth-Century Agrarian Populism and Twentieth-Century Communitarianism: Points of Contact and Contrast

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*Michael N. Johnson*

It is my purpose in this article to further the communitarian critique of liberalism. My hope is to accomplish this by comparing and contrasting the contemporary critique of liberalism with the critique of liberalism embedded in the 19th-century agrarian populist revolt. It is my belief that a better understanding of the 19th-century experience can serve to strengthen the foundations of the 20th-century effort.

The notion that the political philosophy of those we are calling communitarians is part of a tradition of thought with antecedents back to classical antiquity is not novel. Theobald and Dinkelman note some of these antecedents in the first article in this collection. Similarly Christopher Lasch in his final book, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (1995), states that "the populist and communitarian traditions are distinguishable but historically intertwined" (p. 92). My plan for this article is to (a) explicate the similarities between the populist and communitarian critiques; (b) provide an account of 19th-century agrarian populism emphasizing its theoretical bases in civic republicanism and a critique of "progress," as well as its educational underpinnings; and (c) to conclude by distinguishing the two traditions and suggesting a couple educational implications of a merged "third way."

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### Shared Sensibilities

The two most powerful connections between the populist and the communitarian traditions are their commitments to civic republicanism and their questioning of liberalism's celebration of progress. A strong feeling running throughout the rhetoric of the 19th-century agrarian revolt was that the social arrangements and values emerging in the Gilded Age did not unequivocally mark progress for the great masses of working people in the "producing classes." Similarly, communitarians are quick to point out that "the individual pursuit of self-interest has been destructive of many communities around the world. In each instance, the rights of individuals places such destruction in the convenient liberal category called 'progress'" (Theobald & Dinkelman, this issue).

The three primary criticisms of liberal progressive societies most commonly offered by populists and communitarians alike are (a) that the instrumental view of life upon which such societies are based is very narrow and ultimately corrupting; (b) that such societies require centralized, remote, and undemocratic power structures; and (c) more recently, the criticism is made that the major premise upon which such societies are built, that is, that productive forces can expand indefinitely, is false. I trust that the articles in this issue will confirm that such concerns underlie the communitarian critiques of liberalism. And I will try to demonstrate in the second section of this article how the first two criticisms were foundational to the 19th-century agrarian revolt.

The second major link between the populism and communitarianism, their shared commitments to the notion of civic republicanism, can be seen even more directly given that both schools of thought utilize this long intellectual tradition in their critiques of liberalism. Again, the contemporary communitarians have been explicit in acknowledging their reliance on this tradition. Recall that the first article briefly traces the tradition of civic republicanism from the Greek polis through Winstanley and Jefferson down to themselves. Similarly, it will be evident in the following section on 19th-century populism just how heavily their thought was based upon the tradition of civic republicanism, especially in their reliance on the thought of Jefferson, Paine, Bronson, and other early American proponents of the republican tradition.

Given that the civic republican ideal of citizenship requires the active participation of citizens in their government, it has always maintained that public virtue is a necessary foundation of a republic. That the modern liberal state has substituted strongly centralized bureaucratic government for the former and the market for the latter has offended the republican sensibilities of populists and communitarians alike.

An explanation is needed for what it means to say that liberalism has sub-

stituted the free market for the public virtue required in civic republicanism. The republican tradition has maintained from its inception in classical antiquity that loyalty to the community, or polis, and the active participation of all citizens in the community's governance are necessary preconditions to the survival of democratic republics. Without the civic public virtues of loyalty and active participation in the affairs of governance, republicans realized that the community would either disintegrate into self-absorbed anarchy or dissipate from the luxury bred of empire. In their view, either course spelled the eventual self-destruction of the democratic republic.

Lasch (1995) argues that one of the persistent features of liberalism since the Enlightenment has been "its belief that a liberal state could dispense with civic virtue" (p. 94). Liberals came to believe this possible because of their growing faith that the free market of individuals' economic interests would reduce the need for government and hence make citizens' civic virtues unnecessary. Presumably, universal material abundance was to simultaneously render questions of private morality and civic virtue moot. The terrible irony, of course, is that this substitution of the "free" market for demands of civic virtue has resulted in the current situation in which huge bureaucratic states have evolved to monitor the machinations of the huge global economy.

The results of this substitution, therefore, have been the increase in the need for government at the same time ordinary citizen's capacity to govern, or civic virtue, has been diminished. The liberal sentiments regarding this lack of a need for civic virtue in the modern liberal state are well summarized by Charles Taylor (1989) when he notes:

That in fact a mature liberal society does not demand very much of its members, as long as it delivers the goods and makes their lives prosperous and secure. As a matter of fact, on this view it is better if citizens do not participate too actively, but rather elect governments every few years and then let them get on with it. (p. 173)

I will return to this theme of elite versus participatory modes of democracy in the concluding section of this article. It has been my aim up to this point to have suggested a couple of crucial points of contact between the populist and communitarian critiques of liberalism, that is, their shared reliance on the republican notions of citizenship and their questioning of liberalism's ideas of the progressive society. I want now to turn to the defining moment in the American populist tradition, the 19th-century agrarian revolt.

### The Apex of American Populism

Before describing more fully the 19th-century populist movement some of

the fuzzy thinking which has grown up around the concept “populist” needs to be dispelled. Populism is not socialism—it is diametrically opposed to socialism’s collectivization of private property and its centralization and large scale industrialization tendencies. Populism is not utopian communitarianism—it rejects ideas of universal brotherhood and love as sentimental. Populism is not the new right in America—it rejects the new right’s continued commitments to progress, abundance, and acquisitive individualism. Nor is populism the creed of the misanthropic loner or rugged individualist, for populism treasures both the family life and civic involvement rejected by the extreme individualistic views. Finally, populism is not a synonym for any folksy appeal to “the people” no matter how base its message.

Rather, populism is identified with the ideals of civic republicanism, proprietary democracy, plebeian radicalism, the petty bourgeoisie, and the lower middle class. While it is true that historically some populist movements “became defensive and allied themselves with some of the worst impulses in modern life—anti-intellectualism, xenophobia, racism,” it is also true that this tradition alone has kept alive the “the only serious attempt to answer the great question of the twentieth-century politics: what was to replace proprietorship as the material foundation of civic virtue?” (Lasch, 1991, p. 531).

In order to better understand the thinking of the 19th-century agrarian populists, it would be good to keep in mind the basic values undergirding all populist thought, that is, their three basic value commitments of respect, responsibility, and loyalty. All populist thought demonstrates a respect for the limits attendant to our place in the natural order, including a respect for the necessity of hard work and tradition, a commitment to individual responsibility based on the proprietary ownership and use of private property, and a loyalty to the particulars of life, that is, loyalty to this family, this tribe, these traditions, this religion, this piece of land, this craft, or this calling.

To begin to understand the 19th-century agrarian populists expression of these values, we need to remind ourselves of the social context of their times.

### The Gilded Age

That era of American history following the Civil War and spanning from 1865 to 1900, that every American school child has learned to call the Gilded Age, was not kind to American farmers. Nor, for that matter, was it kind to American Indians, Blacks, laborers, or anyone else who was perceived as being in the way of industrialization and progress, for it was an age dominated by the giants of American finance and industry—the



Goulds, Morgans, Rockefellers, Carnegies, Astors, and Vanderbilts. These captains of industry, with mighty help from the government, built great monopolistic enterprises in finance, banking, steel, railroads, and manufactures. Their extravagances of wealth, power, and privilege—in the midst of great misery among masses of the people—were justified by the intellectuals of the day (i.e., newspaper editors, higher educators, and government officials) as necessary because of either Social Darwinism, the invisible hand of market forces, manifest destiny, the march of progress, or the Horatio Alger Myth.

By the 1870s, the farmers of the country suffering disproportionately, and in some cases fatally, the effects of a serious economic depression decided that they had had enough and needed to take matters into their own hands. What now follows is a quick overview of what they decided to do about their circumstances.

### The Agrarian Revolt

Juxtaposed to the rising fortunes and conspicuous consumption of the industrialist class was the grinding poverty and increasing hopelessness of millions of southern and western farmers in the antebellum period. An ever-increasing majority of southern farmers were entrapped in the vile crop lien system which held them in virtual peonage year after year, decade after decade, with death as the only escape for most. Western grain belt farmers were equally desperate as they increasingly saw themselves slipping into neo-colonialist status vis-a-vis absentee monopolies in the rail, elevator, equipment, finance, and commodity markets upon which they and their families' lives came to depend. Illustrative of the industrial system's dehumanizing attitude toward these fellow citizens was the furnishing merchants' custom of referring to the number of farmers they held in peonage by the locution, "I'm running a hundred plows this year."

While small reform efforts tried to take root among American farmers from the early 1870s onward, the first such start which can be documented as being a direct ancestor to that movement which formed the foundation for the Populist Party of the 1890s began in Lampasas County, Texas, in 1877. The agrarian revolt began with the Lampasas County farmers who formed the first Farmers' Alliance, as they came to call themselves; it grew to over 250,000 alliance members in Texas alone by 1888. From their original efforts in forming regional purchasing and marketing cooperatives, the National Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union grew to two million members in 43 states and territories by 1892. Their self-help efforts included additional ventures such as credit exchanges and insurance cooperatives. This remarkable growth of the Alliance movement was due to the desper-



ate nature of farmers' struggles with concentrated capital and commercial finance in the post-war period, and their creative use of the suballiance lecturing system of 40,000 lecturer-educators.

Before turning to these educational efforts, which I take to have been the driving force of the Alliance, I want to finish this sketch of the origins of the movement with historian Lawrence Goodwyn's eloquent statement of the essence of the agrarian populist revolt. In his book *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America* (1976), Goodwyn has written that

The essence of the passionate happening we call the agrarian revolt . . . was . . . the institution known as the Alliance (which) gave to American farmers in the 1880s a compelling new opportunity: it gave them in their neighborhood suballiances, a place to think in. It also gave them something to think about—a massive cooperative vision of a new way to live. Finally, it gave a voice to the vision—40,000 voices in fact—mobilized from New York to California and marshaled as the “Alliance lecturing system.” For seven years, the farmers . . . experimented in democratic forms in an effort to address the poverty of their lives. Gradually they learned the strength of what they called “cooperation and organization” . . . The edifice they constructed—the Alliance Exchange—was the world's first such working class institution. Its ultimate purpose addressed human needs with such compelling clarity that it generated something more than a mass movement, it generated new possibilities of individual self-respect and mass aspirations. These individual and collective hopes were beyond the range of vision of most Americans, then or later. But the political expression created by these aspirations would acquire a name: Populism. (p. xi)

### Education in the Farmers' Alliance

A good way to understand the power and the scope of the Alliance's educational efforts is through an examination of the career of Charles Macune in the Farmers Alliance. Charles Macune was born in 1851 in Kenosha, Wisconsin. After his father, who was a blacksmith and Methodist preacher, died, Charles, who was then 10, and his mother moved to Freeport, Illinois where he worked as a farm laborer during the Civil War. After the War he drifted out west working as a ranch hand, circus clown, and cattle driver before settling in Texas. Here, too, he tried his hand at a number of jobs including owning a newspaper, a hotel, and painting houses. Finally, he married happily and read law and medicine and practiced both before joining the Farmers' Alliance in the mid-1880s. His talents for organization and leadership quickly moved him into the positions

of the chief theoretician, mediator, and educator within the National Alliance. His considerable accomplishments in self-education and his great erudition suited him well for these roles.

Macune's contributions to the National Farmers' Alliance were huge. The Alliance marketing and purchasing cooperatives were his idea and he worked for years to try to make a "go" of them. When he finally saw that these plans were thwarted due to the commercial banks' unwillingness to finance the capital needed, he conceived the brilliant subtreasury plan of government credit agencies in each congressional district in the country. The cooperatives and the subtreasury plan were the two most creative ideas to issue from the 20 years of the agrarian revolt, or perhaps from any source on monetary and market questions during these years, and Macune was the author of both. As Theodore Mitchell, in his book *Political Education in the Southern Farmers' Alliance, 1887-1900* (1987), summed it up, "Macune was able to translate the farmers' problems into concrete proposals for reform" (p. 20).

But his contributions were not even limited to these remarkable plans for new cooperative and monetary institutions. As Chairman of the National Alliance Supreme Council, he was also largely responsible for holding the Alliance together during the years splinter groups were threatening to tear it apart. But beyond all this, he was the founder and editor of the Alliances' national newspaper, the *National Economist*. As such, he was the lead educator for the Farmers' Alliance, and this was clearly the role he perceived as his most important. It is on his educational agenda and the resulting Alliance educational efforts that the remainder of this section will focus.

"Our Organization is a School" (cited in Mitchell, 1987)

Lest anyone think that I am overdrawing the place of education in the agrarian populist revolt, Mitchell, too, argues that

To leaders like Macune, both the problem and the solution boiled down to one issue, political education. The farmers had allowed political power to slip from their grasp because they lacked education in politics. The movement called upon education as the most important weapon in its struggle to restore that power, to revive democratic citizenship, and to equalize access to wealth. (1987, p. 5)

Or as Macune said, "The Alliance was founded on education. All it is and all it will ever be must emanate from that source." (cited in Mitchell, 1987). If indeed the Farmers' Alliance was a school founded for education and never intended by its principal leader to waiver from that mission, it

would seem to make sense to use the traditional educational categories to analyze the movement. Therefore, what follows is an explication of the Alliances' structure and educational operations in terms of its students, educational aims, teachers and schooling places, curriculum, methods of instruction, and relationships to public schools. I believe this analysis will demonstrate the plausibility of the three key points of this section: (a) that the foundation for the Populist Party was the educational effort of the Farmers' Alliance, (b) that if the members of the agrarian revolt are to be considered the founders of American populism then populists ought not be thought of as ignorant hicks susceptible to inflamed passions and demagoguery, and (c) that Macune was correct in both his characterization of the Farmers' Alliance as first and foremost an educational endeavor and his insistence that the movement not become ensnared in partisan politics.

### The Alliance Students

The students served by the Alliance's educational program were primarily the farm families of America in the 1880s and 1890s. The Alliance leaders had in fact hoped to reach the "entire class," that is, all the tillers and toilers of the nation with their educational program. But, as Mitchell points out, while the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Unions had "danced together" during this period, "they had never been able to decide who was to lead" and thus the farmers remained the main students in the Alliance schools.

While the major targets of most of the Alliances' educational efforts were the adult learners in farming communities, they also clearly intended for their lessons to be something for the whole farm family. But the immediate circumstances of the high rates of illiteracy among the adults in farming communities and the pressing needs for mobilizing intelligent cooperative action by the "producing classes" lead the Alliance organizers to focus their educational efforts on the adult learners.

### The Alliances' Aims of Education

The ultimate aim of the Alliance was the creation of a "cooperative commonwealth" in our republic. Their belief was that the appropriately educated members of the producing class could gain control of and use the democratic institutions of our society to serve the interests of the common people rather than the narrow interests of concentrated wealth and power then being served by such institutions. With this end of the formation of the "cooperative commonwealth" firmly in mind, the Alliance leaders came to specify the more immediate aims for the Alliances' educational program as:



1. to provide a program of adult literacy training in the basic intellectual tools of reading, writing, and arithmetic;
2. to educate farmers and the whole producing class in their mutual relations and reciprocal duties to each other;
3. to raise the standard of participation in the affairs of governance;
4. to demystify politics and the political economy;
5. to build a self-conscious community of producers through cooperative study and action; and
6. to provide up-to-date agricultural and scientific information to the "tillers and the toilers" of our country.

While it will be evident throughout the remainder of this article that the Alliance's educational efforts were just that, that is, their aims, methods, and effects were always truly educative rather than indoctrinating, it might further allay any lingering doubts to give one of their many statements of intent. The editor of the *Louisiana Populist*, an Alliance newspaper, put it this way, "Read! Read! The man who reads is the man who rules. We do not ask you to adopt the principles before you understand them, and not then, unless you think we are right" (cited in Mitchell, 1987, p. 93). This then brings us to the next question we ask of educational systems, who are the teachers and where do they teach?

### The Teachers and Classrooms of the Alliance

The primary teachers in the Alliance educational system were the 40,000 lecturer-educators in the suballiances scattered across the nation's cotton and grain belts. These Alliance lecturers were for the most part self-educated men who had learned their lessons through their experiences as farmers in the post-war period. In particular they had been radicalized by their experiences with concentrated finance and capital's thwarting of their every effort at cooperative self-help. Many of them had also experienced the crop lien system, chattel mortgages, usurious interest rates, and the oppressive domination of their lives by the monopolies in railroads, elevators, and commodity markets.

Motivated by these experiences, and mobilized and equipped by the National Alliance, these lecturers convened biweekly meetings of the 40,000 suballiances they had organized across the nation. In these meetings, from 5 to 25 Alliancesmen and their families would gather to do "the business of the order" and to educate themselves in the political economy of the nation and the methods of cooperative action.

These lecturers were also the main organizers of the mass rallies, summer encampments, town meetings, formal lecture series, debates, picnics, and speeches sponsored by the Alliance's educational effort. Obviously



such happenings not only provided Goodwyn's "democratic spaces for the people to think in" but also became a great source of community building and socializing for the sometimes isolated farm families of the 1880s and 1890s.

In reality, then, the Alliance classroom existed wherever the lecturers could assemble fellow farmers to organize and lead in cooperative education. The preferred meeting place for the biweekly formal classes was the local public school. Macune was explicit in his instructions in the use of their chalkboards for his weekly mathematics and sentence writing lessons. But meetings were also held in churches, town halls, auditoriums, and out in the open air, in farmer's fields, at picnic grounds, and off the backs of Alliance lecturers' wagons at isolated crossroads. The Alliance lecturers were very determined in their creation of "democratic spaces for the people to think in."

It is natural now to wonder, what exactly did this veritable army of dedicated, articulate, angry, and plain-speaking Alliance lecturers think about with their neighbors in these democratic spaces? For an answer to this question, I turn to the National Alliance curricular plans.

### The Curriculum of the National Farmers' Alliance

The curriculum is surely the crux of any educational program. It answers the question, what knowledge and skills are most important for these particular learners? As noted above an important component of the Alliance curriculum involved the teaching of the basic intellectual skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Given the high rates of illiteracy among the farmers of the period, especially in the south, these intellectual tools needed to be developed so that the other key components of the Alliance curriculum, studies in the political economy and cooperative action, could be intelligently undertaken. But, if functional literacy and studies in political economy and cooperative action were in broad outline the substance of the Alliance curriculum, what specific curricular texts and materials were used to engage the learners in this curriculum?

As suggested earlier, there is a real sense in which their shared lives of poverty and powerlessness served as the primary text for their studies. But of course they still needed some formal instructional materials to help them first develop the requisite intellectual tools and then apply these tools in a systematic analysis of the causes of this poverty and the mutual construction of cooperative solutions. Once more we find that it was Charles Macune who developed the necessary curricular texts and associated materials needed to deliver this curriculum.

But it should be noted here that Macune was not the only shaper of the Al-

liance educational campaign. As Mitchell (1987) points out, Macune was assisted in this work by the likes of "Ben Terrell, Eyan Jones, and Harry Tracy" (p. 94). They, too, deserve recognition for their work and serve as reminders of the countless thousands of others who contributed to this campaign. But when these men decided to create a national educational journal to further the educational work of the Alliance, it was Macune they chose as its editor. This National Alliance newspaper, the *National Economist*, was used by Macune as the textbook and curricular material for the biweekly meetings of the 40,000 suballiances. With its subscribed readership of 100,000 weekly multiplied many times over as the paper passed from hand to hand, Macune had also provided a means for farmers to further their educations outside the structured classes and meetings of the Alliance.

Macune and the other Alliance planners also used the *National Economist* as the centerpiece of a 1000 member system of local newspapers called The National Reform Press Association. The Alliance realized that the establishment press was beholding to the powers that be and was therefore incapable of giving their movement and cause fair representation. And, in fact, they and their movement's ideas were often shamelessly misrepresented and caricatured in the press of their day and the history textbooks of ours.

In the pages of his *National Economist*, Macune mixed news with political education in order to help make the farmers realize that knowledge of the political economy was a legitimate part of what they needed to know to be a good farmers. For his lessons in social theory, Macune wrote 20 installments on political economy, 18 on U.S. History and Government, 18 installments on the types of democracy, and a 30-installment History of the Land. These installments in the weekly edition of the *Economist* were intended as part of the textbook for the suballiances' curriculum.

In addition to these text materials, Macune also ran a series of 20 complete lesson plans, called the educational exercises. In these lesson plans he dealt with the curricular matters of literacy, numerary, democratic political theory, class analysis, and production statistics. With these educational exercises Macune included his clear instructions to the suballiance lecturers as to the pedagogical methods to be used. Before turning to the specifics of these methodological concerns, I want to take a closer look at a sample of one of these educational exercises.

The concept Macune choose to deal with in this particular lesson was the idea of per capita wealth. Using the data from the 1790 through 1880 census reports, Macune had the students engage in a mathematics exercise in which they first calculated the growth in population and national wealth from 1790 to 1880. He then had them calculate the growth in per capita wealth from 1790 through 1880. Next, of course, he had them com-

pare their own and their neighbors' per capita wealth with that they had just derived from the government's 1880 census data. The great discrepancies between the "average" wealth in the nation and their own absolute impoverishment was readily apparent to all in attendance. The lecturers were then instructed to lead a discussion around questions such as: How does this inequality occur? Why does it persist? Should so few have so much while so many have so little? One suspects the assembled farmers developed a healthy respect for the power of mathematics to help them understand the circumstances of their lives.

So it was that Macune's lessons in the *Economist* introduced farmers to tools, times, and places that had formerly been remote to their lives. But he always returned his lessons and farmers to the task of using these new powers to analyze their shared existences, seeking out the continuities and making sense together of their current circumstances and prospects. In this context no question of political economy was taboo for the Alliancemen: How does political power aid in the creation of wealth? How have the privileged created laws and institutions to extend both their wealth and power? Have concentrated wealth and power historically oppressed the common folk? If so, how? From discussions such as these the Alliance was hoping to raise up an army of well-equipped crusaders ready to join the "Crusade for the Cooperative Commonwealth."

While obviously such lessons were intended to fashion a particular point of view, care was always to be taken in the Alliance school that the techniques of free discussion and open questioning were employed, rather than mere rote learning; central to their concept of citizenship was a belief in the necessary development of all their neighbors such that each would understand the need for, and be prepared to work together in, the cooperative commonwealth. No blind followers need apply in this Alliance.

### Methods of Instruction in the Alliance

Macune's methodological principles were clear, to the point, and consistent with the Alliances' aims for their educational programs. He directed that the lecturers were to lead the first lesson of the day and then allow the other Alliance members to lead the rest. His idea was that everyone at the meeting must work. Throughout the lessons links must be built to the current circumstances in the local community. Relevancy was crucial to all the Alliance's educational work. Individual Alliancemen's self-esteem was to be strengthened through practice in public address in the classroom. All discussions were to be kept open and lively. Partisan politics were always to be avoided in Alliance classrooms. The whole community was to be involved in the lesson, with children singing and giving speeches, and wives



learning side-by-side with their husbands. Socializing and study were to be integrated at all Alliance meetings.

Beyond this general methodological advice, Macune often provided a detailed lesson format for his educational exercises. The lecturers were to begin with a brief introductory lecture on the new concepts and principles involved in the day's lesson. Following this there was to be mathematical and statistical work by the members at the chalkboard. The school children and other literate members should then tutor the unschooled members in sentence writing exercises, followed by oral readings from the *Economist* by the fluent. Finally the lecturer was to engage everyone present in a spirited discussion of the themes of the day, making certain to include all present and that the links to the shared daily lives of the Alliance folk were made explicit.

The intent behind these methodologies and those used in the Alliance educational efforts at rallies, summer encampments, speeches, public debates, and circuit lecturing was always to empower the common people to construct their own reasoned arguments on the relevant issues of the time's political economy. These educational efforts were viewed as the chief means for the producing class to position themselves to wrestle control of their government, law, and culture from the clutches of concentrated wealth, power, and privilege. Once again in control of their communities and their lives the citizens of the envisioned cooperative commonwealth would need to have been well educated to rule wisely and humanely.

The outlines of the order in this cooperative commonwealth were spelled out in a series of political statements issued by the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union in the early 1890s. Illustrative of their vision for this new order were the "Ocala Demands" of 1890. Here they demanded: the abolition of the national banking system and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes, a circulating currency of not less than \$50 per capita, establishment of the subtreasury plan, free and unlimited coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, removal of protective tariffs from the necessities of life, the direct election of Senators, and the government ownership of the communication and transportation industries (Goodwin, 1976).

Clearly these Alliance folks saw a significant role for government in the increasingly complex society of the 1890s. However, what they had begun to insist upon, and were assuming when they drew up the above list, was a democracy that was a government of, by, and for the people and not the privileged interests. So it was upon this vision of the people as the shapers and the rulers of the cooperative commonwealth that the Alliance based all its educational decisions, curricular and methodological.



### The Alliance Critique of the Public Schools

In general, the Farmers' Alliance was a strong advocate for tax-supported public schools for the children of the producing classes. They based this support on their desire that these schools teach the children of the poor the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Once beyond these fundamentals, however, they began to have grave doubts about the appropriateness of other aspects of the public school curriculum. Particularly troublesome to the Alliance were the curricular areas of cultural values, history, and agricultural education.

They believed that ideas about the good life and what is valuable should be learned in the child's family and community environments. This is why the Alliance took care to include whole families in the Alliance classrooms. They were already beginning to fear that the alien values of the Gilded Age were influencing the textbooks used in the public schools. They believed that the public school curriculum had become biased against reform and was being used as a means to deter social change. They worried about public school textbooks which taught that "in no country is labor so highly respected as in the United States; and in none, therefore are the working classes so happy" (Quakenbos cited in Mitchell, 1987, p. 132).

Some of their strongest criticism was aimed at the emerging directions of agricultural and vocational education in the public schools. They observed that a narrow focus on the technical aspects of agricultural and vocational education would distract farmers and laborers from the broader knowledge of the political economy and thereby continue to preserve such knowledge of these matters for the privileged ruling classes. Clearly such a division of knowledge on the basis of class was antithetical to the major thrust of their own educational efforts in the Alliance.

However, this line of thought and most of the work noted above came to a rather abrupt end when the opposing factions within the Alliance movement finally defeated Macune's wing and the Alliance entered the arena of third party partisan politics as the Populist Party in 1892. For, although he argued with all his strength against the entry of the Alliance into partisan politics, Macune remained a good soldier and turned the *Economist* from its educational efforts to partisan political campaigning for the Populist Party from its inception in February of 1892. Finally, after the Populist Party's defeat in the November election, Macune resigned as editor of the *Economist* and "all offices and positions in the Farmers' Alliance," declaring that political partisans "are willing to accept any principles that may have local popularity" (Mitchell, 1987).

Historians still debate the reasons for the demise of this 19th-century populist agrarian revolt against the centralizing forces of modernity. What

is no longer debated, however, is that this revolt offered an essentially sound critique of Gilded Age liberalism, based in populists' commitments to the republican value of proprietary ownership as the foundation of the civic virtue necessary for the maintenance of a democratic republic. In the final sections of this article, I consider what these populist sensibilities can offer to today's communitarian critique of the corporate liberal state.

### Populism's Contribution to a More Robust Communitarianism

In *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (1995), Christopher Lasch tries to reconcile these two historically intertwined traditions by adding his analysis of the ethical basis of contemporary communitarianism—as exemplified in the works of Robert Bellah, Alan Wolfe, and Amitai Etzioni—to his earlier analysis of the ethical basis of populism in *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (1991). He concludes that despite their similarities, populism and communitarianism have differences in emphasis which have “important political consequences” (1995, p. 107). Simply put, Lasch argues that the ethical underpinning of communitarianism is compassion, while that of populism is mutual respect. Key to understanding this populists' notion of mutual respect is their idea of a competence. In furthering his explanation of the populists' critique of liberals' regard for luxury as the ideal for society, Lasch points out that populists “regarded a competence . . . a piece of earth, a small shop, a useful calling—as a more reasonable as well as more worthy ambition.” Lasch continues to explain that

“Competence” had rich moral overtones: it referred to a livelihood conferred by property but also the skills required to maintain it. The ideal of universal proprietorship embodied a humbler set of expectations than the ideal of universal consumption, universal access to a proliferating supply of goods. At the same time it embodied a more strenuous and morally demanding definition of the good life. The progressive conception of history implied a society of supremely cultivated consumers; the populist conception, a whole world of heroes. (1991, p. 531)

What then are these populist heroes like? Gaining their sustenance from the productive working of their own property—whether land, craft, or shop—instills in them the virtues of thrift, austerity, self-denial, enterprise, and initiative. Their small-scale proprietorship maintains in them a healthy sense of their own moral independence, self-respect, and responsibility for active civic participation. The populists believe that hard work, family, religion, and tradition provide meaning and purpose for life, rather than “encumbering” them as the liberal suggests. For the populist, devoted service

to one's calling and civic responsibilities are the measure of a person, rather than that person's level of material success. The populist prizes the sense of self-forgetfulness which results from hard meaningful work and devoted civic service. These civic virtues, based upon developed competencies, are the basis of mutual respect in the populist ideal of society.

Compassionate communitarians of the social democratic persuasion might ask how the above ethic of mutual respect, based in citizens' developed competencies, differs in practice from the new right's current call for the reestablishment of free market mechanisms to replace the dismantled social welfare programs of the "Great Society"? The crucial difference between these two political programs is that, whereas the new right remains committed to the basic aims and structure of the corporate liberal state (i.e., unfettered material prosperity, atomistic acquisitive individualism, and a centralized global economy controlled by gigantic multinational corporations), the populists view the basic aims of a just republic as the development of virtuous citizens; wide participation in democratic self-governance; and the decentralized political, industrial, and economic arrangements necessary for the achievement of these aims. Populism thus suggests a third way between the libertarianism of a universal free market and the authoritarianism of a centralized, bureaucratic social welfare state.

### The Populist Communitarian Vision

Lasch (1995) outlines the requirements of a public philosophy for the 21st century which would result from a blending of communitarian and populist views by noting that it

will have to give more weight to the community than the right of private decision. It will have to emphasize responsibilities rather than rights. It will have to find a better expression of community than the welfare state. It will have to limit the scope of the market and the power of corporations without replacing them with a centralized state bureaucracy. (p. 107)

Furthermore, he acknowledges that any such attempts to change the structure of our political economy will meet the same kind of resistance from the ruling elites that the 19th-century populists met. Noting how contemporary elites (of both the right and the left) "have a common stake in suppressing the politics of class," he concludes his contrast of the communitarian and populist views by stating that

much will depend on whether communitarians continue to acquiesce in this attempt to keep class issues out of politics or whether they will



come to see that gross inequalities, as populists have always understood, are incompatible with any form of community that would now be recognized as desirable and that everything depends, therefore on closing the gap between the elites and the rest of the nation. (1995, p. 114)

In the concluding section, I will present brief sketches of the social and educational changes some contemporary communitarians envision as necessarily accompanying any such attempts to change our political economy in line with populist and communitarian ideals.

### Some Social and Educational Implications of A Robust Communitarianism

If we accept that the primary causes of our current ecological and cultural problems are large-scale production and political centralization, how does a populist communitarian view help us to envision a contemporary society based on small-scale production and political decentralization? Probably the most vivid presentation of a path to a contemporary populist communitarian renewal is provided by the agrarian philosopher and essayist, Wendell Berry. He observes,

My feeling is that if improvement is going to begin anywhere, it will have to begin out in the country and in the country towns. This is not because of any intrinsic value that can be ascribed to rural people, but because of their circumstances. Rural people are living, and have lived for a long time, at the site of the trouble. They see all around them, everyday, the marks and scars of an exploitative national economy. They have reason, by now, to know how little real help is to be expected from somewhere else. They still have, moreover, the remnants of local memory and local community. And in rural communities there are still farms and small businesses that can be changed according to the will and desire of individual people. (1990, p. 168)

Of course neither Berry or any other populist communitarian thinker believes that such a transformation of our society is likely to come about quickly or primarily through the efforts of the public schools as they currently function. They are, after all, one of the main transmitters of the values and mores of the liberal state. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that as the larger issues in the political economy begin to take new form the public schools can change to keep pace.

The outlines, however, of reconfigured public schools in a restructured, decentralized, populist-communitarian society can be inferred from the many critiques of existing practices (see, e.g., Snauwaert, 1993, and Theobald, in press). Such schools would:



1. be smaller;
2. more actively engage all the students in using their minds well;
3. focus curriculum on local investigations of people, places, and things;
4. connect local learnings to the larger social and global contexts;
5. promote education in, of, and by the local community; and
6. promote developmental and participatory, rather than elitist, conceptions of democracy.

There is little on this short list that would recommend the current practices of the vast majority of our public schools today. This is not to suggest, however, that public schools are not currently doing well the job for which they were intended. Rather it is to suggest, as the populist-communitarian critiques of liberalism do, that the vision of the good society is tragically off the mark, and today's public schools simply reflect this.

To begin to move public schools in the desired direction of a robust communitarianism, we must move the current reform agenda off ruinous discussions of global economic competition, human capital development, and narrow career preparation, to a discussion of the provision of local schooling places in which love of learning and a tradition of excellence are promoted. And this love of learning and one's culture's traditions of excellence must finally be based in a love of the local place, the local community, the local people, no matter how small the place or humble the community and its people. Otherwise, our young will continue to learn their modern lessons of disdain for their folkways, their homeplaces, and the common people in our nation's schools. And we will "educate" still another generation of "rootless, emancipated, migratory individuals" who are "cultural renegades believing in nothing but their own right to a good time" (Lasch, 1991, p. 357).

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# Compelling Ties: Landscape, Community, and Sense of Place

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Vicky Newman

## Introduction

As educators, we seek to empower our students and ourselves to make connections with the broader contexts and implications of our experiences. This article explores how these connections are made in Barbara Kingsolver's novel *Animal Dreams* (1990). It is my contention that this novel connects autobiography to place and community through historical readings of landscape; that as we read this novel we engage in our own personal experience with memory and history and understand their centrality and contingency; and that as educators, we come to understand through this novel the importance of critically reading our histories, for it is the process of deconstructing and reconstituting personal and community histories that reveals to the protagonist of the novel—and to its readers—the importance of the role of teacher. This process links autobiography with landscape, community, and place by revealing how history, community, and narrator are reclaimed through deconstruction and reconstitution of memory and of histories and social and ecological practices.

I will examine—through the context of Kingsolver's *Animal Dreams* and through critical readings—the importance of community and sense of place in how we make meaning, the importance of autobiography in how we to connect to community and sense of place, and how landscape reveals “our unwitting autobiography” (Lewis 1979, p. 12) and thus leads us, through critical readings of naturalized constructions and transcendent theories, to the multiplicity of possibilities that lies in the gaps and silences

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of history. *Animal Dreams* provides us a story of the particular and the personal that reveals the compelling ties between landscape, community, and sense of place.

### Community and Place

Literary critics, geographers, historians, and educators, among others, have pointed to the importance of community or sense of place in how we make meaning. For example, Entrikin (1991) argues that the concept of specific place "draws attention to the relation between particularizing and universalizing discourses and between subjective and objective perspectives" (p. 6). We make meaning in the context of where we are and at the same time think of place as external. For Entrikin, this relationship to place illustrates what he sees as a "basic polarity of human consciousness" (p. 9).<sup>1</sup> This basic polarity has implications and yields possibilities for mediating the alienation that has resulted from the deconstruction of teleological and transcendent theories. In curriculum design, Kincheloe and Pinar (1991) point to how the inclusion of regional studies in curriculum development is one way to overcome the standardized curriculum to "allow individuals to reenter politically the public sphere in meaningful and committed ways" (p. 174). Kincheloe and Pinar emphasize the need to understand the practices and attitudes that have been reified in regions and communities, and to understand how these constructions have taken on the power of myth and are naturalized and essentialized so that the memory of how things came to be constructed is lost. However, the act of demystification of experience requires a grounding in that experience. This suggests the importance of recognizing the dialogic or reciprocal relationship between social reality in the integrity of its setting and the broader meanings that can be read from these realities—between particular problems and issues and theoretical solutions. If meaning is understood first through the particular, through the "practice of everyday life" (de Certeau, 1984), then community and region become obvious beginnings or groundings to negotiate deeper understandings.

Focusing even more closely, Huddleston Edgerton (1991) engages students in her classes in autobiographical writing to connect them to com-

<sup>1</sup>This polarity is also discussed as dialogic and can be considered as a way to read our basic relationships to community. In a psychoanalytic sense, it is a dialogue about the separation that is necessary for individuation and the desire to recover what has been lost. See Newman (1993) for a reading that posits this shifting in the metaphor of the exile, and see de Certeau (1984) for a reading that examines the subversive and tactical aspects of the shift from general to particular.



munity and place as well as to better self-awareness. According to Huddleston Edgerton, "autobiographical writing enables students to study themselves. Such study links self to place, and place is simultaneously historical, cultural, and racial" (p. 78). It exposes the voices that have been silenced by history and how they have been silenced. "From the particular the teacher can work to the abstract, and back again to the particular, this time a particular opened up by the abstract, its suppressions, closures, and exclusions exposed" (Huddleston Edgerton, 1991, p. 80).

The importance of place and the particular, of community, however, does not suggest community or place as transcendent or utopian. Rather, it points to how the particular problematizes absolutes and exposes the underlying telos of utopian visions, as it exposes contingencies and possibilities.

### Literature and Personal Revelation

One can go on and ask oneself whether the relationship of the storyteller to his [sic] material, human life, is not in itself a craftsman's relationship, whether it is not his very task to fashion the raw material of experience, his own and that of others, in a solid, useful and unique way . . . . Seen in this way, the storyteller joins the ranks of the teachers. (Benjamin, 1969, p. 108)

Literature is life's criticism of transcendence. (Newman, in press)

In addition to autobiographical writing, Huddleston Edgerton's method relies on reading literature that is "linked to home and place," which she finds valuable for both students and teachers in understanding "sameness and otherness . . . how our constructions of ourselves are inextricably linked with our constructions of the 'other'" and how "place is both figure and ground, source and destination . . . a given and a construction" (p. 96).<sup>2</sup> Bercovitch (in press) sees literature as the means by which "aspects of culture . . . ancestral tradition, changing ways of life, established patterns of thought" are brought together. What he sees as most remarkable, however, is "the writer's ability to make language resonate with its multiple ordinary cultural sources, interconnections, and implications."

These resonances are the the source of our connections as readers to the personal and the specific, the groundings from which we make our con-

<sup>2</sup>For an interesting case study on the use of autobiography as a means to negotiate student resistance, see Worth (1993). The resistance Worth writes about is in response to what students perceived as her agenda in teaching a Cuban film course.

nections as readers. For as Newman (1993) observes, reading is “governed by revelations and displacements of memory” (p.1) both in the narrative itself and by the reader. According to Duncan and Ley (1993),

The reader understands a text by situating it within two interpenetrating fields of reference—the extratextual, the reader’s experiences in the world, and the intertextual, the contexts of other texts. . . . As long as there are readers for a text its production will continue. In this sense, representation is not only a collective but also an iterative process. (pp. 9–10)

For the narrator in *Animal Dreams* (Kingsolver, 1990), recovering memory and understanding that “memory is a complicated thing, a relative to truth but not its twin” (p. 48) is tied to place and to the cultural practices of community. This understanding connects her to broader historical and cultural constructions, to those marginalized and silenced by the “natural progression” of historical events. And as we join her in her journey, we as readers “iterate” our own texts and processes, recover and reconstitute our own memories, enfold and encode within our personal and broader cultural memories the possibilities that the margins and gaps yield.

### Landscape

. . . every landscape is a code, and its study may be undertaken as a deciphering of meaning, of the cultural and social significance of ordinary but diagnostic features . . . . (Meinig, 1979, p. 6)

What is the fascination we have with the landscape? Do we transcend the ordinary in our lives when we view a beautiful scene? Or are our expectations encultured notions and myths that have become naturalized so that when we see the Grand Canyon or El Capitan we have an encultured response? And what about the more ordinary landscapes in our lives, those we for the most part never see or choose to ignore? Factories, junkyards, eroded fields, trailer parks, slums, and clear-cut forests are part of our landscape as well, and express our cultural values and practices at least as clearly as do the natural splendors of our national parks.

However, we more often think of the scenic aspects of the landscape as “landscape” because of historical representations. For example, the landscape is presented as “naturalized ideology” historically through paintings, and more recently through tourism (Harrison, 1994, p. 204). In *Landscape and Power*, Mitchell (1994) conveys this sense of the ideal and stylized landscape in his discussion of 18th-century British landscape paintings, which he maintains transcend property and labor. According to

Mitchell, these paintings are "tailor-made for the discourse of imperialism which conceives itself . . . as an inevitable development [and narrates itself] as natural" (p. 17). Smith (1993) points out that in the United States in the 19th-century, the representation of landscape was referred to as instrumental rather than sentimental, yet still represents the ideal of a landscape that enriches its proprietor, and separates itself from the struggle it has engaged in for appropriation and control. According to Williams (1973) the "common image of the country is now an image of the past" (p. 297), and he attaches this image to childhood associations with family and community and to nostalgic longings for the time before the inevitable separation that adult consciousness brings. Williams contends that these images have been distorted because they respond to "a process of human growth that has been deformed by deep internal directions that adult consciousness must be . . . using, consuming, and abstracting" (p. 298). The tourist industry has seized on this contrast so that we find our landscapes governed by the pristine and exotic of tourism. The countryside or nature becomes a mode of escape from the pressures of daily life and this view encourages a blind eye to environmental destruction outside, for example, the national park.<sup>3</sup>

However, according to Lewis (1979), "our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography . . . . All our cultural warts and blemishes are there, and our glories too; but above all, our ordinary day-to-day qualities" (p.12). This way of defining landscape as human or cultural landscape is to include the human "writings" that cover almost every area of the natural landscape itself. Meinig (1979) suggests that there are any number of ways to read the landscape: as nature, as habitat, as artifact, as system, as problem, as wealth, as ideology, as aesthetic, and as place and history. According to Meinig, the view of landscape as history and place are complementary since "every landscape is a locality," and bears the accumulation of "the effects of the processes working upon particular elements of this locality," as well as exhibiting the consequences of these processes (pp. 44–45).

The appropriateness of considering landscape as text, of "reading" the landscape, is articulated by Barnes and Duncan (1992):

The social-life-as-text metaphor is easily applicable to landscape because it too is a social and cultural production. Thus a landscape possesses a similar objective fixity to that of a written text. It also becomes detached from the intentions of its original authors, and in terms of social and psychological impact and material consequences the various readings of

<sup>3</sup>See Dorfman (1983) for a provocative Marxist discussion of the implications of the capitalist/cosumerist ideological boundaries of nature.



landscape matter more than any authorial intention. . . . "text" is also an appropriate trope to use in analysing landscapes because it conveys the inherent instability of meaning, fragmentation or absence of integrity, lack of authorial control, polyvocality and irresolvable social contradictions that often characterize them. (pp. 6–7)

In *Animal Dreams* (Kingsolver, 1990), the narrator learns to read the landscape as history, and in doing so, learns about the practices and about the silenced voices of the people of her community (including her own), but she also learns to read the "violence and evil written on the land" and to understand that "the landscape itself is the medium by which this evil is veiled and naturalized" (Mitchell, 1994, pp. 29–30). She learns these things by reading (or rereading) the ordinary writings on the landscape—roads, buildings, and vegetation—but it is in the cemeteries that she begins to unfold the silenced histories of her life and of the community to which she has returned, in the very essence of the earth and from the literal skeletons it embraces that other voices emerge to articulate possibilities that enfold both the old and new.

In the novel we meet Cosima, or Codi, when she is returning to her hometown in Grace, Arizona. Her father, the town doctor, "is said to be losing his mind" and Codi needs a change from the disaster her life has become. She has failed to become a doctor after all, finding that she lacked the nerve to practice. She has been trying to escape history for many years, and we follow the bricolage of her memory through a series of flashbacks that take us into the shifting and contingent nature of memory—Codi's and our own—as she tries to stabilize the past.

We follow Codi as she surveys the landscape of Grace and the surrounding area. Codi's response to the landscape changes as she develops a sense of belonging to the community. For example, when Codi arrives in Grace on the Greyhound bus in the opening of the novel, she focuses on the harshness of the land and on the images of death and loss; the landscape is "bristling," scorched," and the "arthritic mesquite trees grew out of impossible crevices in the cliffs, looking as if they could adapt to life on Mars if need be" (p.8). She connects the harshness of the land with the experiences she had as a child in Grace, as a motherless child who was treated as an outsider by members of the community. Her alienation was so strong that when she found herself pregnant as a teenager, she didn't tell anyone, not even her sister, Hallie, with whom she normally shared everything. Her father was the town doctor, and he knew about but failed to acknowledge the pregnancy, and when Codi miscarried, the only gesture of comfort he could find for her was an offer of pills. Walking the familiar roads of Grace upon her return, Codi feels the old grief. "Even the people who knew me



well didn't know my years in Grace were peculiarly bracketed by death: I'd lost a mother and I'd lost a child" (p. 50).

The landscape evokes memories and these memories in turn determine how the landscape is represented. Entrikin (1991) writes about the "descriptive and emotive sense of events and their contexts" (p. 11), and about how, for example, geographical places become infused with experiences: Chernobyl, Hiroshima, Auschwitz, Three Mile Island. At the end of the novel, the description of the landscape has not changed significantly, but the associations have been transformed. The landscape is harsh, but that harshness is associated with a tenacity on the part of its inhabitants. The reading of the landscape has changed, the beauty of the harshness revealed. And yet she looks more carefully, more critically. She notices for the first time a junkyard on the outskirts of town, spilling into the ravine. "I'd never noticed it before, though it must have been there since before I was born" (p. 303). By the end of the novel she has learned to read the normalized site of the mining operation not as a fixture that has brought progress to the community, but as an evil presence that threatens to destroy it.

Codi understands that the existential dilemmas that she has focused on for so long have not changed anything about her life. Her sister Hallie writes her from Nicaragua, where she has gone to join the Freedom Fighters, that "people worry a lot more about the eternity *after* their deaths than the eternity that happened before they were born. But it's the same amount of infinity, rolling out in all directions from where we stand. . . . Awareness is everything" (p. 317). What Codi comes to understand is that "it's what you do that makes your soul" (p. 334) and saves you from despair, and that being useful distinguishes happy people from sad people. What she also learns is that finally, she is entwined with where she is and that she needs a sense of place and home to be useful.

As she reacquaints herself with the roads and paths of Grace she remembers that the "normal sounding names" that appear on the street signs have been designated by bureaucratic authority, but that the names that are used are tied to the landscape, and to the practice of the people: "All Grace's streets had odd names that had mostly to do with forms of picturesque transportation: the Old and New Pony roads, the Goatleg, Dog-Cart Road, and the inexplicable Tortoise Road" (p. 65). Codi will later come to realize how these names contain the history of the people of Grace, and allow the people to slip into the "author's place" and produce silenced histories to "mark uses" and "imprint" acts in the gaps left by bureaucratic authority (de Certeau, 1984). There is power in the act of naming and of speaking and recording those names and the events associated with them.

The Western Apache, for example, practice "speaking with names," a

spatially anchored practice that is used to help the person visualize the place and all its historical and cultural significance. In addition, in times that are "taut" and "heavy," an optional suffix is used with the name to summon up ancestral wisdom, which speaks directly to those involved (Basso, 1992). According to Basso, speaking the placename urges one to:

Travel in your mind to a point from which to view the place whose name has just been spoken. Imagine standing there, as if in the tracks of your ancestors, and recall the stories of events that occurred at that place long ago. Picture these events in your mind and appreciate, as if the ancestors themselves were speaking, the wisdom the stories contain. Bring this wisdom to bear on your own disturbing situation. Allow the past to inform your understanding of the present. You will feel better if you do. (p. 235)

Here, then, is an example of the landscape as history, as artifact, that calls upon its people to "read critically" their situations by lending historical perspective to them. Other cultures show this same practice of imbuing space or landscape with the capacity to maintain and transmit historical and cultural information. Like the Western Apache, the Puluwatese of Micronesia, the Iatmul of New Guinea, the Mandaya of Mindanao in the Philippines, and the Aborigines of Australia preserve and transmit cultural continuity through history that is site specific (Stock, 1993). Landscape is the place where the past and present come together.

### The Babies Are in the Walls

Codi is reacquainted in the novel with Loyd, who is an Apache and Pueblo Indian. She had a brief history with Loyd in high school, yet an enduring one. It was after a few dates with Loyd that Codi discovered she was pregnant, and she has never told Loyd that she miscarried his baby. They meet again at the house of Emelina, where Codi is staying when she first returns to Grace. He has changed and is interested in resuming a relationship. One of the things he wants to do is take Codi to one of his favorite spots, the site of ruins of the Pueblo. A first attempt doesn't work out because he is called away to work out of town by the railroad. In a conversation with Emelina, Codi discovers how race and class have been strong issues in her personal history, not only in the way she has perceived herself, but in how others have perceived her.

Emelina asks her what she will wear to go with Loyd to visit the reservation and advises her to wear "nice-looking underwear."

She embarrassed me. "It's nothing serious," I said. "We're not exactly couple material, are we? Me and Loyd-with-one-L."

She looked up, surprised. "He can't help how his name's spelled." She paused a minute, studying me. "What, you think Loyd's dumb?"

Now I had embarrassed myself. "No, I don't think that. I just can't see myself with a guy that's into cockfighting."

I'm sure Emelina suspected that this was nowhere near the whole truth. She was thinking that I did hold Loyd's misspelled name against him, and a lot of other things. That I couldn't see myself with a rough-neck Apache hoghead who was her husband's best friend. I felt myself blush. I was just like Doc Homer, raising himself and Hallie and me up to be untouched by Grace. (p.115)

Codi realizes that the isolation she felt as a child in the community was because of the racist and classist attitudes her father held toward others in the community and that he deliberately separated his daughters from those with Hispanic or Native American Indian names and practices. This begins her critical look at her own constructions and those of her family and eventually leads to startling findings and hopeful reconstitutions.

She does go with Loyd to the Pueblo ruins and it is here that she explores the practices and ancestral traditions of the "other." In this cool place, a continuation of the earth itself, she runs her hands along the walls and eight hundred years of history. She remarks on how thick the walls are. Loyd responds, "The walls are graveyards. When a baby died, they'd mortar its bones right into the wall. Or under the floor. So it would still be near the family" (p. 128). Continuing to explore, she suddenly becomes aware of the familiarity of the form of the pueblo. The structures were "like cells under a microscope." "It doesn't even look like it was built. It's too beautiful. It looks like something that just grew here." (p. 129). Loyd responds, "That's the idea. Don't be some kind of big hero. No Washington Monuments. Just build something nice that Mother Earth will want to hold in her arms" (p. 129).

Lewis (1979) contends that "our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our inspirations, and even our fears, in a tangible visible form" (p. 12). Codi recognizes that despite what might be interpreted as only a transcendent philosophy, one that imbues the landscape with spirituality, the Pueblo are tied to the earth and it is this tie that she embraces—the attachment to the earth, to here and now, and to the ecological imperative of this kind of cultural memory.

From the babies in the wall, this embrace with the earth, Codi will continue to demythologize the history of her family and community. The earth itself will yield to her the silenced voices of her own people. Her family is not from "somewhere else," not from Illinois, but from here, a product of a scandal, a mix of bloods, Nolinás—not Nolines. She discovers



this in the cemetery as she participates in El Dia del Muerte, a celebration her father had denied to her and Hallie when they were children. She remembers the smell of the marigolds, a smell that leads the spirit of the dead to find the feast that has been prepared in their honor, to remind them that they are always loved and always remembered. Unlike the placement of the cemetery in more western cultures, the babies in the wall and the celebrations on El Dia del Muerte celebrate the natural cycle of life and locate the memories of ancestors and those who have died close to the family so that the memory of them will continue to be called upon and will continue to allow and nourish cultural memory. "The unifying principle was that the simplest thing was done with the greatest care" (p. 163).

Codi discovers through her relationship with Loyd that the Apache reservation is only 15 minutes from Grace. She is surprised. She remembers it as far away and remote:

"Are you kidding?" he asked. "Graceia Canyon used to be *in* the reservation. The whites took that little section back after some guys hit gold down there."

"Is that true?"

"Look it up, Einstein. It's in the town records. They only gave the Apache this land in the first place because it looks like a piece of shit." (pp. 122-23)

Surveying the area, Codi is struck by the difference in the desert here and the landscape that looked murdered closer to the mining operation. She begins to notice the white crusted soil that had resulted from the water used to irrigate, water that had been controlled by the Black Mountain Mine. The buildings and the blighted soil suddenly looked less naturalized, more a sign of the sinister nature of the mining operation itself.

Codi is teaching biology at the local school in Grace. Having no experience and thinking of herself as a temporary resident, she decides to teach for one year, then leave to escape history, once again and to maintain "the invulnerability of the transient." In a desperate attempt to get the students out of the classroom one day, she takes them out to gather water samples from the river. They bring them back to analyze them in the microscope. They discover that the river is dead. Upon informing some of the citizens that the river is dead, Codi learns that the mining operation only need divert the water away from where people live in order to meet with EPA regulations. Apparently there is a dam under construction. Now it becomes clear why the fruit trees are dying, the ecosystem has been disrupted and poisoned by the mine that was to bring prosperity to the area, the mine whose interest had allowed the whites to take the land of the Apaches.

This process of deconstructing history exposes the gaps and silences of



the community. Codi goes to view the dam construction. Diverting the river was the most efficient way to meet minimum requirements, but it would cut off any supply of water to the orchards. Huge areas of the canyon would be flooded. Communities would disappear. Surveying the site, Codi recalls the picture that had recently appeared in the paper:

... the company president and a couple of managers at a ground-breaking ceremony, wearing ties, stepping delicately on shovels with their wing-tip shoes. These men had driven down from Phoenix this morning, and would drive right back. They all had broad salesmen's smiles. They pretended the dam was some kind of community improvement project, but from where Viola and I stood it looked like exactly what it was—a huge grave. Marigold-orange earth movers hunched guiltily on one corner of the scarred plot of ground. (p 161)

Codi recognizes that the people of Grace will become refugees, “turned out from here like pennies from a pocket. Their histories would dissolve as families made their ways to Tucson or Phoenix, where there were jobs” (p. 149). It is this recognition and the recognition that she has become part of the community that prompts Codi and the other women of the town to organize to stop the dam project and force cleanup of the river to restore the land that had been poisoned by the mines. The mining firm had become such a natural part of the landscape that the men referred to it simply as “The Mountain.” Urged on by her commitment to praxis that has resulted from her deconstruction and reconstitution of histories, Codi reminds her students who tell her that trees grow back and that there are other mountains, that “people can forget, and forget, and forget, but the land has a memory” (p. 255). Later, reconciling with her father, she tells him that she has decided to stay, that she is considered by her students to be a good and “spirited” science teacher: “I’m teaching them how to have a cultural memory.” She looks at her hands, and laughs, but looks sad. “I want them to be custodians of the earth,” she says.

### Conclusion

The power in the use of autobiography to connect us to sense of place and to the importance of critical reading of community and place is that it provides us with a grounding through which we can read the meaning of our practices and the broader connections they imply. Literature provides a way for us to evoke the shifting nature of memory and history, for it allows us to experience the transposition of the inner vision and the outer vision and through this experience to rearticulate those visions from the perspective of our own memories and histories.

In educating ourselves and our students in the grounding of community, we must be careful that our readings are critical, that we engage in the process of deconstructing and demystifying the constructions that have privileged, empowered, marginalized, and silenced. It is also important that we reconstitute and effect change as a result of our readings.

Recent rhetoric by the political right mythologizes the sanctity of the values of community. This trend toward local control that these factions advocate carries with it dangerous slides back to the extreme practices of shaming and ostracizing that have characterized earlier attitudes toward the poor and those who are different. As educators, we need to continually examine our own constructions and those of our immediate and larger communities and empower our students in this way as well. Like Codi, we might discover that the attachment to community and the duty to community lies not in our unquestioning eye, but in our critical eye. The messages of the past are written in the landscape. They are there for us to see. What values have caused the destruction of the ecosystem and the rape of the natural resources of the earth? What values do we read in the development that is taking place in our communities? What powers and silences do the buildings and monuments speak to us? How do they comment on the housing of the poor? On the other hand, we also need to read the ways of operating and the everyday tactics that deflect the "technocratic structures" (de Certeau, p.xiv). According to Williams (1973):

And we need to do this not only critically, in the necessary history of rural and urban capitalism, but substantially, by affirming the experiences which in many millions of lives are discovered and rediscovered, very often under pressure: experiences of directness, connection, mutuality, sharing, which alone can define, in the end, what the real deformation may be. (p. 298)

At the end of *Animal Dreams*, Codi understands that it is "what you do that makes your soul," and when she came to the top of a mountain, she understood that she "was right there already."

We are right here already and if we find that, as teachers, we need to empower our students to have cultural memory, it must be a memory that includes the margins, that reads the gaps and silences, and that makes us all custodians of the earth.

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# International Ethics, Community, and Civic Education

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The liberal-communitarian debate is a dispute about, among other things, the metaethical grounding of morality. The liberal posits that moral principle is cosmopolitan in the sense that it is free from the dictates and constraints of particular traditions: moral principle transcends community and is therefore universally applicable. In contrast, communitarians posit an ethic of association. They maintain that morality emerges out of, and is thus grounded in, the web of human relationships which constitute communal life. This is an ethic based upon custom rather than universal principle.

From the perspective of communitarianism, civic education is contingent upon the specific social and political organization of the society in which it is situated. This contingency is recognized early on in the Western tradition, for example, by Isocrates and Aristotle who maintain that citizenship and civic education are expressions of the constitution (*politeia*) of the society. The *politeia* is not the formal juridical structure of the legal system of a society per se but rather the basic structure of values and customs which define its broader world view. Since the emergence of the European nation-state system, civic education has been couched in terms of the imperatives of national *politeia*. Although an international system has existed for centuries, this system has been conceived as an anarchy, analogous to a Hobbesian state of nature. As a consequence, the imperatives and ideals of civic education have been defined within the framework of national values and customs.

In other words, in the modern era the political morality of citizenship has been premised upon the principle of sovereignty embedded in national communities. Sovereignty has been understood to be "the final and

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absolute authority in the political community . . . and no final and absolute authority exists elsewhere (Hinsley, 1966, p. 26).” From this perspective, the rights and duties of citizenship are founded upon a political morality demarcated by national sovereignty, for if rights and duties are derived from the political and moral authority inherent in the community, and no higher authority exists, then citizenship and civic education must be premised upon the sovereignty of the community. If the community is conceived as being national, then citizenship is demarcated by the nation. Thus, a national civic education is contingent upon the imperatives of the political morality inherent in the national political culture, its *politeia*.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the possibility of a conception of civic education premised, not upon a national *politeia*, but one which is transnational. What is argued for below is an ethic that appears to be “cosmopolitan” in that it is universally applicable in the current international system but is in fact an ethic that finds its metaethical grounding in the customs and agreements of the international community: It is a transnational ethic with communitarian grounding. This is a controversial proposition, for the history of international ethics, like that of modern moral theory in general, has been defined by a cosmopolitan-communitarian divide. However, the world system has moved toward a transnational ethic which is not grounded in abstract principle but in concrete custom. What has shifted here is the nature and dynamics of political community, rendering communitarian ethics, and with it civic education, cosmopolitan (at least theoretically).

It will be argued in the following section that (a) a transnational ethic is possible and it is grounded in an emerging interdependent international society; (b) the Nuremberg Obligation provides the foundation for such an ethic, an ethic that posits a universal obligation to treat all human beings as ends; and (c) a conception of civic education premised upon this ethic entails the cultivation of equal respect and the expansion of self-identification through exposure to the customs, values, and social practices of the international community. There is a considerable literature on peace education and global civic education, but scant attention has been given to its moral foundations (Smith, 1991 ). The attempt here is to begin to address that need.

### Political Realism and Moral Skepticism

Cosmopolitan ethics is a contested area of international political and moral theory. In fact, there are strong arguments rejecting even the possibility of morality and justice beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. In the post-World War II era moral skepticism has been a central element of international relations theory. This position maintains that the interna-

tional arena is analogous to a Hobbesian state of nature wherein ethical precepts do not apply. From this perspective, the international arena is essentially an anarchy, for (a) there is no overarching political authority to enforce the principles and rules of law and morality, and (b) cooperative reciprocity between nations is absent as well. From this perspective, international citizenship and a civic education premised upon a transnational ethic is in principle meaningless, for it is without a moral foundation. The strongest argument for international anarchy as a condition devoid of morality is contained within the realist tradition of international relations, an argument that must be refuted in order to assert the possibility of a transnational ethic and conception of civic education.

Political realism has a long tradition in Western political theory dating to Thucydides and running through Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes to the 20th century realists, such as Hans Morganthau, George Kennan, and Henry Kissinger, among others (Donnelly, 1992; Forde, 1992; Smith, 1986). At the core of realism is international moral skepticism: the belief that self-interest takes precedence over moral principle in international politics (Beitz, 1979; Forde, 1992). There are at least two justifications for this skepticism, both of which maintain that the empirical conditions for the existence of morality are absent, and thus, moral principle is not applicable in the international arena. First, in the international arena there is no sovereignty, no authority to enforce moral and legal principle, and therefore no valid basis for the exercise of morality and law. Second, in order for morality to be applicable there must exist reciprocity concerning mutual claims to the social goods generated from social cooperation (Rawls, 1971). In the absence of sovereignty and reciprocity there are no moral obligations, only the pursuit of self-interest and power (Beitz, 1979).

First, the defining case for moral skepticism based upon the absence of sovereignty in the realist tradition is made by Thomas Hobbes (1662) in the *Leviathan*. Hobbes maintains that human nature is inherently self-interested, entailing an unceasing drive for power "which ceaseth only in death." This drive is based upon the instinct of self-preservation. Our base motive is survival, from which other desires—such as power, felicity, and commodious living—are derived, as well as particular human rights. Given this propensity in human nature toward self-interest, adherence to moral principle, law, and even mutual promises (contracts, agreements, covenants, treaties, etc.) is contingent upon the existence of an overarching authority. This authority, according to Hobbes, requires a sovereign power who is capable of enforcing obligation. Given self-interest, individuals will abide by morality, not on principle, but out of fear of punishment, that is, only when the *costs* of not abiding are higher than the benefits. In the absence of a sovereign it is *rational* to use every means necessary, including



the exploitation of others, to pursue one's own interests. This is the condition of anarchy, a state of nature which is inherently "a war of all against all." It is this condition that defines international society.

Second, by definition anarchy entails the absence of cooperative relationships which yield social goods, and therefore the absence of the obligation to share the fruits of cooperative interaction. If there exists cooperation, then there exists a reciprocal claim to a fair share, however fairness is defined, of the social goods generated from that cooperation. If the international arena is an anarchy, then there is no reciprocity, and therefore, no foundation for morality. The result under these conditions is the struggle for power and the exclusive pursuit of self-interest.

The moral skepticism of political realism is premised upon these two propositions: lack of sovereignty and a lack of reciprocity. There are, however, at least three empirical and normative difficulties with the realist position. The first involves a tension between national political morality and international anarchy. The second calls into the question the validity of a conception of morality which is contingent upon the existence of sovereignty. The third calls into question the empirical validity of the claim for a lack of reciprocity in the international system.

### Thucydides and the National/International Moral Tension

The tension between a domestic morality and international anarchy was first articulated at the origins of the realist tradition by Thucydides (1972 ed.). As a realist, Thucydides argued that relations between states should be conducted in terms of self-interest and power, not morality. The pursuit of power in this arena often requires behavior that viewed from the perspective of the domestic political morality would be morally unacceptable, at times even atrocious. Thucydides describes what has become the classic case: the Athenian slaughter of the male population of Melos and the selling into slavery of its women and children. From the perspective of realism, these acts of state are acceptable on the grounds that they are in the interests of the state to eliminate a potential threat when given the opportunity. However, Thucydides is concerned about this type of behavior, for clearly it is in violation of Athenian domestic political morality, and he argues that the long-term consequences of such behavior by the Athenian state will erode the moral consensus of the domestic community, leading to the general belief among the Athenian citizenry that moral restraints no longer apply to them even as members of the domestic community. Thucydides is concerned that the inherent tension in realism between the amoral pursuit of power in the interstate anarchy and the moral integrity of the community will in time undermine the integrity of the latter. For Thucy-



dides, the decline of Athens was caused in part by the moral tensions of Athenian imperialism.

Historically, states have attempted to resolve this tension by engaging in what Plato (1979 ed.) refers to as "noble lies," or what Noam Chomsky (1992) refers to as "necessary illusions"; these illusions are in essence distortions of the truth which justify to the domestic population the pursuit of power through appeal to domestic morality (e.g., "making the world safe for democracy"; "not letting aggression go unchecked"; "punishing terrorist acts"; "destroying the village in order to save it"; among others). The citizenry comes to believe that their state is acting benevolently in the international arena in accordance with their highest moral principles and values, rather than out of the imperatives of power. For Thucydides, committing noble lies in order to preserve the moral integrity of the community is problematic, for he believes that the community's highest virtue is its moral foundation, and thus it is problematic for a society to be founded upon, or be preserved by, a lie, however noble (Forde, 1992).

A second solution to the realist moral tension is to cast the pursuit of power in terms of national interest, wherein the national interest is elevated to a basic value. Then the pursuit of the national interest through the exercise of power becomes morally legitimate, for the nation is pursuing the "good." This solution, however, tends to reinforce an extreme nationalism wherein the *other* is demonized (Keen, 1986). In a culturally, racially, and ethnically diverse nation such exclusionary practices tend to erode the moral consensus, in that when we demonize others we exclude them from the moral community, which generates moral contradictions and tensions within the domestic community. Realists like Thucydides (as well as George Kennan, Henry Kissinger, and Hans Morgenthau) do not accept the consequences of their own realist premises and thus are caught in an irresolvable contradiction between the moral integrity of the community and the amoral pursuit of power. This contradiction is a significant problem for the realist. However, it can be argued that the moral theory that underlies it is flawed in principle.

### Self-interest, Sovereignty, and Responsibility

In principle a moral theory that is premised upon self-interest and external enforcement is theoretically incoherent. If morality is contingent upon the threat of punishment, then it becomes rational to adhere to principle or agreement because of the *costs* of punishment. In this case, we keep our promises because it is in our self-interest to do so, in the sense that the punishment for not keeping a promise entails greater costs than keeping it. This is Hobbes's logic. Thus, moral and legal structures are erected which

define our obligations entirely premised upon fear of punishment and the rational calculation of self-interest inherent in it. However, our basic intuition about the nature of morality suggests that a moral act is one where we act or refrain from acting even when there is no threat of external enforcement (Beitz, 1979; Paton, 1948).

Freedom, defined as self-determination, is a necessary condition for moral agency, for responsibility (in the sense of liability) can only be assigned in terms of cause. If one is not the cause of the action, then one is not morally responsible for its consequences. Hence, moral responsibility and thus moral agency are contingent upon self-determination. However, if morality is construed to be contingent upon external enforcement, then when we act "morally" we act out of fear of punishment, and acting out of fear our moral power shifts from ourselves to the external authority. In this case, moral agency is no longer firmly located in the individual moral agent but in the power of an external authority, for the primary cause of the action is no longer the individual's self-determination but the power of the sovereign. In a significant sense the individual is being forced to act, not freely choosing to respond. Being externally dictated, the individual can not be authentically responsive to the needs of others nor the promises and agreements that define their relationship with each other. Being externally driven, the individual is not an authentic moral agent. The claim here is that individual morality, and thus, any genuine sense of moral responsibility, must be independent of external enforcement.

If we reject moral skepticism on the grounds that moral agency must in principle be independent of external enforcement, then we can assert the possibility of international morality, for morality no longer is contingent upon external sovereignty and thus can transcend the boundaries of particular states. Morality can be *transnational*. The possibility of a transnational morality is further strengthened by the existence of international and transnational interdependence, which constitutes the conditions of reciprocity.

### Transnational Interdependence

There is a significant range of empirical theory which attempts to describe and explain the existence of transnational interdependence. This theory maintains that the world is not an anarchical nation-state system but a system wherein power, influence, and authority (both legal *and* moral) transcend national boundaries. However, the extent and nature of this interdependence varies within this body of work. Following is a discussion of interdependence from the perspective of two orientations: multi-centric pluralism and global centrism. In addition, within each orientation is signif-

icant variation. What emerges from this general perspective, however, is a picture of the world as a complex system of political, economic, ethical, and legal interdependence, which significantly transcends national sovereignty (albeit national sovereignty remains an extremely important variable) and wherein there exists significant reciprocity across national boundaries.

### *Multi-Centric Pluralism*

The pluralist paradigm perceives international society as significantly transnational but not global; it is multi-centric. From this perspective, the Hobbesian analogy of the state of nature breaks down. Rather, a more accurate metaphor would be an array of overlapping cobwebs. As John Burton (1972) put it,

In practice, there are so many direct communications, or systems, that a world map which represented them would look like a mass of cobwebs superimposed on one another, strands converging at some points more than others and being concentrated between some points more than between others. The boundaries of states would be hidden from view. (pp. 60–61)

However, the nature of this multi-centric array of interdependence is contested in the pluralist paradigm. Two prominent variations are international regimes and complex conglomerates.

International regimes are the most prevalent conception in the pluralist paradigm. Keohane and Nye (1977) maintain that international regimes are responses to “complex interdependence.” Complex interdependence is defined as mutual dependence between actors characterized by multiple channels connecting societies (e.g., informal and formal governmental ties, transnational nonstate organizations, ties between prominent individuals, etc.), the absence of a hierarchical agenda, and the absence of the use of military force within the regime. When complex interdependence is perceived, actors move to create a framework of order to regulate its consequences, giving rise to a regime.

Regimes are defined by Keohane and Nye (1977) as “networks of rules, norms, and procedures that regularize behavior and control [the effects of interdependence] (p. 19).” Stephen Krasner (1982) defines regimes as “sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations” (p. 186). International regimes are a significant mediating framework between international interests and international behavior. They are not alliances based upon calculations of power but are in a significant sense international “publics” based upon perceived common



interests and need for cooperation in regulating them (Krasner, 1982). Examples of international regimes would include such organizations and conventions as GATT, NAFTA, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, NATO, the European Community, the Asian Pacific Economic Council, OPEC, the international postal service, among numerous other regimes. A foundation was laid, for example, for an ecological regime (Agenda 21) at the recent United Nations summit on the environment in Rio.

Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert (1976) argue that transnational interdependence has fostered the recognition by various individuals and groups of common interests and common needs which transcend national boundaries. As commonality is recognized, individuals and groups—both state and nonstate—become functionally linked in the form of conglomerates. As interdependence increases so does the number of conglomerates.

Whereas international regimes are constituted by formal conventions, customs, and organization, the notion of a system of “complex conglomerates” focuses on the arrangement and nature of transnational actors. From the perspective of international regimes, international society is composed of a complex network of codified standards and principles of behavior, whereas from the perspective of complex conglomerates, international society is constituted by a plurality of transnational actors vying for influence.

In a world of complex interdependence the global system can best be described as a “*complex conglomerate system*.” The central characteristic of this system is “the formation of situationally-specific alignments of different types of actors using a variety of means to achieve complementary objectives” (Mansbach et al., 1976, p. 42). A transnational conglomerate is thus constituted by the alignment of particular kinds of actors, many of which are nonstate, around a common interest or need. These interests are generally characterized by Mansbach et al. in terms of particular tasks. Thus, different types of actors align themselves around particular issue areas premised on perceived common interests.

Mansbach et al. have identified six different kinds of actors and four different kinds of tasks. The actors include interstate governmental (e.g., NATO, OPEC), interstate nongovernmental (e.g., international Red Cross), nation-state (i.e., national government officials), governmental noncentral (e.g., city governments), intrastate nongovernmental (e.g., Jewish Defense League, Ford Foundation), and individual actors (e.g., Jimmy Carter). The tasks include issues/situations related to physical protection (security), economic interests, public interest, and group status (ethnicity, religion, class, etc.). The main point here is that, although state actors are the most prevalent (i.e., at least the most visible) in the global system, the participation of nonstate actors is significant. This finding leads Mansbach et al. (1976) to conclude that



the phenomenon in evidence here might be called the democratization of global politics. Global politics, in theory, and to a considerable extent in practice, was once the exclusive preserve of a nation-state "aristocracy." However, as national societies grew more complex, as the world became increasingly interdependent, and as nation-states consequently became less "sovereign" and "impermeable," other types of actors have come to play an ever-more prominent and autonomous role. While differential possession of the resources needed to undertake global political behavior continues to influence the relative participation of various actors, the fact remains that they all actually do participate and that their roles must be comprehended if global and regional systems are to be accurately mapped. (p. 276)

From the perspective of international pluralism, international society is comprised of a complex array of regimes and transnational actors. The boundaries of state sovereignty are significantly blurred and there is significant participation of nonstate actors who in many cases are transnational in character. Here interdependence is regional and the international system is conceived as a cobweb-like structure. Other international theorists, however, maintain that interdependence has in fact developed into a global network.

### *Global-Centrism*

These global theorists suggest that there exists, at least in nascent form, a global-centric community based upon interests which transcend national boundaries. There are two variations to this perspective: purposive and rule-based association (Brown, 1992; Nardin, 1983).

The purposive view maintains that there are global common interests which form the basis for a global civic culture. For example, Elise Boulding (1988) maintains that there is an emerging global civic culture based on the existence of international regimes and/or conglomerates, wherein NGOs and individual citizens are coming together to form an interdependent global polis. The World Order Models Project (WOMP) maintains that the nation-state system is a distortion which overshadows and impedes the emergence of a set of global values, centered on equality, human rights, justice, and ecological sustainability (Falk, 1975). The pioneering work of Myres McDougal maintains that a system of international law and morality exists (or should exist based upon the existence of cooperative reciprocity) which preserves human dignity and democratic values on a transnational scale (Nardin, 1983). In a similar vein, international political theorists argue that the standards of justice should and do apply transna-

tionally (Beitz, 1979; Brown, 1992). All of these approaches imply a global community founded upon a system of transnational values and common purposes, which is in turn based upon the existence of reciprocity. The claim here is that there exists a "Global Public."

The rule-based, cosmopolitan perspective, while acknowledging a world society, denies the existence of common interests, purposes, and shared values. Rather the focus is on the development of a transnational system of law and morality which defines legitimate conduct in the international system. This system is not concerned with the pursuit of common interests but with the adjudication of conflict in the international system through peaceful means. Terry Nardin (1983) and Dorothy Jones (1991), for example, both demonstrate the existence of an elaborate system of international law and morality, "a code of peace," which defines world society. Thus, world society is constituted by a set of agreed-upon rules, customs, and principles which govern the behavior of national and transnational actors. International regimes are in essence converging to at least approximate, if not constitute, a global regime.

There is also another set of theorists who maintain that an interdependent global structure or world system has existed in its present form from at least the time of the emergence of nation-states. From this perspective, there exists a global structure which by definition renders the world system interdependent and which is the primary causal factor of behavior in the system. Two variations of structuralist paradigm emphasize different features of the world system: one economic (represented by dependency theory), the other political (represented by the long cycle theory of world leadership put forth by Modelski).

The primary advocates of global economic structuralism have been the dependency theorists, in particular Amin (1976, 1977) Frank (1969a, 1969b), and Wallerstein (1974, 1983). Dependency Theory constitutes both a rejection of a structural-functionalist approach to economic development and, although placing itself in the Marxist tradition, a significant departure from classical Marxist economic theory (Brewer, 1990).<sup>1</sup> Its central position is that the present world system (origins in the late 15th century) is a capitalist system and being capitalist its structural interdependence causes certain regions (the periphery) to be placed at a disadvantage in the global market (in

<sup>1</sup>Classical Marxist theory maintains that the globalization of capitalism would be a significant force of industrialization and development in the periphery, not a source of underdevelopment, for, given its potential for a high rate of return (e.g., relatively lower wage scales), the periphery would be a primary location for industrial investment and hence development. With the globalization of capital Marx and Lenin fully expected the development of an international proletariat (Brewer, 1990).

favor of the "core"), in turn rendering them "dependent." This dependency is the cause of their "underdevelopment." The argument is that given their place in the global capitalist structure, less developed countries are essentially being exploited in favor of development in the core. The structure itself restricts or distorts development in the periphery while either not posing barriers to economic development in the core or in many cases enhancing core development at the expense of the periphery. This structural relationship creates a significant development lag, impeding industrial development, and thereby furthering dependence in the periphery on the export of primary goods to finance the importation of needed industrial goods. This process inherent in the structure of the capitalist world system causes the development of underdevelopment in the periphery.

For Frank and Wallerstein, the structure of dependence and the process of underdevelopment is based upon unequal exchange rates which funnel surplus value from the periphery to the core. For Amin, underdevelopment is based upon the unequal specialization of modes of production and labor; due to dependence, the capitalist mode of production is blocked in the periphery. In the core, the capitalist mode eliminates other modes of production. Thus, there are different social formations in the core and periphery which favor the core in terms of productivity, which in turn gives the core considerable advantage in the global market.

Dependency theory focuses on the economic dimensions of global structuralism, however, the global structuralism of Modelski is an example of an attempt to integrate the economic and political dimensions of the global system, although it is clear that the accent is on the political (Modelski, 1987). Modelski paints a picture of a global political structure in terms of long cycles of world leadership. The principal structure of the modern world system (circa. 1500) is world leadership, and the central political process is what he refers to as long cycles. Modelski rejects international anarchy, maintaining that international society is ordered by a particular system of leadership, or perhaps more accurately, hegemony. However, this order is only one part of the cycle. Historically, a dominant world leader (power) emerges out of the chaos of global war (e.g., WW II). This leader is usually capable of maintaining relative order in the world system for a significant portion of the cycle (each cycle lasts about a hundred years), but its hegemony tends to erode, constituting the third stage of the cycle (first, global war, second, world power, third, delegitimation); the erosion continues leading to the eventual "deconstruction" of the hegemony, which gives rise to a severe rivalry between powers (stage four). This rivalry leads to another global war and the cycle resumes with other powers assuming leadership (although Britain dominated in back-to-back cycles: 18th and 19th Centuries). The political structure of the modern world system is thus



one where order and consensus exists for significant periods of time on the basis of what can be referred to as a "hegemonic peace" (Brown, 1991).

Modelski maintains that there is a significant linkage between world power/leadership and economic strength. This linkage flows in two directions. First, international economic power requires political stability and protection in the international arena, which can only be provided by political hegemony. Second, world power is expensive and can only be maintained on the basis of economic strength (see also Kennedy, 1987). Thus, political and economic leadership are structurally interdependent.

In summary, the above examples of interdependence suggest that the nation-state no longer possesses, or perhaps has never possessed, independent political sovereignty, that nations exist in an interdependent world rendering politics and political sovereignty transnational in nature. That is, nations are not independent but mutually *dependent*; they exist within a web of relationship. In addition, the above discussion does not even consider the profound level of interdependence that ecology entails. Therefore, on both empirical and normative grounds the international moral skepticism of political realism seems to be unfounded. It is based upon a flawed moral theory which possesses serious contradictions, belies our basic intuitions concerning moral obligation, and, given the existence of transnational interdependence, is empirically outdated. If morality is not contingent upon external enforcement, and if there exists transnational reciprocity, then the preconditions for a transnational ethic exist. The question of the substance and the metaethical grounding of such an ethic remains, however. In what follows an international ethic based on the Nuremberg Judgement and Obligation will be explored as well as its implications for civic education.

### Toward a Transnational Ethic: The Nuremberg Obligation

The Nuremberg Obligation is based upon a transnational conception of law and morality, and it provides the clearest statement of individual responsibility under international law. Although the Nuremberg Tribunal was devoted to the trial of Nazi war crimes, the adoption of the principles derived from the Nuremberg judgement by the United Nations at its opening session (UN General Resolution 95) clearly indicates that the Nuremberg principles are applicable beyond the context of World War II (Falk, 1989; Glueck, 1966; Woetzel, 1962). The two major questions at Nuremberg were (a) whether aggressive war, war crimes, and crimes against humanity were violations of international law; and (b) whether individuals, even when acting as state agents under national law, could be prosecuted for such violations.

Based upon existing international law, emanating from the Just War tra-



dition, the Nuremberg Tribunal argued that “crimes against peace” (planning, preparing, or starting a war in violation of international agreements) and “war crimes” (murder, ill-treatment, deportation to slave labor of civilians in occupied territories, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war and hostages, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity) were punishable under international law, for they blatantly violate the integrity of self-determination and human dignity. In addition, “crimes against humanity” (murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhuman acts against civilians, or persecution on political, racial, or religious grounds when such acts are carried out in connection with any crime against peace or war crime) were also deemed violations of international law on the grounds that such crimes violate our basic sense of human dignity and justice, and thus were deemed to be crimes against the international community. Members of the Nazi regime were found guilty of all three crimes by the Nuremberg tribunal.<sup>2</sup>

The second question at Nuremberg was whether individuals, even when acting as state agents under the dictates of national law and/or acting under the orders of superiors, could be held accountable and punished under international law. Two foundational principles of national sovereignty were at issue in the resolution of this question: the Acts of State Doctrine and the Territorial Principle. If these principles were superseded, obligation to international law would have lexical priority over national law.

The Acts of State Doctrine holds that individuals acting as state agents under the laws of the state are *not* personally responsible for acts of state. The defense argued that the Nazi regime was acting on realist principles, entailing the absence of morality and law in the international arena, and therefore, Nazi state agents were not liable. Liability is only possible if there is a preexisting set of legal and/or moral standards. Under the conditions of anarchy such standards do not exist, and therefore, liability for state acts is unfounded. The Nuremberg Tribunal argued, however, that international law and morality existed on the grounds of custom and agreement even absent a global sovereign, thereby rendering the Acts of State Doctrine inapplicable.

The Territorial Principle (the principle that a crime is only punishable in the context of the territory in which it was committed and only if it is defined as criminal in the civil or military law of the sovereign territory) was invoked by

<sup>2</sup>It should be noted that there was a degree of moral selectivity enacted at Nuremberg, in the sense that the victors were also guilty of war crimes in the course of World War II (e.g., the fire-bombing of Dresden and other German cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the internment of Japanese-Americans, among others) but never brought to trial. Clearly, however, these crimes were not on the scale of Nazi atrocities.

the defense in arguing that individual Nazi officials were acting on the basis of national law and therefore were free of guilt. The Nuremberg Tribunal invoked a universal principle of jurisdiction, arguing that "every nation can take jurisdiction over certain crimes against international law, regardless of where or by whom they were committed" (Woetzel, 1962, p. 69). This is especially true when the crimes are of such a heinous nature that they offend the basic principles of justice recognized by the international community. When an act violates our basic sense of human dignity, then it is an affront to the international community; it becomes an issue that transcends territorial boundaries. Here an appeal is being made to a cosmopolitan ethic grounded in international custom which takes precedence over national sovereignty.

The result of the Nuremberg refutation of the Acts of State Doctrine and the Territorial Principle constitutes the "Nuremberg Obligation": a duty to uphold international law and morality "by taking appropriate action even if it violates applicable domestic law" (Falk, 1989, p. 212). There is lexical priority given here to cosmopolitan obligation over national sovereignty. International law and morality "trump" (to borrow Ronald Dworkin's phrase) national law. Individuals are obligated to obey the imperative of international law and morality *even* when in conflict with national law. Individuals are also personally responsible for violations of international law, even when their crimes are not punishable under national law and even when the individual acts under order (if, that is, a moral choice is possible). From the perspective of the Nuremberg Obligation, all individual citizens, including state agents, have an obligation to uphold international law and the basic principles of cosmopolitan justice even when not stipulated by national law or custom or even when in direct violation of national law.

This cosmopolitan obligation is grounded in international custom and agreement as expressed by UN General Resolution 95; the Nuremberg Obligation is a body of custom that codifies the individual's moral obligation to refuse to participate in crimes against peace, including the planning of and preparation for war, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, even when dictated by national law or the orders of superiors. By implication, in a democratic society founded upon the consent of the people, the Nuremberg Obligation mandates that citizens actively oppose acts of state which are criminal in character under international law or violate international morality.<sup>3</sup>

The Nuremberg Obligation exemplifies a fundamental moral ideal: the

<sup>3</sup>For example, in a recent court case in Vermont a judge directed the jury to accept a necessity defense to criminal trespass of war protestors if they believed the testimony of an expert concerning the illegality of U.S. policy in Central America under international law. *Vermont v. Keller* No. 1872-84 (Vt. Dist Ct., Chiltenden Cir., Unit 11, CNRC, 13 November 1984), cited in Falk (1989, p. 101 ).

imperative of treating every human being as an end, never as a means. This ideal constitutes the essence of the Nuremberg Obligation, for the latter gives precedence to safeguarding human dignity above all other considerations of state. It establishes the inviolability of human dignity. This moral imperative constitutes one of our basic ethical intuitions, and it has attained universal acceptance. For example it is clearly expressed by Kant's Categorical Imperative:

Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end. (cited in Seung, 1993, p. 155)

It is also basic to what can be called the postulate of equality:

All individuals are morally equal qua individuals . . . [and] are entitled to equal autonomy and equal respect as subjects of moral choice capable of devising and pursuing their own respective life plans. (Rosenfeld, 1991, pp. 20–22)

Sometimes referred to as the principle of autonomy:

Individuals should be free and equal in the determination of the conditions of their own lives; that is, they should enjoy equal rights (and, accordingly, equal obligations) in the specification of the framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights of others. (Held, 1987, p. 271)

These principles constitute rationalized, sophisticated versions of what is known as the Golden Rule, which is also expressed in numerous moral religious traditions. For example,

Confucius: "What you yourself do not want, do not do to another person."

Rabbi Himel: "Do not do to others what you would not want them to do to you."

Jesus: "Whatever you want people to do to you, do also to them."

Islam: "None of you is a believer as long as he does not wish his brother what he wishes himself."

Jainism: "Human beings should be indifferent to worldly things and treat all creatures in the world as they would want to be treated themselves."

Buddhism: "A state which is not pleasant or enjoyable for you will also not be so for him; and how can I impose on another a state which is not pleasant or enjoyable for me?" (cited in Kung, 1993, pp. 70–71)



The Nuremberg Obligation, the various versions of the categorical imperative, and the Golden Rule assert a universal moral imperative to respect the inherent dignity of all human beings. It can be argued that these principles, however, are betrayed by their essential disconnection from the particulars of human interaction, whether in terms of their rational grounding or in terms of abstraction from the web of human relationships, thus constituting a liberal rather than a communitarian ethic. In the case of the Nuremberg Obligation, whose foundation is the above moral imperative, its metaethical grounding is based upon consensus in the international community and not upon a *a priori* foundation. Therefore, its legitimacy is founded upon an ethic of association, the hallmark of communitarian moral and political theory, wherein the obligation is based upon the morally binding nature of human relationships.

In addition, feminist moral theorists, such as Carol Gilligan, on the one hand assert the particularity of morality based in the context of relationships, thus invoking an inherently communitarian position, but yet also assert a universal shared humanity. For example, one of Gilligan's subjects maintains that we have a duty to "that giant collection of everybody . . . the stranger is still another person belonging to that group, people you are connected to by virtue of being another person." Gilligan herself concludes that the essential motivation of an ethic of care is "that everyone will be responded to and included, that no one will be left alone or hurt" (cited in Kymlicka, 1990, p. 271). This statement clearly expresses a universal commitment to human dignity within the context of an ethic of care and communitarian association. What seems to join us together is not any particular direct relationship but our *shared humanity* as a part of a larger human web of relationships (Kymlicka, 1990).

What is also striking about the above moral imperative as grounded in an ethic of association is that it's also consistent with a communitarian conception of democracy. This notion is exemplified by John Dewey's conception of democratic community.<sup>4</sup> It is Dewey's (1954) contention that democracy is the most effective way for a public to identify, articulate, and regulate itself. This process entails communication, free association, inquiry, debate, and participation, which taken together form the ideal of community life. A public can only be self-conscious through open inquiry and deliberation, for it is only through extensive communication that the full

<sup>4</sup>It should be noted that Dewey recognized the existence of transnational interdependence in the 1950s. He writes: "Extensive, enduring, intricate, and serious indirect consequences of the conjoint activity of a comparatively few people traverse the globe . . . existing political and legal forms and arrangements are incompetent to deal with the situation" (Dewey, 1954, p. 128).



range of consequences of conjoint activity, as well as the common interest in their regulation, can be known. The democratic ethic implicit in the notion of an articulated public in turn affords every individual with a full and equal opportunity to participate in all decisions that affect their lives. In other words, every individual has a *prime facie* right to engage in the deliberation concerning the regulation of the public, for only on the basis of such a right can the integrity of the democratic system and in turn the public be maintained. This participation, in turn, entails particular distributions of social goods which are necessary to meet the requirements of full and equal participation (e.g., freedom of association, freedom of speech, etc.). Hence, the ideal of democratic community entails the moral postulate of equality, in the sense that each and every citizen is entitled to equal respect.

In summary, from the perspective of a diverse variety of ethical positions, our shared humanity carries with it a moral imperative to respect the dignity of every human life. This transnational imperative is grounded, not in abstract principle, but in the customs of the international community as embodied in the Nuremberg Obligation as ratified by UN General Resolution 95.

### The Ontological Foundations of Cosmopolitan Responsibility

The basic obligation to respect the dignity of others, to treat others as *ends*, requires precise specification in terms of the specific responsibilities that follow from its central imperative. My intention is not to focus on these details (despite their importance), but to explore its ontological, and hence educational, requirements. As Betty Reardon (1990) maintains, an education for global responsibility is not only devoted to changing the structures of society but also, and perhaps more importantly, to changing the *structures of consciousness*. The ontological question is the following: What kind of consciousness is required to support a transnational ethic mandating equal respect? We are considering here our capacity to *respond* to others as ends. What allows us to be optimally responsive to the inherent dignity of others as ends? This is a very large question, clearly beyond the scope of this article. However, some preliminary points can be made.

Exclusion from the moral community has been historically the rationale for injustice. Individuals with specifiable characteristics, such as race and ethnicity, have been conceived to exist outside the moral community and therefore beyond the dictates of justice and morality. Exclusion of the other from the moral community legitimatizes the oppression of the other in the eyes of the oppressor. A case in point is the Nazi "life unworthy of life" policy. In contrast, respect entails identification with the other. It entails the capacity for empathy, for taking the other's perspective. If one identifies with another, then it is impossible to exclude him or her from

the moral community and thus from the dictates of morality and justice without contradicting one's self, without entering into a pathological state of disassociation. Therefore, an ethic which is based upon equal respect for all persons must be founded upon ontological identification with all other human beings, not in a superficial sense of likes and dislikes, but in the fundamental sense of a deep identification with their humanity. Being responsive to others is contingent upon a recognition of ontological connection.

From the communitarian perspective, we acquire our internal dispositions through a process of socialization into the customs and traditions of the community. Included in this process is exposure to the social practices that embody the customs of the community. This socialization is the primary purpose of civic education. From a transnational perspective, civic education should be designed to expose students to the customs, values, and social practices of the international community, in order to expand their sense of self-identification, and on the basis of this expanded identification to cultivate in them the value of equal respect for all human beings. The inclusion of serious study of the Nuremberg Trial, Judgment, and Obligation, the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Bill of Rights in the social studies curriculum, perhaps in conjunction with a study of the U.S. constitution and Bill of Rights, would be a start.

In conclusion, (a) the argument put forth in this paper points us beyond the boundaries of local and national community to embrace the rise of an interdependent, transnational community which contains its own *politeia*; (b) on a theoretical level a transnational ethic presents a possible solution to the problem of relativism inherent in communitarian theory, in that a set of cosmopolitan principles exist on communitarian grounds which provide a framework for evaluating the legitimacy of local and national moral precepts and educational practices, and a means to resolve conflicts between communities with different traditions; and (c) international law and the moral imperatives inherent in it, in particular the Nuremberg Obligation, provide a moral foundation for a global civic education consistent with the communitarian tradition.

Although much of what is presented in this article requires further explication, in particular the educational implications of a transnational ethic, what is clear is that we can no longer conceive the nation-state as an independent moral community, but must begin thinking ethically and educationally in terms of transnational interdependence.

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